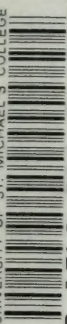


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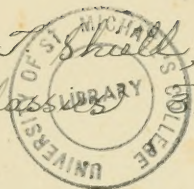
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# THE REPUBLIC OF PLATO

EDITED

WITH CRITICAL NOTES, COMMENTARY  
AND APPENDICES

BY

JAMES ADAM, LITT.D.



VOLUME II  
BOOKS VI—X AND INDEXES

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I. Οἱ μὲν δὴ φιλόσοφοι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ Γλαύκων, καὶ οἱ μὴ διὰ μακροῦ τινὸς διεξελλθόντος λόγου μόγις πως ἀνεφάνησαν οἱ εἰσιν ἐκάτεροι. Ἴσως γάρ, ἔφη, διὰ βραχέος οὐ ῥάδιον. Οὐ φαίνεται, εἶπον· ἐμοὶ γοῦν ἔτι δοκεῖ ἂν βελτιόνως φανῆναι, εἰ περὶ τούτου μόνου ἔδει ῥηθῆναι, καὶ μὴ πολλὰ τὰ λοιπὰ διελθεῖν μέλλοντι 5

4. ἐμοὶ γοῦν II: ἔμοιγ' οὖν A.

484 A—485 A *We have now to shew that Philosophers, as defined by us, should be entrusted with the government. It is they alone who, by virtue of the Ideal in their souls, are able to guard the laws and institutions of a city. We shall therefore make them our Guardians, if they possess the necessary practical qualifications. A study of their nature will shew that it is possible for them to unite both kinds of requisites.*

484 A I διὰ μακροῦ — λόγου: 'through the conclusion of a somewhat lengthy argument.' διεξελλθόντος is intransitive, as Schneider saw: cf. *Laws* 805B ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἶπον τὸν μὲν λόγον ἔασαι διεξελλθεῖν, εὖ διελλθόντος δὲ οὕτω τὸ δοκοῦν αἰρεῖσθαι δεῖν. (The reference in εἶπον is to 799E κἂν ἡ διέξοδος αὐτῇ ὅλῃ σχοῦσα τέλος ἱκανῶς ἂν μνηύσειε κτλ.) Cf. also *Dem. in Mid.* 84. The word διεξελλθόντος is not otiose, because it is not till the very end of the argument that the φιλόσοφος is discovered (V 480A). The mistaken notion (held by Stallbaum) that the word must be transitive induced Herwerden (*Mnem.* N. S. XIX p. 333) to propose διεξελλθοῦσαι, a conjecture repeated also by Richards. Baiter (after Hermann and Ast) reads διεξελλθόντες with three inferior MSS, as if the philosophers had "run the gauntlet of the argument through which their nature is revealed" (J. and C.). τοῦ λόγου (found in a few MSS) is favoured by Stallbaum, and suggested as

an alternative also by Herwerden, as if διὰ μακροῦ τινὸς could mean 'at some length.' The first hand in Z omits διὰ, but it occurs in all the other MSS. None of these expedients is nearly so good as the reading of the best MSS, if Schneider's explanation be adopted. μακροῦ has also caused difficulty, since the investigation extends over only six pages of Stephanus: see Krohn *Pl. St.* pp. 105 ff. By Pfeleiderer (*Zur Lösung* etc. p. 54), who maintains (in partial agreement with Spengel) that V 471C—VII (inclusive) embodies the dialogue Φιλόσοφος announced in the beginning of the *Politicus* and *Sophist*, μακροῦ is hailed as a significant *lapsus calami*, and referred to the investigations of the *Sophist*, *Euthydemus* and *Politicus*. But μακροῦ is qualified by τινός, and surely 474C—480A may be described as 'a somewhat lengthy enquiry.' There is no allusion to the proverbial μακρὸς λόγος of which Aristotle speaks in *Met.* N 3. 1091<sup>a</sup> 7 ff. ὁ Σιμωνίδου μακρὸς λόγος· γίγνεται γὰρ ὁ μακρὸς λόγος ὥσπερ ὁ τῶν δούλων, ὅταν μηδὲν ὑγιὲς λέγωσιν.

2 οἷ is found only in A and II<sup>1</sup>: all the other MSS have οἶοι. For οἷ cf. (with Schneider) 493B and VIII 559A.

5 πολλὰ κτλ. Herwerden conjectures πολλὰ <ἦν>, which would weaken the emphasis on πολλὰ. For the omission of ἦν see Schanz *Nov. Comm.* Pl. p. 33. From the standpoint of Books VI and VII

κατόψεσθαι, τί διαφέρει<sup>1</sup> βίος δίκαιος ἀδίκου. Τί οὖν, ἔφη, τὸ Β  
μετὰ τοῦτο ἡμῖν; Τί δ' ἄλλο, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἢ τὸ ἐξῆς; ἐπειδὴ  
φιλόσοφοι μὲν οἱ τοῦ αἰὲ κατὰ ταυτὰ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντος δυνάμενοι  
ἐφάπτεσθαι, οἱ δὲ μή, ἀλλ' ἐν πολλοῖς καὶ πάντως ἴσχουσιν  
10 πλανώμενοι, οὐ φιλόσοφοι, ποτέρους δὴ δεῖ πόλεως ἡγεμόνας εἶναι;  
Πῶς οὖν λέγοντες ἂν αὐτό, ἔφη, μετρίως λέγοιμεν; Ὅπότεροι ἂν,  
ἦν δ' ἐγώ, δυνατοὶ φαίνονται φυλάξαι νόμους τε καὶ ἐπιτηδεύματα  
πόλεων, τούτους<sup>1</sup> καθιστάναι φύλακας. Ὅρθως, ἔφη. Τόδε δέ, C  
ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἄρα δῆλον, εἴτε τυφλὸν εἴτε ὁξὺ ὀρώντα χρὴ φύλακα  
15 τηρεῖν ὅτιοῦν; Καὶ πῶς, ἔφη, οὐ δῆλον; Ἡ οὖν δοκοῦσί τι  
τυφλῶν διαφέρειν οἱ τῷ ὄντι τοῦ ὄντος ἐκάστου ἐστερημένοι τῆς  
γνώσεως, καὶ μηδὲν ἐναργὲς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔχοντες παράδειγμα μηδὲ  
δυνάμενοι ὥσπερ γραφῆς εἰς τὸ ἀληθέστατον ἀποβλέποντες κἀκείσε  
αἰὲ ἀναφέροντές τε καὶ θεώμενοι ὡς οἶόν τε ἀκριβέστατα, οὕτω δὴ  
20 καὶ<sup>1</sup> τὰ ἐνθάδε νόμιμα καλῶν τε πέρι καὶ δικαίων καὶ ἀγαθῶν D  
τίθεσθαι τε, εἰ δὲ τίθεσθαι, καὶ τὰ κείμενα φυλάττοντες σφῶζειν;  
Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, ἦ δ' ὅς, οὐ πολὺ τι διαφέρει. Τούτους οὖν μᾶλλον

9. πάντως A<sup>1</sup>Π<sup>1</sup>: παντοίως in mg. A<sup>2</sup>Π<sup>2</sup>.

it is impossible to say what 'just life' means unless we know the *ἰδέα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ* etc. (see 506 A): hence πολλὰ τὰ λοιπὰ διελεθῆναι.

484 B 9 πάντως κτλ. παντοίως was conjectured by Ast and is read by Stallbaum. It occurs as a late correction in Π as well as in A (see *cr. n.*), and has some insignificant MS authority besides. The difference is like that between *ὅς* and *οἶος*: see 484 A n. With πλανώμενοι cf. *πλανητόν* in V 479 D. It is the fluctuation of the Object which makes the Subject fluctuate.

484 C 13 καθιστάναι: "sc. λέγοντες h.e. κελεύοντες" Schneider.

16 τυφλῶν. They who cannot see the Ideas are blind: cf. Plato's retort to Antisthenes quoted on V 476 D.

17 καὶ μηδὲν κτλ. A transcendental παράδειγμα of which he knew nothing would be useless to the philosopher-king. It does not however follow that the Ideas are not αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτά, but merely that we are concerned with them in so far as they are known by the φιλόσοφος. See on V 476 A. ὡς οἶόν τε ἀκριβέστατα admits that he may not see them in all their fulness and purity.

18 εἰς τὸ ἀληθέστατον κτλ. Cf. 500 C, 500 E—501 C (where the same figure is employed). The political value of the philosopher's knowledge of the Idea is here for the first time explicitly affirmed and explained: see V 479 D n.

ἐκείσε: because truth is 'yonder'—in the Heaven of the Ideas. The philosopher must call it from Heaven to Earth, by assimilating to it 'the earthly canons' (τὰ ἐνθάδε νόμιμα).

19 οὕτω δὴ= 'then and not till then' suggests that it is otherwise in existing States.

484 D 21 εἰ δὲ τίθεσθαι. If he has the happiness to be born 'in his own country' (IX 592 A), whose institutions are already modelled on the Ideas, he need only guard (φυλάττοντες suggests the φύλακες) and preserve what is already established. Otherwise he must himself become a legislator. Cobet's excision of τίθεσθαι is wholly gratuitous: his omission of τὰ in τὰ κείμενα is even worse, for the laws need not be of the philosopher's own making.

22 διαφέρει. It would be easy to write διαφέρειν (with *q* etc.), but διαφέρει may be impersonal, or Glauco may be



φύλακας στησόμεθα, ἢ τοὺς ἐγνωκότας μὲν ἕκαστον τὸ ὄν, ἐμπειρίᾳ δὲ μηδὲν ἐκείνων ἐλλείποντας μηδ' ἐν ἄλλῳ μηδενὶ μέρει ἀρετῆς ὑστεροῦντας; "Ατοπον μὲντ' ἄν, ἔφη, εἶη ἄλλους αἰρεῖσθαι, εἴ γε 25  
 485 προέχουσιν. | Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο δὴ λέγωμεν, τίνα τρόπον οἰοί τ' ἔσονται οἱ αὐτοὶ κακέινα καὶ ταῦτα ἔχειν; Πάνν μὲν οὖν. "Ο τοίνυν ἀρχόμενοι τούτου τοῦ λόγου ἐλέγομεν, τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν πρῶτον δεῖ καταμαθεῖν. καὶ οἶμαι, ἐὰν ἐκείνην ἱκανῶς ὁμολογήσωμεν, ὁμολογήσειν καὶ ὅτι οἰοί τε ταῦτα ἔχειν οἱ αὐτοί, ὅτι τε οὐκ ἄλλους 5  
 πόλεων ἡγεμόνας δεῖ εἶναι ἢ τούτους. Πῶς;

II. Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ τῶν φιλοσόφων φύσεων περὶ ὁμολογήσθω B ἡμῖν, ὅτι μαθήματός γε αἰεὶ<sup>1</sup> ἔρῳσιν ὃ ἂν αὐτοῖς δηλοῖ ἐκείνης τῆς οὐσίας τῆς αἰεὶ οὐσης καὶ μὴ πλανωμένης ὑπὸ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς.

4. δεῖ γ: δεῖν ΑΠΞ.

substituting the singular for the plural: see on I 347 A and V 465 E. Cf. also infra 496 A.

26 ἐλλείποντο. Cf. Xen. Mem. II 6. 5 μὴ ἐλλείπεσθαι εὐ ποίων τοὺς εὐεργετοῦντας ἑαυτὸν and Soph. 258 B.

485 A 2 κακέινα: viz. τᾶλλα, as defined in ἐμπειρία—ὑστεροῦντας.

ταῦτα: i.e. 'the special attributes of the philosopher' (J. and C.).

3 ἐλέγομεν. V 474 B.

4 δεῖ. See cr. n. and Introd. § 5.

485 A—487 A. *The philosophic nature loves eternal and changeless Being in its entirety. It follows that the philosopher naturally loves Truth, despises the pleasures of the body, is temperate, free from avarice, high-minded, courageous, just and gentle. He is also quick to learn, retentive in memory, not given to extravagance in conduct, but modest and well-bred. To such men, when years and education have perfected their natural qualities, we may fairly entrust our city.*

485 A ff. This section should be compared on the one hand with II 375 A—376 C, 377 B—III 391 E, and on the other with VII 535 A, B nn. In Book II the natural qualities insisted on were primarily moral; here and in VII they are primarily intellectual. This is in harmony with the difference between the earlier and later schemes of education: for the basis of the first was δρθή δόξα, whereas that of the second is ἐπιστήμη.

There is little or no indication to shew that even the ἀρχοντες of I—IV knew or aspired to the Ideas (see 497 C n.) and the ἐπικουροὶ certainly did not. Krohn is, in a certain sense, right when he maintains that in VI—VII we have "einen neuen Archontenstand und eine neue Archontendisciplin" (*Pl. St.* p. 107), but the distinction of the 'golden' and 'silver' races in III 415 A ff. prepares us for a more thorough-going discrimination between the two higher classes than was attempted in the earlier sketch, and we must of course remember that the new discipline is not intended to supersede, but to supervene upon the old. See also Hirzel *Der Dialog* I p. 236.

485 B 8 ἐκείνης τῆς οὐσίας. For the genitive cf. IV 445 E n.

9 γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς have not yet been employed in this half-technical sense (Krohn *Pl. St.* p. 112). The substance of the Ideas always 'is': that of phenomena 'is driven to and fro by generation and destruction'—by generation when it becomes determined in one particular direction (e.g. καλόν, ἵππος, ἄνθρωπος), by destruction when it loses that particular determination and puts on another. Cf. V 479 A, B. Plato's form of expression seems to imply that there is a sort of οὐσία or substratum in phenomena. At a later stage he seems to have identified this with space—the ἐκμαγείον—κινούμενόν τε καὶ διασχηματιζόμενον ὑπὸ

- 10 Ὁμολογήσθω. Καὶ μὴν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ ὅτι πάσης αὐτῆς, καὶ οὔτε  
 μικροῦ οὔτε μείζονος οὔτε τιμιωτέρου οὔτε ἀτιμοτέρου μέρους  
 ἐκόντες ἀφίενται, ὥσπερ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν περὶ τε τῶν φιλοτίμων  
 καὶ ἐρωτικῶν διήλθομεν. Ὅρθως, ἔφη, λέγεις. Τόδε τοίνυν μετὰ  
 15 τούτο σκόπει εἰ ἀνάγκη ἔχειν πρὸς τούτῳ ἐν τῇ φύσει οἱ ἂν μέλ-  
 λωσιν<sup>1</sup> ἔσεσθαι οἷους ἐλέγομεν. Τὸ ποῖον; Τὴν ἀψεύδειαν καὶ C  
 τὸ ἐκόντας εἶναι μηδαμῇ προσδέχεσθαι τὸ ψεῦδος, ἀλλὰ μισεῖν,  
 τὴν δ' ἀλήθειαν στέργειν. Εἰκός γ', ἔφη. Οὐ μόνον γε, ὦ φίλε,  
 εἰκός, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσα ἀνάγκη τὸν ἐρωτικῶς του φύσει ἔχοντα πᾶν  
 τὸ ξυγγενές τε καὶ οἰκεῖον τῶν παιδικῶν ἀγαπᾶν. Ὅρθως, ἔφη.  
 20 Ἡ οὖν οἰκειότερον σοφίᾳ τι ἀληθείας ἂν εὔροις; Καὶ πῶς; ἦ δ'  
 ὅς. Ἡ οὖν δυνατὸν εἶναι τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν φιλοσοφόν τε καὶ  
<sup>1</sup> φιλοψευδῆ; Οὐδαμῶς γε. Τὸν ἄρα τῷ ὄντι φιλομαθῇ πάσης D  
 ἀληθείας δεῖ εὐθὺς ἐκ νέου ὅ τι μάλιστα ὀρέγεσθαι. Παντελῶς γε.  
 Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὅτῳ γε εἰς ἓν τι αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι σφόδρα ῥέπουσιν, ἴσμεν  
 25 πού ὅτι εἰς τᾶλλα τούτῳ ἀσθενέστεραι, ὥσπερ ῥεῦμα ἐκείσε  
 ἀπωχετευμένον. Τί μὴν; Ὡς δὴ πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα καὶ πᾶν  
 τὸ τοιοῦτον ἐρρυνήκασιν, περὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς, οἶμαι, ἡδονὴν αὐτῆς  
 καθ' αὐτὴν εἶεν ἄν, τὰς δὲ διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐκλείποινεν, εἰ μὴ  
 πεπλασμένως ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς φιλόσοφος<sup>1</sup> τις εἴη. Μεγάλη ἀνάγκη. E

τῶν εισιόντων, φαίνεται δὲ δι' ἐκείνα ἄλ-  
 λοτε ἀλλοῖον (*Tim.* 50 c): but of this  
 there is no hint here. Cf. Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1.  
 P. 725.

10 πάσης αὐτῆς: i.e. οὐσίας τῆς ἀεί-  
 οῦσης, not (as Ast) ἐπιστήμης or μαθή-  
 σεως.

11 οὔτε τιμιωτέρου κτλ. Cf. *Parm.*  
 130 C—E.

12 πρόσθεν. V 474 D—475 B.

485 C 15 τὴν ἀψεύδειαν κτλ. Cf.  
 III 389 B.

16 ἐκόντας εἶναι is 'voluntarily,' not  
 'if it can be helped' (D. and V.): cf.  
 I 336 E n.

ψεῦδος should be understood in its  
 strict Platonic sense, as 'ignorance in the  
 soul respecting the truth' (II 382 B n.).  
 The politician who knows not the Ideal  
 is, according to Plato, a liar, not the  
 statesman who employs for example  
 κληροὶ τινες κομποί to attain his Ideal.  
 There is absolutely no reason to suppose  
 (with Bosanquet) that Plato means to  
 withdraw from the regulations of V 460 A.

18 τὸν ἐρωτικῶς κτλ. Love me, love  
 my friend. The Philosopher loves Wis-  
 dom, and Truth is Wisdom's kinswoman  
 and familiar friend.

485 D 25 ὥσπερ ῥεῦμα κτλ. The  
 simile becomes almost an identification,  
 as often in Greek: the desires *are* as it  
 were a stream diverted *eis* ἓν τι. Cf. III  
 401 C (reading *τις*—ὥσπερ αὐρα), VII 519 A  
 τὰς τῆς γενέσεως ξυγγενεῖς ὥσπερ μολυβ-  
 δίδας and VII 534 D n. To explain ἀπω-  
 χετευμένον as for ἀπωχετευμέναι (with  
 Stallbaum and others) is to obtrude our  
 standpoint upon the Greeks. Schneider  
 formerly agreed with Stallbaum, but after-  
 wards drew back (*Addit.* p. 45) and trans-  
 lated "wie ein dorthin abgeleiteter Strom."

28 τὰς δέ. τὰς is probably an 'in-  
 ternal accusative' depending on ἐκλεί-  
 ποινεν, though rendered easier by the  
 occurrence of περὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν—εἶεν ἄν  
 just before. Schneider carries on περὶ,  
 but the preposition is difficult to supply  
 when the two clauses have different verbs.  
 Cf. IV 428 C n.

Σώφρων μὴν ὃ γε τοιοῦτος καὶ οὐδαμῇ φιλοχρήματος· ὦν γὰρ 30  
 ἔνεκα χρήματα μετὰ πολλῆς δαπάνης σπουδάζεται, ἄλλω τινὶ  
 μᾶλλον ἢ τούτῳ προσήκει σπουδάζειν. Οὕτω. Καὶ μὴν που καὶ  
 486 τόδε δεῖ σκοπεῖν, ὅταν κρίνουν | μέλλης φύσιν φιλοσοφόν τε καὶ μῆ.  
 Τὸ ποῖον; Μή σε λάθῃ μετέχουσα ἀνελευθερίας· ἐναντιώτατον  
 γάρ που σμικρολογία ψυχῇ μελλούσῃ τοῦ ὅλου καὶ παντὸς αἰεὶ  
 ἐπορέξεσθαι θείου τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνου. Ἀληθέστατα, ἔφη. Ἡ  
 οὖν ὑπάρχει διανοία μεγαλοπρέπεια καὶ θεωρία παντὸς μὲν χρόνου, 5  
 πάσης δὲ οὐσίας, οἷόν τε οἶει τούτῳ μέγα τι δοκεῖν εἶναι τὸν  
 B ἀνθρώπινον βίον; Ἀδύνατον, ἦ δ' ὅς. Οὐκοῦν<sup>1</sup> καὶ θάνατον  
 οὐ δεινόν τι ἡγήσεται ὁ τοιοῦτος; Ἦκιστα γε. Δειλῇ δὲ καὶ  
 ἀνελευθέρῳ φύσει φιλοσοφίας ἀληθινῆς, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ ἂν μετεῖη.  
 Οὐ μοι δοκεῖ. Τί οὖν; ὁ κόσμος καὶ μὴ φιλοχρήματος μὴδ' 10  
 ἀνελεύθερος μὴδ' ἀλαζών μὴδὲ δειλὸς ἔσθ' ὅπῃ ἂν δυσξύμβολος  
 ἢ ἄδικος γένοιτο; Οὐκ ἔστιν. Καὶ τοῦτο δὴ ψυχὴν σκοπῶν

485 E 30 Σώφρων κτλ. Cf. III 389 D—390 E.

ὦν γὰρ ἔνεκα: i.e. such bodily and other delights as money can buy.

31 χρήματα—δαπάνης: 'wealth with its accompaniment of lavish outlay.' μετὰ πολλῆς δαπάνης should not, I think, be taken with σπουδάζεται (Schneider, D. and V., J. and C., although Jowett's translation takes the correct view), but rather with χρήματα. Herwerden formerly explained δαπάνης as = τῆς τοῦ δαπανᾶν ἐπιθυμίας, but afterwards (*Mnem.* N. S. XIX p. 333) took it to mean "pecunia cuius ope sumptus fieret" comparing *inter alia* VIII 550 D and *Latw* 718 A. This view agrees closely with mine, but it is not necessary to suppose that δαπάνη means more than simply 'outlay.'

486 A 2 ἀνελευθερίας. ἀνελευθερία or σμικρολογία is in Plato the antithesis of ὑπερφανία: cf. II 391 C and *Critias* 112 C. The virtuous mean is μεγαλοπρέπεια, which is a sort of highmindedness (cf. 503 C): hence μεγαλοπρέπεια just below and μεγαλοπρεπῆς in the summary at 487 A. Plato does not, like Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* IV cc. 4—6), restrict μεγαλοπρέπεια and its opposing vices to pecuniary dealings, although φιλοχρηματία, for example, is a symptom of ἀνελευθερία (II 391 C).

3 τοῦ ὅλου καὶ παντός. Cf. *Theaet.* 173 E ff. This and the following sentence admirably describe the peculiar genius of

Plato himself. See the eloquent words of Longinus *περὶ ὕψους* 35, and compare them with Goethe's noble characterisation of Plato: "Er dringt in die Tiefen, mehr um sie mit seinem Wesen auszufüllen, als um sie zu erforschen. Er bewegt sich nach der Höhe, mit Sehnsucht seines Ursprungs wieder theilhaft zu werden. Alles, was er äussert, bezieht sich auf ein ewig Ganzes, Gutes, Wahres, Schönes, dessen Forderung er in jedem Busen aufzuregen strebt."

4 ἦ—διανοίᾳ. ᾧ—διανολας (the reading of *q* and some other MSS, followed by Ast and Stallbaum) is an obvious 'emendation,' to suit τούτῳ below. It is much less elegant, notwithstanding the irregularity involved in τούτῳ, for which Schneider compares *Gorg.* 523 B, a precise parallel, in spite of Stallbaum's assertion to the contrary. Cf. also X 606 B *u.* ἦ οὖν is moreover found in the quotation of this passage by Marcus Aurelius, according to the text of Vaticanus A: see Stich's edition p. 87 *u.*

6 μέγα τι δοκεῖν. Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* IV 7. 1123<sup>b</sup> 32 τίνος γὰρ ἔνεκα πράξει ἀσχαρά, ᾧ οὐθὲν μέγα (of the μεγαλόψυχος).

486 B 7 θάνατον κτλ. Cf. III 386 A ff.

11 ἀλαζών is a special case of φιλοψυχῆς (485 D). Cf. 489 E.

12 ἄδικος is used of course in the popular sense, not with the meaning assigned to it in Book IV.



φιλόσοφον καὶ μὴ εὐθύς νέου ὄντος ἐπισκέψῃ, εἰ ἄρα δικαία τε  
καὶ ἡμερος, ἣ δυσκοινώνητος καὶ ἀγρία. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Οὐ μὴν  
15 οὐδὲ τόδε παραλείψῃς, ὥς ἐγῴμαι. Τὸ ποῖον; Εὐμαθὴς ἢ C  
δυσμαθὴς. ἢ προσδοκᾷς ποτέ τινά τι ἱκανῶς ἂν στέρξαι, ὃ  
πράττων ἂν ἀλγῶν τε πράττοι καὶ μόγῃς σμικρὸν ἀνύτων; Οὐκ  
ἂν γένοιτο. Τί δ'; εἰ μηδὲν ὦν μάθοι σφῆξιν δύναιτο, λήθῃς ὦν  
πλέως, ἄρ' ἂν οἶός τ' εἴῃ ἐπιστήμης μὴ κενὸς εἶναι; Καὶ πῶς;  
20 Ἀνόνητα δὴ πονῶν οὐκ, οἶει, ἀναγκασθήσεται τελευτῶν αὐτόν τε  
μισεῖν καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην πράξιν; Πῶς δ' οὐ; Ἐπιλήσμονα ἄρα D  
ψυχὴν ἐν ταῖς ἱκανῶς φιλοσόφοις μὴ ποτε ἐγκρίνωμεν, ἀλλὰ  
μνημονικὴν αὐτὴν ζητῶμεν δεῖν εἶναι. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν. Ἄλλ'  
οὐ μὴν τό γε τῆς ἀμούσου τε καὶ ἀσχήμονος φύσεως ἄλλοσέ ποι  
25 ἂν φαίμεν ἔλκειν ἢ εἰς ἀμετρίαν. Τί μὴν; Ἀλήθειαν δὲ ἀμετρία  
ἡγεῖ ξυγγενὴ εἶναι ἢ ἐμμετρία; Ἐμμετρία. Ἐμμετρον ἄρα καὶ  
εὐχαριν ζητῶμεν πρὸς τοῖς ἄλλοις διάνοιαν φύσει, ἣν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ  
ὄντος ἰδέαν ἐκάστου τὸ ἰ αὐτοφυνὲς εὐάγωγον παρέξει. Πῶς δ' οὐ; E  
Τί οὖν; μὴ πῃ δοκοῦμέν σοι οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ἕκαστα διεληλυθέναι  
30 καὶ ἐπόμενα ἀλλήλοις τῇ μελλούσῃ τοῦ ὄντος ἱκανῶς τε καὶ τελέως

20. ἀνόνητα Π et γρ in mg. A<sup>2</sup>: ἀνόνητα A<sup>1</sup>.

14 ἡμερος—ἀγρία. Cf. II 375 B ff.

486 C 15 εὐμαθὴς κτλ. J. and C. wrongly supply εἰ ἄρα. πότερον is often omitted in such sentences: cf. *Phaedr.* 270 D and other examples in Ast's *Lexicon* s.v. πότερον.

486 D 23 αὐτὴν—εἶναι. The text is successfully defended by Vahlen (*Hermes* 1877 p. 196) who compares II 375 E οὐ παρὰ φύσιν ζητοῦμεν τοιοῦτον εἶναι τὸν φύλακα and (for the pleonasm) *Phaed.* 101 E ἱκανοὶ γὰρ—δύνασθαι αὐτοὶ αὐτοῖς ἀρέσκειν. Madvig's proposal (adopted by Baier) αὐτὴν ζητοῦμεν δεῖν εἶναι is neat but unnecessary; still less should we (with Herwerden) bracket δεῖν εἶναι. With the sentiment Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 363) compares Xen. *Mem.* IV 1. 2.

24 ἀσχήμονος. Herwerden should not have conjectured ἀμνήμονος. We are passing to a fresh point. ἀμυσία and ἀσχημοσύνη ('bad form') tend to ἀμετρία 'excess', 'extravagance' in behaviour (cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* IV 8. 1125<sup>a</sup> 12—16); and extravagant behaviour is a form of untruth, because it makes a man appear what he is not. The love of truth will therefore save the philosopher from self-

assertion and bad manners.

27 φύσει κτλ. The antecedent of ἣν is διάνοιαν; and φύσει ('by nature,' 'naturally') should be taken with the adjectives ἐμμετρον and εὐχαριν. It might seem possible to translate: 'Let us insist, then, on a modest and agreeable habit of mind for a nature whose innate disposition is to make it easy to lead to the Form of each essential Being,' making φύσει the antecedent to ἣν; but the ordinary view gives a better sense. The preceding note will explain how ἐμμετρία inclines one to the love of Truth or the Ideas. Stallbaum connects ἐκάστου with τὸ αὐτοφυνὲς, but cf. V 480 A ad fin. and 484 D (ἐκάστον τὸ ὄν). ἰδέαν is, I think, 'Form,' 'Idea' (so Schneider etc.), rather than 'contemplation' (as Stallbaum translates). The word however suggests ἰδεῖν; see on V 479 A.

486 E 30 ἐπόμενα ἀλλήλοις is fully justified. The love of Truth begets the love of Wisdom (485 C) and the love of Wisdom Temperance (485 D, E). High-mindedness is connected with the contemplation τοῦ ὅλου καὶ παντός (486 A), of which Courage is also a result (486 A, B).

- 487 ψυχῇ μεταλήψεσθαι; Ἀναγκαιότατα μὲν | οὖν, ἔφη. Ἔστιν οὖν ὅπῃ μέμψει τοιοῦτον ἐπιτήδευμα, ὃ μὴ ποτ' ἂν τις οἷός τε γένοιτο ἱκανῶς ἐπιτηδεύσαι, εἰ μὴ φύσει εἴη μνημόνων, εὐμαθής, μεγαλοπρεπής, εὐχαρις, φίλος τε καὶ ξυγγενῆς ἀληθείας, δικαιοσύνης, ἀνδρείας, σωφροσύνης; Οὐδ' ἂν ὁ Μῶμος, ἔφη, τό γε 5 τοιοῦτον μέμψαιτο. Ἀλλ', ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τελειωθείσι τοῖς τοιούτοις παιδείᾳ τε καὶ ἡλικίᾳ ἄρα οὐ μόνοις ἂν τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτρέποις;
- B III. Καὶ ὁ Ἀδείμαντος, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, πρὸς μὲν ἰ ταυτά σοι οὐδεὶς ἂν οἷός τ' εἴη ἀντειπεῖν· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τοιόνδε τι πάσχουσιν οἱ ἀκούοντες ἐκάστοτε ἂ νῦν λέγεις· ἡγοῦνται δι' ἀπειρίαν τοῦ 10 ἐρωτᾶν καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου παρ' ἑκαστον τὸ ἐρώτημα σμικρὸν παραγόμενοι, ἀθροισθέντων τῶν σμικρῶν ἐπὶ τελευτῆς τῶν λόγων μέγα τὸ σφάλμα καὶ ἐναντίον τοῖς πρώτοις ἀναφαίνεσθαι, καὶ ὥσπερ ὑπὸ τῶν πεττεύειν δεινῶν οἱ μὴ τελευτῶντες
- C ἰ ἀποκλείονται καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ὅ τι φέρωσιν, οὕτω καὶ σφεῖς 15 τελευτῶντες ἀποκλείεσθαι καὶ οὐκ ἔχουν ὅ τι λέγωσιν ὑπὸ πεττείας
12. παραγόμενοι Π et in mg. A<sup>2</sup>: παραγενόμενοι A<sup>1</sup>. 13. μέγα Π: μετὰ Α.

Justice and Kindness accompany the other moral virtues (486 B). Aptness to learn, memory, and the virtue of a modest and agreeable disposition also fit one for the study of the Ideas: cf. 486 D n. It will be noticed that all the Virtues receive an intellectual colouring from their connexion—direct or indirect—with ‘amor intellectualis’: see above on 485 A ff.

487 A 3 μνημόνων κτλ. The summary is complete, μεγαλοπρεπής being the opposite of ἀνελεύθερος and σμικρόλογος (486 A n.).

487 A—487 E But, in point of fact, urges Adimantus, actual philosophers are regarded as useless, or worse. Socrates admits the correctness of this view, and proceeds to solve the difficulty by a parable.

487 B 10 οἱ ἀκούοντες—λέγεις: ‘those who from time to time hear what you now say.’ The text has been suspected, but is, I think, sound. Adimantus implies that the philosopher-king was one of Socrates’ favourite themes, as—in one form or another—it certainly was: see on V 473 C. The effect produced by Socrates’ usual way of reasoning on the subject is illustrated by a general description of the unsatisfying nature of Socrates’ dialectic; and λέγω δ’ εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἀποβλέψας recalls us to the special case. The

looseness lies chiefly in the use of ἄ, where οἷα—Steinhart’s conjecture—would be expected; but ἄ need not be taken too strictly. Ficinus omits νῦν.

ἡγοῦνται κτλ. Cf. *Euthyphr.* I I B—D, *Men.* 80 A, B and the description of the elenchus quoted by J. and C. from *Soph.* 230 B ff.

13 μέγα—ἀναφαίνεσθαι. For the anacoluthon cf. *Ap.* 21 C καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ, ἔδοξε μοι, *Laws* 686 D and *Xen. An.* III 2. 12. In all these cases the verb used is ἔδοξε, and ἀναφαίνεσθαι is a word of the same kind. Other examples of similar anacolutha are cited by Engelhardt *Anacol. Pl. Spec.* III p. 39. Richards would read παραγομένοις, but παραγομένοις could hardly mean παραγομένοις εαυτοῖς.

487 C 15 ἀποκλείονται κτλ. The simile is probably taken from the game of πῶλεις, on which see IV 422 E n. φέρωσιν is technical of a move at draughts: cf. *Laws* 739 A. The balance φέρωσιν—λέγωσιν deserves notice: in both words, stress should be laid on the first syllable. Cf. III 406 B n. and *Phaed.* 83 D with Geddes ad loc. ἐν is used as in *Euthyphr.* I I C τὰ ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἔργα ἀποδιδράσκει καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλει μέναι.



αὐ ταύτης τινὸς ἐτέρας, οὐκ ἐν ψήφοις, ἀλλ' ἐν λόγοις· ἐπεὶ τό γε ἀληθὲς οὐδέν τι μᾶλλον ταύτῃ ἔχειν. λέγω δ' εἰς τὸ παρὸν ἀποβλέψας. νῦν γὰρ φαίη ἂν τίς σοι λόγῳ μὲν οὐκ ἔχειν καθ' 20 ἑκάστων τὸ ἐρωτώμενον ἐναντιοῦσθαι, ἔργῳ δὲ ὄρᾳν, ὅσοι ἂν ἐπὶ φιλοσοφίαν ὀρμήσαντες μὴ τοῦ πεπαιδευθῆναι ἕνεκα ἀφάμενοι D νέοι ὄντες ἀπαλλάττωνται, ἀλλὰ μακρότερον ἐνδιατρίψωσιν, τοὺς μὲν πλείστους καὶ πάνυ ἄλλοκότους γιγνομένους, ἵνα μὴ παμπονή- ρους εἴπωμεν, τοὺς δ' ἐπιεικεστάτους δοκοῦντας ὅμως τοῦτό γε ὑπὸ 25 τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος, οὗ σὺ ἐπαινεῖς, πᾶσχοντας, ἀχρήστους ταῖς πόλεσι γιγνομένους. καὶ ἐγὼ ἀκούσας, Οἷε οὖν, εἶπον, τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας ψεύδεσθαι; Οὐκ οἶδα, ἦ δ' ὅς· ἀλλὰ τὸ σοι δοκοῦν ἡδέως ἂν ἀκούοιμι. Ἄκούοις ἂν, ὅτι ἔμοιγε φαίνονται τὰ ληθῆ E λέγειν. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, εὖ ἔχει λέγειν, ὅτι οὐ πρότερον κακῶν 30 παύσονται αἱ πόλεις, πρὶν ἂν ἐν αὐταῖς οἱ φιλόσοφοι ἄρξωσιν, οὓς ἀχρήστους ὁμολογοῦμεν αὐταῖς εἶναι; Ἐρωτᾶς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐρώτημα δεόμενον ἀποκρίσεως δι' εἰκόνας λεγομένης. Σὺ δέ γε, ἔφη, οἶμαι, οὐκ εἴωθας δι' εἰκόνων λέγειν.

IV. Εἶεν, εἶπον· σκώπτεις ἐμβεβληκῶς με εἰς λόγον οὗτω 35 δυσασπόδεικτον; ἄκουε δ' οὖν τῆς εἰκόνας, ἵν' | ἔτι μᾶλλον ἴδῃς, 488

18. ταύτη Π: ταύτην Α.

18 ταύτη = 'isto modo,' 'as you say.' The simile is imitated by the author of the *Eryxias* (395 B).

20 ἔργῳ δὲ ὄρᾳν κτλ. expresses a widely prevalent view in ancient as well as in modern times. It is enunciated with admirable force and vigour by the Platonic Callicles in *Gorg.* 484 C—486 C: cf. also *Theaet.* 173 C ff. and *Phaed.* 64 B. Although Isocrates called himself a φιλόσοφος, he was in general agreement with the popular verdict on Philosophy in the Platonic sense of the term (τὴν τε γεωμετρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν καὶ τοὺς διαλόγους τοὺς ἐριστικούς καλοῦμένους, as he calls it *Panath.* 26): see *adv. Soph.* 1—8, 20, *Antid.* 258—260 (διατρίψαι μὲν οὖν περὶ τὰς παιδείας ταύτας χρόνον τινα συμβουλευσάμ' ἂν τοῖς νεωτέροις, μὴ μέντοι περιδεῖν τὴν φύσιν τὴν αὐτῶν κατασκελετευθεῖσαν ἐπὶ τούτοις κτλ. 268) and *Panath.* 26—32 (Spengel *Isokr.* u. Plato pp. 15 ff., Dümmler *Chron. Beitr.* pp. 43 ff. and Teichmüller *Lit. Fehd.* I p. 103. Teichmüller supposes that τὴν in νῦν γὰρ φαίη ἂν τις κτλ. above is a specific reference to

Isocrates, but this is very improbable). The well-known sentiment of Ennius' Neoptolemus "philosophari est mihi necesse, at paucis; nam omnino haut placet. Degustandum ex ea, non in eam ingurgitandum censeo" (ap. Gell. *Noct. Att.* v 15. 9, 16. 5: cf. Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* II I. 1 ff. al.) is probably translated from Euripides, but it admirably expresses the ordinary Roman view. See also on v 473 C, D. 487 D 23 ἄλλοκότους. They have, as we should say, 'a twist.'

487 E 32 σὺ δέ γε is of course ironical, as σκώπτεις shews. Müller in his translation (p. 53) strangely misses this point.

487 E—489 C Imagine a ship, in which the sailors struggle with one another to gain possession of the helm, although they have never learnt the art of steering, and actually deny that steering can be taught at all. They overpower the master of the vessel by opiates or strong drink, and sail merrily away to shipwreck. It never occurs to them that in order to steer a ship, it is necessary to learn how. The true pilot is to them a star-gazer, an idle

ὥς γλίσχρως εἰκάζω. οὕτω γὰρ χαλεπὸν τὸ πάθος τῶν ἐπιει-  
 κεστάτων, ὃ πρὸς τὰς πόλεις πεπόνθασιν, ὥστε οὐδ' ἔστιν ἐν οὐδὲν  
 ἄλλο τοιοῦτον πεπονθός, ἀλλὰ δεῖ ἐκ πολλῶν αὐτὸ ξυναγαγεῖν  
 εἰκάζοντα καὶ ἀπολογούμενον ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, οἷον οἱ γραφεῖς τραγελά- 5  
 φους καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα μιγνύντες γράφουσιν. νόησον γὰρ τοιουτοῦ  
 γενόμενον εἴτε πολλῶν νεῶν πέρι εἴτε μιᾶς· ναύκληρον μεγέθει  
 B μὲν καὶ ῥώμῃ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἐν τῇ νηὶ πάντας, <sup>1</sup> ὑπόκωφον δὲ καὶ  
 ὀρώντα ὡσαύτως βραχὺ τι καὶ γινώσκοντα περὶ ναυτικῶν ἕτερα  
 τοιαῦτα, τοὺς δὲ ναύτας στασιάζοντας πρὸς ἀλλήλους περὶ τῆς 10  
 κυβερνήσεως, ἕκαστον οἰόμενον δεῖν κυβερνᾶν, μήτε μαθόντα  
 πώποτε τὴν τέχνην μήτε ἔχοντα ἀποδεῖξαι διδάσκαλον ἑαυτοῦ  
 μηδὲ χρόνον ἐν ᾧ ἐμάνθανεν, πρὸς δὲ τοῦτοις φάσκοντας μηδὲ

2. τὸ II: om. A: γρ τὸ πλῆθος in mg. A<sup>2</sup>.

*babbler, altogether useless. Our simile explains itself. What wonder that the philosopher is useless in a city? But the fault lies with those who make no use of him. It is not his part to sue for employment: those who need his services ought to appeal to him.*

488 A 2 ὥς γλίσχρως εἰκάζω: 'how greedy I am of parables' (lit. 'how greedily I make parables'), not (as J. and C.) 'what a poor hand I am' at similes, an interpretation which deprives *ἔτι μάλλον* of all its force. *γλίσχρος* (connected with *γλία* 'glue' and *γλίχμαι*) is used as in Ar. *Ach.* 452 *γλίσχρος προσαιτῶν λιπαρῶν τε*. 'Niggardly,' 'stingy' is a secondary meaning, as for example in VIII 553 C and *Crat.* 414 C. The idea is that a man must be greedy of similes when he runs all over the world to find one (ἐκ πολλῶν *ξυναγαγεῖν*). αὐτό should be taken with *εἰκάζοντα*, by an easy hyperbaton.

5 *τραγελάφους* and similar fantastic creations were of frequent occurrence in Oriental art. The word is fully illustrated by Blaydes on Ar. *Frogs* 937.

6 *μιγνύντες* should be taken with *γράφουσι*: 'as painters paint goat-stags and the like by fusing creatures together.'

τοιουτοῦ κτλ. There is no occasion to read *τοιούτων τι*: see III 388 D n. For *γενόμενον* Richards would write *γινόμενον*, because of *ὀρώντα* etc. in B ff. and *γινόμενων* in 488 E. But Plato rightly asks us to *conceive* of the completed scene, although the scene itself must of course be described by present participles.

7 *ναύκληρον κτλ.* The *ναύκληρος* is the *Demos*, as Aristotle observed (*Rhet.* III 4. 1406<sup>b</sup> 35): cf. also Olympiodorus *Proleg.* 27 ed. Hermann. Cope on Arist. l.c. erroneously asserts that the *ναύκληρος* is the 'governor or governors of the unruly mob of citizens'; and Windelband's identification of the *ναύκληρος* with the younger Dionysius is a strange freak of fancy: see Hirmer *Entsteh. u. Kompr.* etc. p. 620. As the *ναύκληρος* owned his own ship (II 371 B n.), it is right that the *Demos* should be *ναύκληρος* in a democracy. For the frequent comparison of the State to a ship in Greek literature see Smyth's *Gk. Melic Poets* p. 215. With *ὑπόκωφος* cf. Ar. *Knights* 42, 43 *Δῆμος πυκνίτης, δύσκολον γερόντιον ὑπόκωφον* and Blaydes ad loc. Plato's picture of the *Δῆμος* is not unamiable: cf. 499 E ff. Though unwieldy, sluggish, and dull-witted (cf. *Ap.* 30 E ὑπὸ μεγέθους δὲ *νωθεστέρω* καὶ *δεομένω ἐγείρεσθαι* ὑπὸ *μυωπῆς τινος*), he is placid, and not deliberately vicious. It is the *δημαγωγοί* (in the widest sense of the term, including demagogues, sophists etc.), and not the *δῆμος* who are here attacked. With *μεγέθει καὶ ῥώμῃ* cf. *μεγάλου καὶ λοχυροῦ* 493 A.

488 B 11 *μήτε μαθόντα—ἐμάνθανεν*. See V 473 C n. and Xen. *Mem.* IV 2. 4—7. Politics, according to both Socrates and Plato, is a science: see especially *Mem.* III 9. 11. The heaviest count in their indictment of Athenian democracy was its practical denial of this fact.

13 *φάσκοντας κτλ.* The thesis that

διδασκὸν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν λέγοντα ὡς διδασκὸν ἐτοίμους <sup>1</sup> κατα- C  
 15 τέμνειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ αὐτῷ αἰεὶ τῷ ναυκλήρῳ περιεχεῖσθαι δεομένους  
 καὶ πάντα ποιοῦντας, ὅπως ἂν σφίσι τὸ πηδάλιον ἐπιτρέψῃ, ἐνίστε  
 δ' ἂν μὴ πείθωσιν, ἀλλὰ ἄλλοι μᾶλλον, τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἢ ἀπο-  
 κτεινύντας ἢ ἐκβάλλοντας ἐκ τῆς νεῶς, τὸν δὲ γενναῖον ναύκληρον  
 20 χρωμένους τοῖς ἐνοῦσι, καὶ πίνοντάς τε καὶ εὐωχομένους πλεῖν  
 ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς τοὺς τοιοῦτους, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἐπαινοῦντας, ναυτικὸν  
 μὲν καλοῦντας <sup>1</sup> καὶ κυβερνητικὸν καὶ ἐπιστάμενον τὰ κατὰ ναὺν D

'Politics cannot be taught' was (in Plato's view) the theoretical basis of Athenian political life: see *Prot.* 319 A—320 D. We are here invited to suppose that it was actually maintained in so many words by sophists, demagogues, and others. Something of the sort is asserted by Isocrates *adv. Soph.* 14, 21; but it is unlikely that Plato is alluding to Isocrates in particular, as Teichmüller supposes (*Lit. Fehd.* 1 p. 104).

14 τὸν λέγοντα κτλ. as Socrates and Plato constantly did. ἐτοίμους κατατέμνειν admirably expresses the vindictive fury of the insulted demagogues, but should not be taken as an allusion to Socrates' fate. Plato felt his master's death too deeply to exaggerate on such a subject. See VII 517 A n.

488 C 15 αὐτῷ is ejected by Herwerden "quod omni viciaret." Bywater (*J. Ph.* x p. 73) proposes αὐ. The translators for the most part ignore the word, except Schneider, who translates 'him, the master of the ship.' Perhaps αὐτῷ is 'by himself,' *ipse* in the sense of *soli*, as in αὐτοὶ γὰρ ἔσμεν, and we should translate 'while they themselves constantly swarm around the solitary master of the ship.' Failing this explanation we must follow Schneider; unless we venture to take αὐτῷ in the sense of 'the Master' (cf. I 327 B n.) and regard τῷ ναυκλήρῳ as an explanatory gloss. On the whole I am inclined to think that Schneider is right.

περικεχεῖσθαι: an anacoluthon, like ἀρχεῖν and πλεῖν below: we should expect περιεχεμένους. For a parallel see *Laus* 686 A. Here, doubtless, the change of construction is in order to avoid too many participles.

17 ἀποκτεινύντας. On the orthography of this word see *Intro.* § 5. ἀποκτει-

νύντας (*sic*) in v and Vind. F may also be a trace of the spelling with ει. The reference in ἀποκτεινύντας ἢ ἐκβάλλοντας is of course to the slaying or banishment of rival candidates for office: cf. *Gorg.* 466 B.

19 μανδραγόρα κτλ. False rulers dull the senses of the Demos by the opiate of Pleasure, and so escape detection. With μανδραγόρα cf. [Dem.] *Phil.* 4. 6 ἀλλὰ μανδραγόραν πεπωκόσιν ἢ τι φάρμακον ἄλλο τοιοῦτον εἰσκαμεν ἀνθρώποις.

20 πίνοντάς τε κτλ. They are the ἐστιάτορας εὐδαίμονας of IV 421 B, where see note. For ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς Cobet writes ὡς εἰκὸς, and so also Herwerden, who suggests as an alternative that we should bracket τοὺς τοιοῦτους. The expression ὡς εἰκὸς would refer to πίνοντάς τε καὶ εὐωχομένους ("and pass their time at sea in drinking and feasting, as you might expect with such a crew" D. and V.); but with ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς (sc. πλεῖν) the meaning is "make just such a voyage as might be expected of men like them" (J. and C. with Schneider, comparing *Pol.* 302 A and *Laus* 906 D), i.e. make shipwreck.

21 ἐπαινοῦντας is omitted by Cobet, but (as Richards points out) ψέγοντας supports it. Richards would transpose and read μὲν ναυτικόν. But ναυτικόν μὲν καλοῦντας etc. is only an explanatory reduplication of ἐπαινοῦντας: hence μὲν is placed where it would have been if ἐπαινοῦντας had been omitted. In any other position it would have failed to mark the antithesis between ναυτικόν (with its companion epithets) and ἀχρηστον. For the rhetorical asyndeton cf. II 362 B n. An alternative (less good) is to take ἐπαινοῦντας as logically subordinate to καλοῦντας ('in awarding praise they call' etc.).



ὅς ἂν ξυλλαμβάνειν δεινὸς ᾗ, ὅπως ἄρξουσιν ἢ πείθοντες ἢ βιαζόμενοι τὸν ναύκληρον, τὸν δὲ μὴ τοιοῦτον ψέγοντας ὡς ἄχρηστον, τοῦ δὲ ἀληθινοῦ κυβερνήτου πέρι μὴδ' ἐπαίοντες, ὅτι ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ 25 τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ποιεῖσθαι ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ ὥρων καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἀστρων καὶ πνευμάτων καὶ πάντων τῶν τῇ τέχῃ προσηκόντων, εἰ μέλλει τῷ ὄντι νεὼς ἀρχικὸς ἔσεσθαι, ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει, εἰ

23 ὅς ἂν ξυλλαμβάνειν κτλ. Jackson suggests that Isocrates is intended (*Proceedings of the Camb. Phil. Soc.* xi 1882, p. 13). Possibly: but for my own part I do not think the description is sufficiently apposite to justify the identification.

488 D 25 ἐπαίοντες. I should adopt the accusative with Stallbaum and others were it not for ολόμενοι. Schneider is fully justified in saying "si Plato ἐπαίοντες scripserat et ολόμενοι, fieri vix poterat, quin prius vitiosum quibusdam et in accusativum mutandum videretur: alterum ipsa distantia tutum erat." This is precisely what has happened, for while *q* (with some other MSS, but not II or E) has ἐπαίοντας, all the MSS, without exception, have ολόμενοι. The anacoluthon is not harsher than other instances in which the best MSS have the nominative of the participle instead of the accusative, e.g. *Phaedr.* 241 D, *Soph.* 219 E, *Laws* 885 D, *Phaed.* 81 A. See also Classen on *Thuc.* II 53. 4, where many parallel instances are quoted from Thucydides. A long and unperiodic sentence like the present is peculiarly liable to anacolutha: and one has occurred already in 488 C. For these reasons I now agree with Schneider and others that the text is sound. The nominatives πείθοντες and βιαζόμενοι may have suggested the change to Plato: "ψέγοντας propter ἐπαινούστας tenuit, mox velut impatiens tenoris diu servati paullisper de via deflexit" (Schneider). Similar ungrammatical anacolutha are found occasionally also in Inscriptions, when the sentence runs to a considerable length: see Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> pp. 203, 205.

28 ὅπως δὲ... κυβερνητικήν. The sailors, Plato has already told us, have not the smallest idea that the true pilot must study the year and the seasons etc., if he is to be truly qualified to rule a ship (that is to say, from Plato's point of view, if he is to know how to steer), but as for how he shall steer—let people wish him to or no—of that they think it impossible

to acquire either art or study and therefore with (lit. 'at-once-and') the art of steersmanship. We may translate the sentence thus: 'but art or system of how to steer, let alone whether people wish him to steer or no—that they think it impossible to acquire, and therewithal the art of steering.' The true pilot, according to Plato, is one who knows how to steer. Whether others wish him to steer or no, is wholly irrelevant; see *Pol.* 293 A ff., where this principle is declared to be of universal application, and illustrated as follows from the case of doctors: *ιατροὺς δὲ οὐχ ἥκιστα νενομίσκαμεν, εἴαν τε ἐκόντας εἴαν τε ἄκοντας ἡμᾶς ἰῶνται—πάντως οὐδὲν ἤττον ἱατροὺς φάμεν, ἕως περ ἂν ἐπιστατοῦντες τέχνην—σφῆξουσιν οἱ θεραπεύοντες ἕκαστοι τὰ θεραπεύμενα.* Cf. *ibid.* C ἀναγκαῖον δὴ καὶ πολιτειῶν—ταύτην ὁρθὴν διαφερόντως εἶναι καὶ μόνην πολιτείαν, ἐν ᾗ τις ἂν εὐρίσκοι τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἀληθῶς ἐπιστήμονας καὶ οὐ δοκοῦντας μόνον, εἴαν τε κατὰ νόμους εἴαν τε ἄνευ νόμων ἀρχοῖσι, καὶ ἐκόντων καὶ ἄκόντων κτλ. The expressions εἴαν τε ἐκόντας εἴαν τε ἄκοντας, and καὶ ἐκόντων καὶ ἄκόντων in these two passages, the general drift of which is the same as Plato's argument throughout this part of the *Republic*, exactly correspond to εἴαν τε τινες βούλονται εἴαν τε μὴ, and enable us to interpret that clause, as Schneider has already pointed out. Cf. also 296 E—297 B. Plato, indeed, is ready to go farther still, and would maintain that he who knows how to steer is a true pilot, even although he does not touch the helm (cf. *ibid.* 292 E). If others wish for his services, it is their business to apply to him, not his to sue for the opportunity of doing them a service (*infra* 489 B, C). A like principle holds good in the government of cities, and the Platonic Socrates, though abstaining from political life, may fairly claim ἐπιχειρεῖν τῇ ὡς ἀληθῶς πολιτικῇ τέχνῃ καὶ πράττειν τὰ πολιτικά μόνος τῶν νῦν (*Gorg.* 521 D). The foolish sailors, on the other hand, desire only to get the

τέ τινες <sup>1</sup> βούλονται ἐάν τε μή, μήτε τέχνην τούτου μήτε μελέτην **E**  
 30 οἰόμενοι δυνατὸν εἶναι λαβεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβερνητικήν. τοιούτων  
 δὴ περὶ τὰς ναῦς γιγνομένων τὸν ὡς ἀληθῶς κυβερνητικὸν οὐχ  
 ἡγεῖ ἂν τῷ ὄντι μετεωροσκόπον τε καὶ ἀδολέσχην καὶ ἄχρηστὸν  
 σφισι καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν ταῖς οὕτω κατεσκευασμέναις ναυσὶ **489**  
 πλωτήρων; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη ὁ Ἀδείμαντος. Οὐ δὴ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,  
 οἶμαι δεῖσθαι σε ἐξεταζομένην τὴν εἰκόνα ἰδεῖν, ὅτι ταῖς πόλεσι  
 5 πρὸς τοὺς ἀληθινούς φιλοσόφους τὴν διάθεσιν ἔοικεν, ἀλλὰ μανθιά-  
 νειν ὁ λέγω. Καὶ μάλ', ἔφη. Πρῶτον μὲν τοῖνυν ἐκείνου τὸν  
 θαυμάζοντα, ὅτι οἱ φιλόσοφοι οὐ τιμῶνται ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι, δίδασκέ  
 τε τὴν εἰκόνα καὶ πειρῶ πείθειν, ὅτι πολὺ ἂν θαυμαστότερον ἦν,  
 εἰ <sup>1</sup> ἐτιμῶντο. Ἀλλὰ διδάξω, ἔφη. Καὶ ὅτι τοῖνυν τάληθ' ἡ λέγεις, **B**

helm into their hands (488 C): how to handle it, they know not, and deny that it is possible to learn (μήτε τέχνην—λαβεῖν). What of ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβερνητικήν? These words should be taken closely with what goes before. The literal translation is (to acquire) 'at once and the art of steering': cf. *Phil.* 22 D ὁ βίος οὗτος γέγονεν αἰρετὸς ἅμα καὶ ἀγαθός 'this life is at once choiceworthy and good.' Now 'to acquire at once the art of how to steer (ὅπως κυβερνήσει, τοῦτον τέχνην) and the art of steering' is merely a way of saying 'to acquire the art of how to steer and therewith the art of steering.' He who learns the art and study of how to steer necessarily learns therewith the art of steering ('quarum qui compos factus sit, simul gubernatoriam artem teneat' Schneider): for κυβερνητική is, according to Plato, simply and solely the art of *how* to steer. τὴν κυβερνητικήν, in short, is nothing but the τέχνη and μελέτη τούτου ὅπως κυβερνήσει, expressed from Plato's point of view. Thus in denying that it is possible to learn either τέχνη or μελέτη of *how* to steer, the sailors are in effect emphatically denying that it is possible to learn κυβερνητική in Plato's sense of the word at all: cf. 488 B φάσκοντες μὴδὲ διδακτὸν εἶναι. So much for the meaning of this passage as a whole. In regard to details, it should be noted that ὅπως means 'how': 'ὅπως ad τούτου spectans modum et rationem potius quam finem significat' (after Schneider). With Schneider also I understand κυβερνήσει as 'shall steer' and not 'shall get possession of the helm.' μελέτη is 'study' (in the more concrete

sense of the word), rather than actual exercise or practice: cf. III 402 B ἔστι τῆς αὐτῆς τέχνης τε καὶ μελέτης. With τέχνην λαβεῖν cf. *Pol.* 300 E.

The above explanation agrees in the main with that of Schneider, and is in my opinion what Plato meant to say. For other views see App. I.

30 οἰόμενοι. οἰόμενους is read by Stallbaum and others, but see note on line 25.

**488 E** 32 μετεωροσκόπον κτλ. A frequent taunt: cf. e.g. *Pol.* 299 B μετεωρολόγον, ἀδολέσχην τινὰ σοφιστήν, *Phaedr.* 270 A, *Parm.* 135 D, *Ap.* 18 B, *Isocrates adu. Soph.* 8, *Antid.* 262, and *Ar. Clouds* 228, 1480 with Blaydes' note. The implication is that ὁ μετεωροσκόπος is blind to τὰ ἐν ποσίν: cf. *Theaet.* 174 A. Cobet revives Porson's conjecture μετεωροκόπον (after μετεωροκοπεῖς in *Ar. Peace* 92), but the text is perfectly good: cf. μετεωρολέσχας in 489 C.

**489 A** 3 ἐξεταζομένην: 'cross-examined.'

**489 B** 8 καὶ ὅτι—λέγεις. 'And also that what you say is true' etc. Socrates identifies Adimantus with his hypothetical objector in 487 D; cf. *σε λέγειν* in D below. Another possibility—less good, I think—is to take ὅτι as introducing a direct address: "and say to him also 'You speak truly, when you say'" etc. λέγειν is found in a few inferior MSS; and λέγει, which Stallbaum and Baiter adopt, occurs in *Par. D*. λέγειν is indefensible, and the corruption of λέγειν or λέγει to λέγεις is exceedingly improbable here. On τοῖνυν = 'also' see I 339 D n.

ὡς ἄχρηστοι τοῖς πολλοῖς οἱ ἐπιεικέστατοι τῶν ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ· τῆς  
 μέντοι ἀχρηστίας τοὺς μὴ χρωμένους κέλευε αἰτιᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ <sup>10</sup>  
 τοὺς ἐπιεικεῖς. οὐ γὰρ ἔχει φύσιν κυβερνήτην ναυτῶν δεῖσθαι  
 ἄρχεσθαι ὑφ' αὐτοῦ, οὐδὲ τοὺς σοφοὺς ἐπὶ τὰς τῶν πλουσίων  
 θύρας ἰέναι, ἀλλ' ὁ τοῦτο κομψευσάμενος ἐψεύσατο, τὸ δὲ ἀληθές  
 πέφυκεν, ἐάν τε πλούσιος ἐάν τε πένης κάμνη, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι ἐπὶ  
 C ἱατρῶν θύρας ἰέναι καὶ πάντα τὸν ἄρχεσθαι δεόμενον ἐπὶ τὰς τοῦ <sup>15</sup>  
 ἄρχειν δυναμένου, οὐ τὸν ἄρχοντα δεῖσθαι τῶν ἀρχομένων ἄρχεσθαι,  
 οὐ ἂν τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τι ὄφελος ᾖ. ἀλλὰ τοὺς νῦν πολιτικούς ἄρχοντας  
 ἀπεικάζων οἷς ἄρτι ἐλέγομεν ναῦταις οὐχ ἁμαρτήσῃ, καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ  
 τούτων ἀχρήστους λεγομένους καὶ μετεωρολόσχας τοῖς ὡς ἀληθῶς  
 κυβερνήταις. Ὅρθότατα, ἔφη. Ἐκ τε τοίνυν τούτων καὶ ἐν <sup>20</sup>  
 τούτοις οὐ ῥάδιον εὐδοκιμεῖν τὸ βέλτιστον ἐπιτήδευμα ὑπὸ τῶν  
 D τάναντία ἐπιτηδεύοντων· πολὺ δὲ μεγίστη καὶ ἰσχυροτάτη δια-  
 βολὴ γίγνεται φιλοσοφία διὰ τοὺς τὰ τοιαῦτα φάσκοντας ἐπιτη-  
 δεύειν, οὓς δὴ σὺ φῆς τὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ λέγειν ὡς

<sup>10</sup> τοὺς μὴ χρωμένους. Those who will not *use* them are to blame for their *uselessness*. The etymological figure is of course intentional.

<sup>11</sup> οὐ γὰρ ἔχει φύσιν κτλ. See 488 D n.

<sup>12</sup> τοὺς σοφοὺς κτλ. "The learned pate Ducks to the golden fool" (*Timon of Athens* IV 3). See also VIII 568 A n. The author of the saying was, according to Aristotle (*Rhet.* II 16. 1391<sup>a</sup> 8 ff.), Simonides. Being asked on one occasion by Hiero's queen whether it was better to be a man of genius (*σοφός*) or rich, he replied "Rich; for men of genius are found at the court of the rich"—a characteristic reply, by which the courtliest of ancient poets contrived to flatter the queen without forgetting himself. (It should be remembered that *σοφός* often means 'poet'.) There is no reason for supposing (with e.g. Teichmüller *Lit. Fehd.* I p. 102) that Plato attributed the saying to Aristippus, although a witticism on the subject is ascribed both to him (D. L. II 8. 69) and to Antisthenes (Winckelmann *Antisth. Frag.* p. 58). Plato liked to get his knife into Simonides: see I 331 E ff.

<sup>13</sup> C 16 δεῖσθαι is governed by the idea of obligation carried on from ἀναγκαῖον. The alternative suggested by J.

and C., that the infinitive depends on πέφυκεν, is impossible.

<sup>20</sup> ἐν τούτοις. *τούτοις* is neuter, like τούτων: otherwise ὑπὸ—ἐπιτηδεύοντων is hardly necessary. The balance of clauses—"in consequence of these circumstances, and amid these circumstances"—is also in favour of this—Schneider's—view.

<sup>489 C—491 A</sup> So much for the 'uselessness' of the philosopher. But the most serious prejudice from which Philosophy suffers is owing to those who pretend to be philosophers when they are not. It is they who are meant, when people assert that the majority of philosophers are depraved. Let us endeavour to shew that Philosophy is not responsible for the corruption of the philosophic nature. The true philosopher, in spite of popular misconceptions, is, as we have seen, naturally a lover of Truth, and therefore possesses all the virtues of character already named. We have to enquire (1) how this disposition becomes in many cases depraved and (2) what is the character of the false philosophers who are responsible for the prejudice against Philosophy.

<sup>489 D 24</sup> οὓς δὴ—λέγειν: 'of whom it is that you say the accuser of philosophy declares that,' etc. For τὸν ἐγκαλοῦντα see 487 C n.



25 παμπόνηροι οἱ πλείστοι τῶν ἰόντων ἐπ' αὐτήν, οἱ δὲ ἐπιεικέστατοι ἄχρηστοι, καὶ ἐγὼ συνεχώρησα ἀληθῆ σε λέγειν. ἦ γάρ; Ναί.

V. Οὐκοῦν τῆς μὲν τῶν ἐπιεικῶν ἀχρηστίας τὴν αἰτίαν διεληλύθαμεν; Καὶ μάλα. Τῆς δὲ τῶν πολλῶν πονηρίας τὴν ἀνάγκην βούλει τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο διέλθωμεν, καὶ ὅτι οὐδὲ τούτου φιλοσοφία  
30 αἰτία, ἂν δυνώμεθα, πειραθώμεν δεῖξαι; Πάννυ μὲν οὖν. Ἀκούω-Ε  
μεν δὴ καὶ λέγωμεν ἐκείθεν ἀναμνησθέντες, ὅθεν διῆμεν τὴν φύσιν, οἶον ἀνάγκη φῦναι τὸν καλὸν τε κάγαθον ἐσόμενον. | ἡγείτο δ' 490  
αὐτῷ, εἰ νῶ ἔχεις, πρῶτον μὲν ἀλήθεια, ἣν διώκειν αὐτὸν πάντως καὶ πάντῃ ἔδει, ἣ ἀλαζόνι ὄντι μηδαμῇ μετεῖναι φιλοσοφίας ἀληθινῆς. Ἦν γὰρ οὕτω λεγόμενον. Οὐκοῦν ἐν μὲν τοῦτο σφόδρα  
5 οὕτω παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς νῦν δοκουμένοις περὶ αὐτοῦ; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν δὴ οὐ μετρίως ἀπολογησόμεθα, ὅτι πρὸς τὸ ὄν

25 ἰόντων ἐπὶ almost='woo her': cf. 495 C ff., *Symp.* 210 A. *πλησιάζω* is similarly used in 490 B.

28 τὴν ἀνάγκην should be taken strictly. There is no possibility of escape: the majority must inevitably succumb. Cf. 492 E n.

489 E 31 ἐκείθεν—ὅθεν. As ἀναμνησκομαι takes the genitive of a noun, so it can be followed by a genitival—originally ablatival—adverb. ὅθεν is attracted for οὐ: cf. *Soph. Tr.* 701 and other examples in Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 915.

32 καλὸν τε κάγαθον. The fashionable Greek phrase *καλὸς κάγαθος* for an *ἐλευθέριος*, or gentleman, was continually used by Socrates and his followers to express their ideal of what a man should be. An excellent discussion of the Socratic connotation of the word will be found in Döring *Die Lehre des Sokrates* pp. 398—415: for its usual implications reference may be made to Schmidt *Ethik d. alten Griechen* I pp. 328—334. In politics, the expression was applied to the wealthy or oligarchical party (cf. VIII 569 A and *Thuc.* VIII 48. 6). It is therefore probable that Socrates' habitual use of *καλὸς κάγαθος* fostered the not unwarranted suspicion that he and his friends were out of sympathy with democracy, and so contributed in some measure to his condemnation and death.

490 A 2 νῶ ἔχεις: 'you remember.' ἐν νῶ ἔχεις (as in some inferior MSS) would mean 'you intend.' Compare *Euthyph.* 2 B with *Ap.* 20 B. The reference is to 485 B—487 A.

3 ἦ='alioquin.' Cf. V 463 D n.

5 οὕτω κτλ. οὕτω "ex Adimanti verbis repetitum et praecluse dictum est pro οὕτω λεγόμενον ἦν." If the word is genuine, it must be taken in this way. J. and C. translate "to say no more," comparing *ῥαδίως οὕτω* and the like (see on II 377 B). But there appears to be no other instance of this idiomatic οὕτω with the adverb σφόδρα. οὕτωσι σφόδρα in *Ar. Frogs* 88 is quite different, in spite of Blaydes on *Ar. Wasps* 461. It is just possible that οὕτω is an interpolation from οὕτω just before.

παρὰ δόξαν. By selecting this form of expression Plato "opinionibus opinionem tribuit" (Schneider), loosely enough, but the words are practically equivalent to *ἐναντίον*. *παράδοξον* would be somewhat easier, but the text is probably sound. For a similar pleonasm see my note on *Crito* 44 C.

δοκουμένοις. With the passive cf. X 612 D.

αὐτοῦ is masculine, and means Plato's *καλὸς κάγαθος*, i.e. the philosopher, whom popular opinion regards as an *ἀλαζών*, if not as a liar.

6 ἄρ' οὖν δὴ κτλ. 'Shall we not then fairly plead that the true lover of learning was disposed by nature to strive towards Being and tarried not at the many particulars which are opined to be' etc.? Socrates has just said that Truth is the leading attribute of the Philosopher. This proposition is challenged by public opinion (*παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς νῦν δοκουμένοις*), and in support of it Socrates urges, what



πεφυκῶς εἶη ἀμιλλᾶσθαι ὃ γε ὄντως φιλομαθῆς καὶ οὐκ ἐπιμένον  
 B ἐπὶ τοῖς δοξαζομένοις εἶναι<sup>1</sup> πολλοῖς ἐκάστοις, ἀλλ' ἴοι καὶ οὐκ  
 ἀμβλύνοντο οὐδ' ἀπολήγοι τοῦ ἔρωτος, πρὶν αὐτοῦ ὃ ἔστιν ἐκάστου  
 τῆς φύσεως ἡψασθαι ᾧ προσήκει ψυχῆς ἐφάπτεσθαι τοῦ τοιούτου· 10  
 προσήκει δὲ ξυγγενεῖ· ᾧ πλησιάσας καὶ μιγείς τῷ ὄντι ὄντως,  
 γεννήσας νοῦν καὶ ἀλήθειαν, γνοίη τε καὶ ἀληθῶς ζῶη καὶ τρέφοιτο  
 καὶ οὕτω λήγοι ὠδίνος, πρὶν δ' οὗ; 'Ὡς οἶόν τ', ἔφη, μετριώτατα.  
 Τί οὖν; τούτῳ τι μετέσται ψεύδος ἀγαπᾶν, ἢ πᾶν τούναντίον

he had asserted before (485 A—C) that the philosopher is a lover of τὸ ὄν. εἶη ('was,' i.e. 'is, as we saw') would be the 'philosophic imperfect' in direct speech. For the rare change from ἦν to εἶη after a primary tense cf. Xen. *Mem.* I 2. 34 δῆλον (sc. ἐστίν) ὅτι ἀφεκτέον εἶη τοῦ ὀρθῶς λέγειν, where εἶη stands for ἦν (the usual 'erat' for 'esset' with words denoting obligation or necessity) of the direct, and Plato *Charm.* 156 B λέγουσιν πού ὅτι οὐχ οἶόν τε αὐτοὺς μόνους ἐπιχειρεῖν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἰᾶσθαι, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαῖον εἶη ἅμα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν θεραπεύειν. (Madvig's insertion of ἂν after ἀναγκαῖον in this passage is without authority.) Cf. also II 361 C n. The sequence is all the more easy with the philosophic imperfect because its very nature involves a reference to the past. Ast's conjecture ἀπελογισάμεθα is incorrect; for the philosopher's zeal for Being has not yet been urged in *defence* of the statement—now for the first time formally challenged—that Truth is his leading characteristic. Madvig conjectures ἀπελογισάμεθα, which Baiter adopts, although the word is wholly inappropriate here. Cf. x 607 B n.

490 B II ξυγγενεῖ. νοῦς is akin to Being and the Eternal: cf. *Phaedr.* 79 D, *Tim.* 90 A—C and infra x 611 E.

ᾧ πλησιάσας κτλ.: 'whereby having come nigh unto and married with true Being, begetting Reason and Truth, he attained unto knowledge and enjoyed true life and nourishment, and then but not before ceased from travail of the soul.' The mystic union of the Soul with Being is here described in passionate and glowing language. Cf. *Phaedr.* 246 E—247 D, *Symp.* 210 A—212 A, and many parallels in Plotinus, for whom, as for the Neoplatonists generally, the mystic side of Platonism had an extraordinary fascination: see Zeller<sup>3</sup> III 2, pp. 611—618.

The imagery should be compared with *Theaet.* 156 A ff. where the phenomena of Perception are thus analysed. The Subject unites with the Object, and from this union are born two children, one the αἰσθησις e.g. Sight, the other the αἰσθητόν e.g. τὸ μέλαν. The former belongs more peculiarly to the Subject, the latter to the Object. Similarly with the phenomena of Knowledge. The Subject unites with the Idea, and the children of this union are νοῦς (or rather, strictly speaking, νόησις i.e. the action of νοῦς), on the side of the Subject, and the νοητόν, i.e. Truth, on the side of the Object. We miss an essential point if we take νοῦν as the object of Knowledge; it is the faculty of Reason, no longer dormant, but suddenly called into actuality. Plato means that Reason does not really live until it lays hold on the Idea. γνοίη corresponds to νοῦν; it is by the begetting of νοῦς that we come to know. The aorist denotes the instantaneous act; cf. *Symp.* 210 E πρὸς τέλος ἤδη ἰὼν—ἐξαίφνης κατόψεται τι θαυμαστὸν τὴν φύσιν καλὸν κτλ. See also on 508 D and cf. VII 517 C. In like manner ἀληθῶς ζῶη balances ἀλήθειαν: there is no true life without knowledge of the Truth. ἀληθῶς goes also with τρέφοιτο: cf. *Phaedr.* 247 D and 248 B, C. With ὠδίνος cf. *Phaedr.* 251 E (ὠδίνων ἔληξεν) and *Symp.* 206 E. It is tempting to suppose that in ὠδίνος Plato is thinking not merely of the lover's pangs, but also of the pangs of birth. The knowledge of the Idea is indeed in Plato's view an intellectual and moral regeneration. But ἀπολήγοι τοῦ ἔρωτος shews that ὠδίνος means the throes of love; and the further view introduces a confusion of ideas which is alien to the peculiar character of Plato's 'mysticism.'

14 μετέσται. With μετέσται cf. x 606 B λογίζεσθαι γὰρ—ὀλίγοις τισὶ μέτ-

15 μισεῖν; <sup>1</sup> Μισεῖν, ἔφη. 'Ἦγουμένης δὲ ἀληθείας οὐκ ἂν ποτε, C  
οἶμαι, φαῖμεν αὐτῇ χορὸν κακῶν ἀκολουθήσαι. Πῶς γάρ; 'Ἄλλ'  
ὑγιές τε καὶ δίκαιον ἦθος, ᾧ καὶ σωφροσύνην ἔπεσθαι. 'Ορθῶς,  
ἔφη. Καὶ δὴ τὸν ἄλλον τῆς φιλοσόφου φύσεως χορὸν τί δεῖ πάλιν  
ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀναγκάζοντα τάττειν; μέμνησαι γάρ που, ὅτι ξυνέβη  
20 προσήκον τούτοις ἀνδρεία, μεγαλοπρέπεια, εὐμάθεια, μνήμη· καὶ  
σοῦ ἐπιλαβομένου, ὅτι πᾶς μὲν ἀναγκασθήσεται <sup>1</sup> ὁμολογεῖν οἷς D  
λέγομεν, εἰσάσας δὲ τοὺς λόγους, εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀποβλέψας περὶ ὧν ὁ  
λόγος, φαίη ὁρᾶν αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν ἀχρήστους, τοὺς δὲ πολλοὺς  
κακοὺς πᾶσαν κακίαν, τῆς διαβολῆς τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπισκοποῦντες ἐπὶ  
25 τούτῳ νῦν γεγόναμεν, τί ποθ' οἱ πολλοὶ κακοί, καὶ τούτου δὴ ἔνεκα

23. μὲν Π: om. A.

εστιν and *Theaet.* 186 E. *τι* is adverbial and does not go with *ψεύδος*. There is no occasion for Madvig's conjecture *ἐπιμελές ἔσται*: nor need we write *ψεύδους*, as I formerly proposed.

490 C 15 ἡγουμένης κτλ. 'Now where Truth was leader' (as we saw it was with the *φιλόσοφος*) 'we shall never, I think, allow that a quire of evils joined her train.' ἡγουμένης is not the present, but the imperfect participle (cf. *ἡγεῖτο* δ' αὐτῷ—*ἀλήθεια* 490 A): the 'philosophic' past is carried on from the earlier sentence. The tense is strictly to the point, for our *ἀπολογία* is not yet finished: see 490 A n. We ought not to regard *ἀκολουθήσαι* (with Goodwin *MT.* p. 55) as a gnomic aorist: still less should we read *ἀκολουθήσειν* with *g*, or *φαμεν* for *φαῖμεν* (Stobaeus *Flor.* 11. 18 and Vind. F), taking *ἂν* with *ἀκολουθήσαι* (as I formerly suggested). The past tense is the only one appropriate to the situation both in Greek and in English. See also on line 17.

17 ἦθος: sc. ἀκολουθήσαι. These 'joined the train' of virtue at 486 B.

18 καὶ δὴ κτλ. *καὶ* is 'also' and goes with *τὸν ἄλλον*: cf. *καὶ*—*δή* in 494 A.

19 ἀναγκάζοντα has been doubted. It is read by all the MSS except *Ξ*, which has *ἀναλαμβάνοντα* (cf. 490 D). Stallbaum accepts *ἀναλαμβάνοντα*, while Baiter adopts Madvig's picturesque conjecture *ἀναβιβάζοντα*. The text is perfectly sound. *ἀναγκάζοντα* is *ἀναγκάζοντα τῷ λόγῳ*, i.e. *λέγων ἀναγκαῖα εἶναι*, 'insisting on their necessity': see on II 363 D (*ἀποτινύουσιν*) and cf. X 611 B and *Theaet.* 153 C (where

Cobet wrongly brackets *ἀναγκάζω*). Much the same view is taken by Jackson (*J. of Ph.* XII p. 218), who compares 486 E *μή πη δοκοῦμέν σοι οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ἕκαστα διεληλυθέναι*. J. and C.'s translation "compelling your assent" is scarcely accurate here.

490 D 23 *φαίη*. In 487 C we have *φαίη ἂν τις*, and Richards would add *ἂν* here. But the hypothetical critic (with whom Socrates himself agrees 487 E) is now treated as what he really is—the exponent of opinions held by all. We should translate 'after you objected that all men would be compelled to agree with what we say, but when they set words aside, and looked at the actual people of whom the argument spoke, they declared that' etc. For *φαίη* after *ἀναγκασθήσεται* (rather than *ἀναγκασθήσοιτο*) see Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 1061.

24 τῆς διαβολῆς. Π and the majority of MSS have *τῆς ἥδη διαβολῆς*. If *ἥδη* is right, it must, I think, be taken with *τῆς διαβολῆς* in the sense of 'ea diabolē quae iam apparebat et in conspectum venerat, cum antea animadversa non fuisset' (so Bernhardt and Schneider *Addit.* p. 46). Even so, it is harsh, but not so harsh as if we take it with *ἐπισκοποῦντες*, as Stallbaum—and formerly Schneider—did. So extreme a hyperbaton would be more difficult than that in *Soph. O. T.* 1245, and scarcely admissible in prose. Perhaps Plato wrote *τῆς διαβολῆς ἥδη*. Otherwise we must suppose that A and other MSS are right in omitting the word.

πάλιν ἀνειλήφαμεν τὴν τῶν ἀληθῶς φιλοσόφων φύσιν καὶ ἐξ  
Ε ἀνάγκης ὥρισάμεθα. Ἔστιν, ἔφη, ταῦτα.

VI. Ταύτης δὴ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τῆς φύσεως δεῖ θεάσασθαι τὰς  
φθοράς, ὡς διόλλυται ἐν πολλοῖς, σμικρὸν δέ τι ἐκφεύγει, οὓς δὴ  
καὶ οὐ πονηροὺς, ἀχρήστους δὲ καλοῦσι· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο αὖ τὰς 30  
1 μιμουμένας ταύτην | καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα καθισταμένας αὐτῆς,  
οἶαι οὔσαι φύσεις ψυχῶν εἰς ἀνάξιον καὶ μείζον ἑαυτῶν ἀφικνου-  
μεναι ἐπιτήδευμα πολλαχῇ πλημμελοῦσαι πανταχῇ καὶ ἐπὶ πάντας  
δόξαν οἷαν λέγεις φιλοσοφία προσήψαν. Τίνας δέ, ἔφη, τὰς  
διαφθορὰς λέγεις; Ἐγώ σοι, εἶπον, ἂν οἷός τε γένωμαι, πειράσομαι 5  
διελθεῖν. τότε μὲν οὖν, οἶμαι, πᾶς ἡμῖν ὁμολογήσει, τοιαύτην  
φύσιν καὶ πάντα ἔχουσιν, ὅσα προσετάξαμεν νῦν δὴ, εἰ τελέως  
B μέλλοι φιλόσοφος <sup>1</sup> γεινέσθαι, ὀλιγάκις ἐν ἀνθρώποις φύεσθαι καὶ  
ὀλίγας. ἢ οὐκ οἶει; Σφόδρα γε. Τούτων δὴ τῶν ὀλίγων σκόπει  
ὡς πολλοὶ ὄλεθροι καὶ μεγάλοι. Τίνες δὴ; Ὁ μὲν πάντων θαν- 10

8. μέλλοι A<sup>2</sup>Π: μέλλει A<sup>1</sup>.

490 E 31 τὰς μιμουμένας κτλ. Plato distinguishes between two kinds of πονηρία, that which results from the corruption of the truly philosophic nature, and the πονηρία of pretenders to philosophy. It is the latter—so we are told—which is responsible for the prejudice under which Philosophy labours (cf. 489 D): but the former is by far the more serious evil (491 E, 495 B), though engendered, not by Philosophy, but by the seductive influence of public opinion.

491 A—495 B The philosophic nature is a rare growth, whose very virtues render it peculiarly liable to corruption, when it is placed in unfavourable surroundings. The clamorous voice of public opinion, expressed in assemblies and other gatherings of the people, inevitably corrupts the youth by moulding them into conformity with itself. Where necessary, force is employed, under the name of punishment. Against these influences, no teacher can possibly contend, although the providence of God may save some. As for the Sophists, they do but make into a system and teach the opinions of the Multitude, which they are wholly unable to justify, but accept without reserve, as their profession requires them to do. Remember too that the Ideas are foolishness to the Many, so that they will never love Wisdom or her followers. Socrates concludes with

a vivid and lifelike picture of a philosophic nature in process of corruption.

491 A 2 ἀνάξιον = 'too good for': cf. *Prot.* 355 D and *Soph. Phil.* 1009. ἀντάξιον (Benedictus) and ἀνοίκειον (Herwerden) are unhappy conjectures.

3 ἐπὶ πάντας: 'all the world over.' Cf. ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων in *Tim.* 23 B.

7 εἰ—γενέσθαι. Cobet, who formerly proposed γενήσεσθαι, afterwards rejected the whole clause. The aorist infinitive with μέλλω is rare, but thoroughly established in Plato, if any reliance is placed on the best MSS: see the examples collected by Schanz Vol. v p. vii.

491 B 8 ὀλιγάκις—ὀλίγας. ὀλιγάκις καὶ ὀλίγας is half-proverbial. For καὶ ὀλίγας Stephanus conjectured καὶ ὀλίγοις or καὶ ἐν ὀλίγοις, Richards κἀν ὀλίγοις, comparing *Arist. Eth. Nic.* VII 11. 1151<sup>b</sup> 30 διὰ τὸ τὴν ἑτέραν ἐν ὀλίγοις καὶ ὀλιγάκις εἶναι φανεράν. But ἐν ὀλίγοις would be inelegant after ἐν ἀνθρώποις, and Plato could not have written ὀλίγην. A similar but easier change from the generic singular to the plural occurs III 408 B and infra 500 C. Translate, keeping the anacoluthon; 'that such a nature—one possessed of all the qualities' etc.—'such natures are few and far between among mankind.'

10 ὁ—ὅτι. Cf. I 330 B n.



- μαστότατον ἀκούσαι, ὅτι ἐν ἑκαστον ὧν ἐπηνέσαμεν τῆς φύσεως ἀπόλλυσι τὴν ἔχουσαν ψυχὴν καὶ ἀποσπᾷ φιλοσοφίας. λέγω δὲ ἀνδρείαν, σωφροσύνην, καὶ πάντα ἃ διήλθομεν. "Αποπον, ἔφη, ἀκούσαι. "Ετι τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πρὸς τούτοις τὰ λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ C  
 15 πάντα φθείρει καὶ ἀποσπᾷ, κάλλος καὶ πλοῦτος καὶ ἰσχύς σώματος καὶ ξυγγένεια ἐρρωμένη ἐν πόλει καὶ πάντα τὰ τούτων οἰκεῖα· ἔχεις γὰρ τὸν τύπον ὧν λέγω. "Εχω, ἔφη· καὶ ἡδέως γ' ἂν ἀκριβέστερον ἃ λέγεις πυθοίμην. Λαβοῦ τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅλου αὐτοῦ ὀρθῶς, καὶ σοι εὐδηλὸν τε φανεῖται, καὶ οὐκ ἄτοπα δόξει τὰ  
 20 προειρημένα περὶ αὐτῶν. Πῶς οὖν, ἔφη, κελεύεις; Παντός, ἦν D δ' ἐγώ, σπέρματος πέρι ἢ φυτοῦ, εἴτε ἐγγείων εἴτε τῶν ζώων, ἴσμεν, ὅτι τὸ μὴ τυχὸν τροφῆς ἥς προσήκει ἐκάστω, μηδ' ὥρας μηδὲ τόπου, ὅσῳ ἂν ἐρρωμενέστερον ᾖ, τοσούτῳ πλείονων ἐνδεῖ τῶν πρεπόντων·

20. παντός A<sup>2</sup>Π: πάντως A.

12 ἀπόλλυσι κτλ. Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 114) asks how courage and temperance can tend to corrupt the character. The answer is given by Plato in 494 B ff. They bring their possessor to the front, and therefore expose him to the solicitations of selfish and unscrupulous men. It should be carefully borne in mind that ἀνδρεία and the other virtues are here regarded, not as the result of education, but as natural qualities, derived from the philosopher's native love of truth. We are in fact dealing with the *potentiality* of the τελὲς φιλόσοφος (491 A). It is this which suffers corruption, not the actualized philosopher. Cf. Krohn l.c. p. 115 and Pfeleiderer *Zur Lösung* etc. p. 26.

491 C 17 ἔχεις γὰρ—λέγω: not "now I have given you an outline of my meaning" (D. and V.), but 'you understand the general type of the things I mean,' that is, the general character of things which φθείρει καὶ ἀποσπᾷ, though in themselves advantages or even virtues. Adimantus assents, but would like to have them specified more precisely. In reply, Socrates bids him grasp the notion of them correctly as a whole (αὐτοῦ is neuter and ὅλου αὐτοῦ is practically equivalent to τύπου), and it will become clear to him, and τὰ προειρημένα περὶ αὐτῶν (viz. that they ἀπόλλυσι καὶ ἀποσπᾷ—φθείρει καὶ ἀποσπᾷ B, C) will not appear ἄτοπα as before (ἄτοπον—ἀκούσαι in B). The passage is somewhat loosely written;

but αὐτῶν is certainly neuter and not 'the philosophic natures,' as J. and C. suppose.

491 D 21 ἐγγείων—ζώων. These are possessive genitives. Richards says that "τῶν should probably be omitted before ζώων or added before ἐγγείων." Cf. however IV 438 C n. In this instance I think Plato wrote τῶν ζώων in order to call special attention to ζῶα as opposed to ἐγγεῖα. They are not on the same level of importance, as far as the argument is concerned, for it is the degeneration of ζῶα, not of ἐγγεῖα, which Plato has to explain.

23 πλείονων is much more elegant than Madvig's conjecture πλείον. Plato's position on this matter, in the way in which he states it, is open to objection. It might be argued that the naturally *strong* nature is the best fitted to resist the corrupting influences of its environment. But the philosophic nature is remarkable for sensibility as well as strength, and the sensitive plant needs careful fostering. The general sentiment of this passage is Socratic, as Hermann (*Gesch. u. System* p. 330 n. 33) and Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 365) have pointed out: cf. *Mem.* IV 1. 3, 4 τῶν ἀνθρώπων τοὺς εὐφροσύνους ἐρρωμενεστάτους τε ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὄντας—παιδεύθοντας μὲν καὶ μαθόντας ἃ δεῖ πράττειν, ἀρίστους τε καὶ ὠφελιμωτάτους γίγνεσθαι—ἀπαιδεύτους δὲ καὶ ἀμαθεῖς γενομένους κακίστους τε καὶ βλαβερωτάτους γίγνεσθαι.

ἀγαθῷ γάρ που κακὸν ἐναντιώτερον ἢ τῷ μὴ ἀγαθῷ. Πῶς δ' οὐ;  
 "Ἐχει δὴ, οἶμαι, λόγον τὴν ἀρίστην φύσιν ἐν ἀλλοτριωτέρᾳ οὔσαν 25  
 τροφῇ κάκιον ἀπαλλάττειν τῆς φαύλης. "Ἐχει. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ'  
 E ἐγώ, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, <sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰς ψυχὰς οὕτω φῶμεν τὰς εὐφροσύνας  
 κακῆς παιδαγωγίας τυχοῦσας διαφερόντως κακὰς γίγνεσθαι; ἢ  
 οἶει τὰ μεγάλα ἀδικήματα καὶ τὴν ἄκρατον πονηρίαν ἐκ φαύλης,  
 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκ νεανικῆς φύσεως τροφῇ διολομένης γίγνεσθαι, ἀσθενῇ 30  
 δὲ φύσιν μεγάλων οὔτε ἀγαθῶν οὔτε κακῶν αἰτίαν ποτὲ ἔσεσθαι;  
 92 Οὐκ, ἀλλά, ἦ δ' ὅς, οὕτως. "Ἦν τοίνυν ἔθεμεν | τοῦ φιλοσόφου  
 φύσιν, ἂν μὲν, οἶμαι, μαθήσεως προσηκούσης τύχῃ, εἰς πᾶσαν  
 ἀρετὴν ἀνάγκη αὐξανομένην ἀφικνεῖσθαι, ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐν προσηκούσῃ  
 σπαρείσῃ τε καὶ φυτευθεῖσα τρέφηται, εἰς πάντα τὰναντία αὖ, ἐὰν  
 μὴ τις αὐτῇ βοηθήσας θεῶν τύχῃ. ἢ καὶ σὺ ἡγεί, ὥσπερ οἱ πολλοί, 5  
 διαφθειρομένους τινὰς εἶναι ὑπὸ σοφιστῶν νέους, διαφθείροντας δέ

25 τὴν ἀρίστην φύσιν κτλ. The contrast is between the ἀρίστη φύσις and the φαύλη, where *both* are subjected to (οὔσαν ἐν cf. 495 A) bad 'τροφή'. The former 'comes off worse,' 'suffers more' (κάκιον ἀπαλλάττειν), because the τροφή is more alien to *its* nature than to that of the others: cf. τοσοῦτω πλείονων ἐνδεί τῶν πρεπόντων. So Schneider correctly explains the passage. Cf. generally Dante *Inferno* VI 106—108 "Ritorna a tua scienza, Che vuol, quanto la cosa è più perfetta, Più senta 'l bene, e così la doglienza." Van. Heusde's ἐν ἀλλοτρίῳ τραφέισαν misses the point. Even more unhappy is Boeckh's κάκιον ἀπαλλάττειν, which Stallbaum adopts. κάκιον ἀπαλλάττειν is simply the comparative of κακῶς ἀπαλλάττειν: see Cobet in *Mnem.* XI p. 168, where Stallbaum is severely rebuked.

491 E 30 ἐκ νεανικῆς κτλ.: "out of a fullness of nature ruined by education" Jowett. Plato's attitude on this subject is highly characteristic. The educator's whole efforts are to be directed towards saving and improving strong and gifted natures: cf. VII 519 A, B. Weak natures may be almost neglected, without serious injury to the State. They will never do anything great—whether good or evil: see 495 B. For this and other reasons Plato does not trouble to lay down rules for the education of the lower classes in his city.

492 A 3 μὴ ἐν προσηκούσῃ: i.q. ἐν

μὴ προσηκούσῃ (which Stephanus wrongly read), by a common hyperbaton: cf. *Crito* 47 D and other examples in Braun *De Hyperb. Pl.* p. 15. With προσηκούσῃ it is usual to supply μαθήσει. I think Plato intentionally selects a vague expression, intending ἐν προσηκούσῃ to be taken with σπαρείσῃ—φυτευθεῖσα as well as with τρέφηται: for it is just as important that the philosophic nature should be sown and planted in a proper soil (491 D), as that it should receive proper education. Morgenstern, who formerly proposed προσηκούσῃ <γῇ>, afterwards adopted much the same view as this: see Schneider *Addit.* p. 46.

5 θεῶν. See on θεοῦ μοῖραν 493 A.

ἢ καὶ σὺ ἡγεί κτλ. This passage is appealed to by Grote (VIII pp. 200 ff.) in his famous defence of the Sophists. Plato certainly implies that the Sophists did not independently corrupt the young 'to any extent worth mentioning' (ὅ τι καὶ ἄξιον λόγου). It is the Demos which is the primary source and fount of corruption; the Sophists are only the mouth-piece of a disgraceful public opinion which it is their profession to flatter and court (493 A—D). But from Plato's point of view this is itself a sufficiently grave indictment to bring against a professional teacher of Morality (see 493 C), so that the present attack on the Athenian people is far from being an apology for the Sophists.

τινας σοφιστὰς ιδιωτικούς, ὃ τι καὶ ἄξιον λόγου, ἀλλ' οὐκ αὐτοὺς  
τοὺς ταῦτα λέγοντας μεγίστους μὲν<sup>1</sup> εἶναι σοφιστὰς, παιδεύειν δὲ B  
τελεώτατα καὶ ἀπεργάζεσθαι οἷους βούλονται εἶναι καὶ νέους καὶ  
10 πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας; Πότε δὴ; ἢ δ' ὅς. "Οταν,  
εἶπον, ξυγκαθεζόμενοι ἄθροοι πολλοὶ εἰς ἐκκλησίας ἢ εἰς δικαστήρια  
ἢ θέατρα ἢ στρατόπεδα ἢ τινα ἄλλον κοινὸν πλήθους ξύλλογον ξύν  
πολλῷ θορύβῳ τὰ μὲν ψέγωσι τῶν λεγομένων ἢ πραττομένων, τὰ  
δὲ ἐπαινῶσιν, ὑπερβαλλόντως ἑκάτερα, καὶ ἐκβοῶντες καὶ κροτοῦν-  
15 τες,<sup>1</sup> πρὸς δ' αὐτοῖς αἶ τε πέτραι καὶ ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ ἂν ὦσιν ἐπηχοῦν- C  
τες διπλάσιον θόρυβον παρέχωσι τοῦ ψόγου καὶ ἐπαίνου. ἐν δὲ  
τῷ τοιούτῳ τὸν νέον, τὸ λεγόμενον, τίνα οἶει καρδίαν ἴσχειν; ἢ  
ποῖαν ἂν αὐτῷ παιδείαν ιδιωτικὴν ἀνθέξειν, ἣν οὐ κατακλυσθεῖσαν  
ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιούτου ψόγου ἢ ἐπαίνου οἰχῆσθαι φερομένην κατὰ  
20 ῥοὴν, ἣ ἂν οὗτος φέρῃ, καὶ φήσιν τε τὰ αὐτὰ τούτοις καλὰ καὶ

492 B 11 ξυγκαθεζόμενοι κτλ. The Athenians sat at an Ecclesia: see Ar. *Ach.* 24 f. with Blaydes' note. For πολλοὶ I formerly read οἱ πολλοί with Hermann; but ἄθροοι πολλοί is sound, and means 'in large numbers together,' like πολλοὶ ἄθροοι in *Gorg.* 490 B. The subject is of course οἱ ταῦτα λέγοντες, i.e. οἱ πολλοί (492 A). The mention of numbers is to the point: how can one man stand against so many? Cobet is wrong in deleting πολλοί.

12 ξύν. See on IV 424 D.

14 ὑπερβαλλόντως. Cf. VIII 561 C ff. Exaggeration and excess are characteristic marks of democracy.

492 C 15 πρὸς δ' αὐτοῖς κτλ. Plato is doubtless thinking of the Acropolis and the Dionysiac theatre. Cobet does ill to bracket τοῦ ψόγου καὶ ἐπαίνου: for Plato characteristically makes the rocks themselves applaud. Cf. VIII 563 C. Translate 'Yea, and besides themselves, the rocks and the place wherein they are resound and give forth a reduplicated uproar of censure and applause.' Cf. *Euthyd.* 303 B ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὀλίγου καὶ οἱ κίονες οἱ ἐν τῷ Δυκεῖν ἐθορύβησάν τ' ἐπὶ τοῖν ἀνδράσιν καὶ ἥσθησαν.

17 τίνα—ἴσχειν. 'Where, think you, is a young man's heart?' For the saying cf. Isocr. *Trar.* 10 τίν' οἰσεθέ με γνώμην ἔχειν; and Dem. *adv. Arhioth.* II 21 τίν' οἰεσθε αὐτὴν ψυχὴν ἔχειν; καρδία as the seat of courage is colloquial and rare: cf. Archil. *Fr.* 58. 4 καρδίης πλέος and Plut.

*Reg. et imp. ἀπορήτηματα* 185 E τοὺς δὲ Ἑρετριεῖς—ἔλεγεν ὥσπερ τευθίδας μάχαιραν μὲν ἔχειν, καρδίαν δὲ μὴ ἔχειν. q has τίνα ἂν οἶει, and Bywater and Herwerden propose τίν' ἂν οἶει, but the MS reading is better and more picturesque.

18 ποῖαν ἂν. I agree with Goodwin (*MT.* pp. 66, 68, 71) and others that ἂν with the future was occasionally used by the best Attic prose writers. In Plato it occurs *Ap.* 29 C, 30 B, *Symp.* 222 A, *Rep.* x 615 D, *Crilo* 53 D, *Euthyd.* 287 D, *Phaedr.* 227 B, and probably also elsewhere. All these instances have been 'emended,' and it is possible enough that some of them are corrupt. Here ἂν is in all the mss, and is therefore better retained, although it may of course be an erroneous repetition of the last syllable of ποῖαν (as Cobet and others suppose). We may regard the idiom as one of Plato's numerous half-poetical efforts: see x 615 D n. Richards proposes δῆ: but see v 450 C n.

20 καὶ φήσιν κτλ. In *oratio recta* the whole sentence would have run ποῖα ἂν αὐτῷ παιδεία ιδιωτικὴ ἀνθέξει, ἣ οὐ κατακλυσθεῖσα—οἰχῆσεται φερομένη—καὶ φήσει—καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσει—καὶ ἔσται τοιοῦτος; i.e. (literally translated) 'what private training of his will stand fast, which will not be swamped by such censure or praise, and carried down the stream wherever the stream leads, and he will say' etc. (The metaphor is from a mole or breakwater swept away by a



Δ αἰσχροὶ εἶναι, καὶ ἐπιτηδεύσειν<sup>1</sup> ἅπερ ἂν οὗτοι, καὶ ἔσσεσθαι τοιοῦτον; Πολλή, ἥ δ' ὅς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἀνάγκη.

VII. Καὶ μήν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οὐπω τὴν μεγίστην ἀνάγκην εἰρήκαμεν. Ποίαν; ἔφη. Ἦν ἔργῳ προστιθέασι, λόγῳ μὴ πείθοντες, οὗτοι οἱ παιδευταὶ τε καὶ σοφισταί. ἢ οὐκ οἴσθα, ὅτι τὸν μὴ 25 πειθόμενον ἀτιμίαις τε καὶ χρήμασι καὶ θανάτοις κολάζουσι; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη, σφόδρα. Τίνα οὖν ἄλλον σοφιστὴν οἶει ἢ ποίους ἰδιω-  
Ε τικοὺς λόγους ἐναντία τούτοις<sup>1</sup> τείνοντας κρατήσιν; Οἶμαι μὲν οὐδένα, ἥ δ' ὅς. Οὐ γάρ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖν πολλή ἄνοια. οὔτε γὰρ γίγνεται οὔτε γέγονεν οὐδὲ οὖν μὴ γένηται 30 ἀλλοιοῦν ἦθος πρὸς ἀρετὴν παρὰ τὴν τούτων παιδείαν πεπαιδευμένον, ἀνθρώπειον, ὃ ἐταῖρε· θεῖον μέντοι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν

25. τὸν Π: τὸ Α.

flood.) In this there is nothing but the common passage of a relative into a main sentence (see II 357 B n. and cf. *Ap.* 40 A with my note ad loc.), coupled with an easy change of subject, as in *Crito* 46 A. The sentence assumes the form which it has in the text, because both subordinate and main clauses can take the accusative with infinitive in Greek *oratio obliqua*: see Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 1056. Stallbaum (followed by J. and C.) understands οὐκ οἶει to account for *φήσεν*, but the negative cannot be supplied, and if it could, it would give a wrong sense. Schneider's translation is correct, but not his note in the text. With the sentiment cf. *Gorg.* 510 D ff.

492 D 25 σοφισταί. The Demos is the Arch-Sophist: cf. 492 A n. οὗτοι is the contemptuous *isti*: 'these teachers and sophists of yours.'

26 θανάτοις. The fate of Socrates was the most conspicuous example of this in Plato's time, but it is hardly likely that Plato is specifically alluding to it here (as Steinhart and Susemihl suppose). The description is quite general. Contrast VII 517 A n.

492 E 30 οὔτε γάρ κτλ. Plato has just declared that it would be the height of folly in a teacher even to attempt to make a young man run counter to public opinion. The present sentence explains why. There is not, never has been, and never will be produced a character different (from the Many) in respect of virtue, by having been educated on principles op-

posed to the education which the Many provide (the force of public sentiment, expressed in assemblies etc.). Consequently every attempt to produce such a character by means of education in the teeth of public opinion is foredoomed to failure. The statement appears at first sight extraordinary; but from Plato's point of view it is, with the limitations which he makes, strictly correct. Cities are either actual or ideal. In the ideal city, education does not produce a type of character which conflicts with public opinion, because public opinion is itself formed by education. In actual cities, education must conform to the same standard if it is to exist at all: for τὸν μὴ πειθόμενον ἀτιμίαις τε καὶ χρήμασι καὶ θανάτοις κολάζουσι (492 D). How then are we to explain the presence of great and good men in existing cities? They are θεῖοι ἄνδρες, saved from corruption by grace of God: see on 493 A. In these circumstances, what is the political reformer to do? He must break with all existing cities (497 B), and found—as Plato now wishes to do—a new commonwealth in which sound education and public opinion no longer differ, but agree. In other words, his policy must be to make the Philosopher King. For other views of this passage see App. II.

32 ἀνθρώπειον: sc. ἦθος: 'a merely human character.' Plato makes an exception in favour of a θεῖον ἦθος, playing on the proverb τὸ θεῖον ἐξαιρῶ λόγον, for which cf. *Symp.* 176 C Σωκράτης δ' ἐξαιρῶ



ἐξαιρῶμεν λόγου. εὖ γὰρ χρὴ εἰδέναι, ὅ τί περ ἂν σωθῇ τε καὶ  
 γένηται οἶον δεῖ ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει πολιτειῶν, θεοῦ μοῖραν 493  
 αὐτὸ σῶσαι λέγων οὐ κακῶς ἐρεῖς. Οὐδ' ἐμοὶ ἄλλως, ἔφη, δοκεῖ.  
 "Ἐτι τοίνυν σοι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πρὸς τούτοις καὶ τόδε δοξάτω. Τὸ  
 ποῖον; "Ἐκαστος τῶν μισθαρνούντων ἰδιωτῶν, οὓς δὴ οὔτοι σοφισ-  
 5 τὰς καλοῦσι καὶ ἀντιτέχνους ἡγοῦνται, μὴ ἄλλα παιδεύειν ἢ ταῦτα  
 τὰ τῶν πολλῶν δόγματα, ἃ δοξάζουσιν ὅταν ἀθροισθῶσιν, καὶ  
 σοφίαν ταύτην καλεῖν, οἷόν περ ἂν εἰ θρέμματος μεγάλου καὶ  
 ἰσχυροῦ τρεφομένου τὰς ὀργὰς τις καὶ ἐπιθυμίας κατεμάνθανεν,  
 ὅπῃ τε προσελθεῖν χρὴ καὶ ὅπῃ ἄψασθαι αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὁπότε χαλε- B  
 10 πώτατον ἢ πρῶτατον καὶ ἐκ τίνων γίγνεται, καὶ φωνὰς δὴ ἐφ' οἷς  
 ἐκάστας εἶωθεν φθέγγεσθαι, καὶ οἷας αὖ ἄλλου φθεγγομένου  
 ἡμεροῦταί τε καὶ ἀγριαίνει, καταμαθὼν δὲ ταῦτα πάντα ξυνουσία

33. ἐξαιρῶμεν M: ἐξαίρωμεν AΠ: ἐξαίρω Ξ: ἐξαίρουμεν γ.  
 v. Prinsterer: ἕκαστος AΠΞ: ἃς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις pro ἐφ' οἷς ἐκάστας γ.

II. ἐκάστας

λόγου, *Phaedr.* 242 B Σιμμίαν Θηβαῖον ἐξαιρῶ λόγου (a delicate way of hinting that Socrates and Simmias are θεῖοι ἄνδρες), and *Theaet.* 162 D. Any ἥθος which in existing cities conspicuously transcends the public standard of morality (and is thus ἄλλοιον πρὸς ἀρετήν) is θεῖον, and for that very reason sporadic and exceptional (see next note).

493 A I θεοῦ μοῖραν is best explained by *Men.* 94 B ff. and 99 C, D. Distinguished statesmen like Pericles, Themistocles etc. are θεῖοι, just as much as the χρησμοδοί, μάντις, and ποιητικοί: they are ἐπίπνοι—καὶ κατεχόμενοι ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅταν κατορθῶσι λέγοντες πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα πράγματα (99 D). Education did not produce them, nor have they any scientific knowledge of statesmanship; for which reason also they cannot teach their sons to be statesmen (*Men.* 94 B, *Prot.* 320 A). It was by this theory that Plato accounted for the fact that good men appear from time to time even in corrupt States: εἰσι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς ἀνθρώποι ἀεὶ θεῖοι τινες, οὐ πολλοὶ—φύε-  
 6 μνοι οὐδὲν μᾶλλον ἐν εὐνομουμέναις πόλεσιν ἢ καὶ μὴ (*Laws* 951 B). There is more than a touch of irony in the epithet θεῖος when Plato applies it to Themistocles, Pericles and other successful politicians with whom he had little sympathy, but θεοῦ μοῖραν is not ironical here (cf. 492 A), nor is Plato ever otherwise than grateful

for the birth of statesmen who are truly θεῖοι. But they do not solve the difficulty, for the scientific knowledge of πολιτικὴ is not only better and more stable in itself, but guarantees the permanent prosperity of a State, because it can be transmitted to posterity. Nor can we be sure that our statesmen 'by grace of God' will appear when they are most wanted. For a full discussion of θεῖα μοῖρα in Plato see Zeller<sup>4</sup> II I, p. 594 n. 4.

4 ἕκαστος: sc. δοξάτω. Cf. I 334 B n. and *Phaed.* 80 A, B, where ψυχὴ, the reading of the best MSS, should be retained. Baiter is certainly wrong in reading ἕκαστον (with Stephanus and v): for with personal subjects δοκεῖ is used personally. Dümmler (*Chr. Beitr.* p. 12) and Teichmüller (*Lit. Fehd.* I p. 104) suppose that Plato means Isocrates in particular. It is possible enough that he had Isocrates in his mind, but the description applies to many besides him: cf. IV 426 C n.

6 δοξάζουσιν = 'opine' is technical: cf. V 479 E. With θρέμματος etc. cf. "The beast with many heads Butts me away" Shakespeare *Coriol.* IV 1; and a similar figure in Solon ap. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 12 ad fin. and *Theaet.* 174 D.

493 B II ἐκάστας. See cr. n. Van Prinsterer's emendation is now universally accepted.

οἷας αὖ κτλ. The party-cry.

τε καὶ χρόνου τριβῇ σοφίαν τε καλέσειεν καὶ ὡς τέχνην συστησά-  
μενος ἐπὶ διδασκαλίαν τρέποιτο, μηδὲν εἰδὼς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ τούτων  
τῶν δογμάτων τε καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν, ὅ τι καλὸν ἢ αἰσχρὸν ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἢ 15

C κακὸν ἢ δίκαιον ἢ ἄδικον, ὁνομάζει δὲ πάντα ταῦτα ἐπὶ ταῖς τοῦ  
μεγάλου ζώου δόξαις, οἷς μὲν χαίροι ἐκείνο, ἀγαθὰ καλῶν, οἷς δὲ  
ἄχθοιτο, κακά, ἄλλον δὲ μηδένα ἔχει λόγον περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ  
τάναγκαῖα δίκαια καλοῖ καὶ καλά, τὴν δὲ τοῦ ἀναγκαίου καὶ  
ἀγαθοῦ φύσιν, ὅσον διαφέρει τῷ ὄντι, μήτε ἑωρακῶς εἶη μήτε ἄλλῃ 20  
δυνατὸς δεῖξαι. τοιοῦτος δὲ ὢν πρὸς Διὸς οὐκ ἄτοπος ἂν σοι  
δοκεῖ εἶναι παιδευτής; Ἐμοιγ', ἔφη. Ἡ οὖν τι τούτου δοκεῖ

D διαφέρειν ὁ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν ὁρμήντων ὀργὴν  
καὶ ἡδονὰς κατανενοηκέναι σοφίαν ἡγούμενος, εἴτ' ἐν γραφικῇ εἴτ'  
ἐν μουσικῇ εἴτε δὲ ἐν πολιτικῇ; ὅτι μὲν γάρ, ἔαν τις τούτοις ὁμιλῇ 25  
ἐπιδεικνύμενος ἢ ποιήσιν ἢ τινα ἄλλην δημιουργίαν ἢ πόλει  
διακονίαν, κυρίους αὐτοῦ ποιῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς πέρα τῶν ἀναγκαίων,

25. εἴτε δὲ—ὁμιλῇ Π et in mg. A<sup>2</sup>: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

13 καλέσειεν (though κατεμάνθανεν) is written because of καταμαθὼν δέ, after which ἐκάλει would be less suitable. The situation is now treated as a possible one, after the picture has once been allowed.

ὡς τέχνην συστησάμενος. Cf. the Stoic definition of τέχνη as a σύστημα ἐκ καταλήψεων κτλ. (Zeno Fr. 12 Pearson).

493 C 16 ὀνομάζει κτλ.: 'employs all these terms in accordance with' (literally 'in dependence on') 'the opinions of the mighty Beast.' This interpretation is better than to suppose with Stallbaum that Plato means 'applies all these names to the opinions' etc., though ὀνομάζειν τι ἐπὶ τινι is idiomatically used in that way.

19 τάναγκαῖα—καλοῖ. τάναγκαῖα does not mean "the physical necessities and exigencies of the great beast's nature" (J. and C.), but simply 'the inevitable.' Whatever happens, a public teacher or Sophist must conform to the opinions of the Beast (492 D). In what follows there is a hint of the profound philosophical view that the Works of Necessity are evil (cf. *Tim.* 29 E, 47 E ff.), and that Moral Freedom consists in following what is good. See on x 617 E.

22 δοκεῖ. Ast would read δοκοῖ, but ἂν of course goes with εἶναι: cf. IV 422 B. See for this idiom my note on *Proi.* 351 B and Blaydes on *Ar. Wasps* 1405.

23 ὁ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν κτλ. Jackson thinks of Isocrates again (*Proceedings of the Camb. Philol. Soc.* II 1882 p. 13). See above on 493 A.

493 D 25 ὅτι μὲν γάρ κτλ. An anacoluthon. The apodosis which requires to be supplied is 'that much is certain' or the like: cf. v 465 A n. I formerly thought the anacoluthon too harsh, and proposed to read ὅ τι μὲν γάρ ἂν—ἐπιδεικνύμενος, ἢ κτλ., taking ὅ τι as the object of ἐπιδεικνύμενος, and ἡ ποιήσιν ('either poetry' etc.) as in apposition to ὅ τι: but the text is better as it stands. Richards' proposal to read ἔστι for ὅτι is very displeasing.

26 ποιήσιν. Compare a striking passage in *Laus* 659 B, c, where Poetry is said to have deteriorated after she accepted οἱ πολλοί as her judge. See also *Laus* 700 E, 797 B, *Gorg.* 502 B ff. and infra x 605 A.

27 κυρίους αὐτοῦ. We should certainly (with Schneider and the majority of editors) read αὐτοῦ and not αὐτοῦ (which Stallbaum and others adopt, referring it to ποιήσιν etc.). The MSS (except *q*) mostly read αὐτοῦ, but their authority in this matter is of no account. Cobet would read αὐτοῦς and eject τοὺς πολλοῦς—on what ground, it is difficult even to conjecture.

πέρα τῶν ἀναγκαίων. By coming forward in a public capacity as a poet or

ἡ Διομήδεια λεγομένη ἀνάγκη ποιεῖν αὐτῷ ταῦτα ἃ ἂν οὔτοι ἐπαινῶσιν· ὥς δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὰ καὶ καλὰ ταῦτα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, ἥδη  
 30 πώποτε του ἡκουσας αὐτῶν λόγον διδόντος οὐ καταγέλαστον;  
 Οἶμαι δέ γε, ἡ δ' ὅς, <sup>1</sup> οὐδ' ἀκούσομαι. E

VIII. Ταῦτα τοίνυν πάντα ἐννοήσας ἐκείνο ἀναμνήσθητι· αὐτὸ τὸ καλόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰ πολλὰ καλὰ, ἡ αὐτό τι ἕκαστον καὶ μὴ τὰ πολλὰ ἕκαστα, ἔσθ' ὅπως | πλῆθος ἀνέξεται ἡ ἡγήσεται εἶναι; 494  
 Ἑκιστά γ', ἔφη. Φιλόσοφον μὲν ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πλῆθος ἀδύνατον εἶναι. Ἀδύνατον. Καὶ τοὺς φιλοσοφούντας ἄρα ἀνάγκη ψέγεσθαι ὑπ' αὐτῶν. Ἀνάγκη. Καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων δὴ τῶν ιδιωτῶν, ὅσοι  
 5 προσομιλοῦντες ὄχλῳ ἀρέσκειν αὐτῷ ἐπιθυμοῦσι. Δῆλον. Ἐκ δὴ τούτων τίνα ὀρᾷς σωτηρίαν φιλοσόφῳ φύσει, ὥστ' ἐν τῷ ἐπιτη-  
 δεύματι μείναςαν πρὸς τέλος ἐλθεῖν; ἐννόει δ' ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν.  
<sup>1</sup> ὠμολόγηται γὰρ δὴ ἡμῖν εὐμάθεια καὶ μνήμη καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ B  
 μεγαλοπρέπεια ταύτης εἶναι τῆς φύσεως. Ναί. Οὐκοῦν εὐθὺς ἐν

statesman or the like, he 'makes the Many his masters more than is necessary.' In a private station, he is, comparatively speaking, independent; but even then the Many are (in a certain sense) of necessity his masters: see 496 D. Ast and Stallbaum take the phrase with ἡ Διομήδεια ἀνάγκη. "Iungenda sunt verba sic: ἀνάγκη (ἐστίν) αὐτῷ πέρα τῶν ἀναγκαίων (ultra necessaria quae progrediatur) ἡ Διομήδεια λεγομένη, ut vocabulis ἡ λεγομένη Διομήδεια istud πέρα ἀναγκαίων declaretur" (Stallbaum). If this is what Plato meant, he expresses it in a harsh and dangerously ambiguous way, and it would be preferable to cancel πέρα τῶν ἀναγκαίων (with Cobet and Herwerden). But there is fortunately no occasion for such drastic treatment.

28 ἡ Διομήδεια κτλ. Most of the MSS write Διομηδεῖα (sic), but Διομηδεῖα γε at the end of a line in Ar. Eccl. 1029 makes it clear that the word is proparoxyton, unless, as Schneider supposes (Addit. p. 47), Aristophanes shortens the final syllable by poetic license. The proverb, which is used of an overmastering necessity, is illustrated by Leutsch u. Schneidewin *Paroem. Gr.* I p. 59, II p. 367, and also by Blaydes on Ar. l.c. Two explanations of it were given. According to the first, which is adopted by the Scholiast on this passage, the phrase

originated in the treatment meted out by Diomedes to Odysseus, when they were returning from Ilium to the Greek camp after stealing the Palladium. Odysseus attempted to kill Diomedes, but failed, and Diomedes paid him out by tying his arms together and driving him home with blows from the flat of his sword. The Scholiast on Ar. l.c. explains differently. Διομήδεια: ὅτι Διομήδης ὁ Θρᾷξ, πόρνας ἔχων θυγατέρας, τοὺς παριόντας ξένους ἐβιάζετο αὐταῖς συνείναι ἕως οὗ κέρον σχῶσι καὶ ἀναλωθῶσιν οἱ ἄνδρες. ἄς καὶ ὁ μῦθος ἵππους ἀνθρωποφάγους εἶπεν. I agree with Schneider that the proverb is more likely to have originated from the first story than from a euhemeristic explanation of the man-eating mares of Diomedes of Thrace.

30 αὐτῶν. The μισθαρνοῦντες ιδιωταί, not 'the Many.' Plato is probably thinking of actual eulogies of the Athenians by Isocrates and others like him.

32 ἀναμνήσθητι. See V 475 E.

494 A 2 φιλόσοφον—εἶναι. The theory of Ideas is not a democratic philosophy. With Plato's attitude here to οἱ πολλοὶ cf. *Gorg.* 474 A τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς οὐδὲ διαλέγομαι.

4 καὶ—δή. Cf. 490 c n.

494 B 8 ὠμολόγηται. See 486 C, 486 A, B: and cf. also 490 c.



παισίν ὁ τοιοῦτος πρῶτος ἔσται ἐν ἅπασιν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐὰν τὸ 10  
 σῶμα φυῇ προσφερῆς τῇ ψυχῇ; Τί δ' οὐ μέλλει; ἔφη. Βουλῆ-  
 σονται δὴ, οἶμαι, αὐτῷ χρῆσθαι, ἐπειδὴν πρεσβύτερος γίγνηται,  
 ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτῶν πράγματα οἳ τε οἰκεῖοι καὶ οἱ πολῖται. Πῶς δ' οὐ;  
 C Ὑποκείσονται ἄρα δεόμενοι καὶ τιμῶντες, προκαταλαμβάνοντες  
 καὶ προκολακεύοντες τὴν μέλλουσαν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν. Φιλεῖ γοῦν, 15  
 ἔφη, οὕτω γίγνεσθαι. Τί οὖν οἶει, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὸν τοιοῦτον ἐν τοῖς  
 τοιούτοις ποιήσειν, ἄλλως τε καὶ ἐὰν τύχῃ μεγάλης πόλεως ὣν καὶ  
 ἐν ταύτῃ πλούσιός τε καὶ γενναῖος, καὶ ἐτι εὐειδὴς καὶ μέγας; ἄρ'  
 οὐ πληρωθῆσεται ἀμυχάνου ἐλπίδος, ἡγούμενον καὶ τὰ τῶν  
 D Ἑλλήνων καὶ τὰ τῶν βαρβάρων ἱκανὸν ἔσεσθαι πράττειν, ἵ καὶ 20  
 ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑψηλὸν ἐξαρεῖν αὐτόν, σχηματισμοῦ καὶ φρονή-

10. παισίν de Geer: πᾶσιν codd.

21. ἐξαρεῖν A<sup>2</sup>v: ἐξαιρεῖν A<sup>1</sup>: ἐξάγειν ΠΞg.

10 παισίν. See *cr. n.* πᾶσιν is retained by Schneider, who takes it as masculine and ἅπασιν as neuter. Herwerden also approves of πᾶσιν: but εὐθὺς ἐν παισίν (which most of the editors adopt) gives the only correct antithesis to ἐπειδὴν πρεσβύτερος γίγνηται ('when he is growing older'). α and αι are easily interchanged in ninth century MSS: see *Introd.* § 5.

11 φυῇ. Herwerden proposes φύση προσφερές, comparing Soph. *Ajax* 1077 κἂν σῶμα γεννήσῃ μέγα, but no change is necessary, as Herwerden himself allows. For προσφερῆς, some inferior MSS have προσφερές, an easier, but less elegant and idiomatic reading. Schneider also points out that if Plato had written προσφερές, he ought to have added αὐτοῦ with τὸ σῶμα.

14 ὑποκείσονται = 'they will lie prostrate at his feet' is the future perfect of ὑποπίπτω. ὑποπεσούνται, which Herwerden conjectures, would be less expressive, and denote an act, or series of acts, instead of a never-wearying attitude of supplication and adoration. They so to speak besiege his soul with flatteries and prayers.

494 C 17 ἐὰν τύχῃ κτλ. It has long been admitted that this picture is drawn chiefly from Alcibiades. In antiquity Plutarch seems to have suspected something of the sort, for he describes Alcibiades' degeneration in language adapted from the present passage (*Alc.* 4. 1). But the personal touches must not blind us to the fact that Plato is

portraying the type, although Alcibiades sits for the portrait.

18 πλούσιος—μέγας describe Alcibiades exactly: cf. *Alc.* 1 104 A, B, Thuc. VI 16 1—3, Isocr. *περὶ ζεύγους* 25 ff., Plut. *Alc.* 1. 4, 4. 1 and elsewhere. The Greeks thought tallness essential to beauty: see e.g. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* IV 7. 1123<sup>b</sup> 7 and *Pol.* VII 4. 1326<sup>a</sup> 33.

19 ἡγούμενον κτλ. Plutarch (*Alc.* 17. 2, 3) declares that Alcibiades intended the Sicilian expedition to be a step towards an almost universal empire: Sicily was to be merely the ἐφόδια τοῦ πολέμου. Alcibiades says nearly as much himself in Thuc. VI 90. 2, with which compare 15. 2. Grote (VII p. 79) is inclined to deny that even Alcibiades dreamt of anything beyond the conquest of Sicily, but the ancient historians thought differently: cf. also *Alc.* II 141 B ff. Many of the Athenians, probably not without reason (though Plutarch l.c. 35. 1 leaves the point unsettled), suspected him of aiming at a τυραννίς (Thuc. VI 15. 4 and Isocr. *περὶ ζεύγους* 38).

494 D 21 ἐξαρεῖν κτλ. See *cr. n.* ἐξαρεῖν appears also in several MSS besides v. The present, though retained by Schneider, is very difficult after πληρωθῆσθαι. For the interchange of αι and α cf. *Introd.* § 5. Alcibiades' φρόνημα was notorious: see for example *Alc.* 1 104 A, Thuc. V 43. 2, VI 16 ff., Plut. *Alc.* 34. 6 and the highly characteristic anecdote in 23. 8. Plato's words appear to embody

ματος κενοῦ ἄνευ νοῦ ἐμπιμπλάμενον; Καὶ μάλ', ἔφη. Τῷ δὲ οὕτω διατιθεμένῳ ἂν τις ἡρέμα προσελθὼν τάληθ' ἴδῃ, ὅτι νοὺς οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ, δεῖται δέ, τὸ δὲ οὐ κτητὸν μὴ δουλεύσαντι τῇ  
 25 κτήσει αὐτοῦ, ἄρ' εὐπετὲς οἶει εἶναι εἰσακοῦσαι διὰ τοσούτων κακῶν; Πολλοῦ γε δεῖ, ἣ δ' ὅς. 'Εὰν δ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, διὰ τὸ εὖ πεφυκέναι καὶ τὸ ξυγγενὲς τῶν λόγων εἰς αἰσθάνηταί τέ<sup>1</sup> πη καὶ E  
 κάμπτηται καὶ ἔλκεται πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, τί οἴομεθα δράσειν ἐκείνους τοὺς ἡγουμένους ἀπολλύναι αὐτοῦ τὴν χρεῖαν τε καὶ  
 30 ἑταιρείαν; οὐ πᾶν μὲν ἔργον, πᾶν δ' ἔπος λέγοντάς τε καὶ πράττοντας, καὶ περὶ αὐτόν, ὅπως ἂν μὴ πεισθῇ, καὶ περὶ τὸν πείθοντα,

an extract from some tragic poet (probably Euripides), as may be inferred both from the rhythm (σχηματισμοῦ—κενοῦ) and the language. ἄνευ νοῦ is declared by van Prinsterer, Cobet and others to be a gloss on κενοῦ. Possibly they are right; but (as Schneider remarks) ὅτι νοὺς οὐκ ἔνεστιν αὐτῷ is in favour of retaining the words, and they occur in all the MSS.

23 οὕτω διατιθεμένῳ: not "while he is in this frame of mind" (D. and V.), but 'when he is sinking into this condition.' ἂν τις κτλ. As Socrates often did to Alcibiades: see VIII 560 D n. and *Symp.* 215 D ff. "The two conversations with Alcibiades are an example of this" (Thomas Gray).

24 τὸ δέ is not here the idiomatic τὸ δέ (as in IV 443 C), but 'hoc autem' i.e. νοὺς (Stallbaum).

27 τὸ ξυγγενὲς κτλ.: i.e. the affinity of what is said with his nature, "weil die Reden mit ihm verwandt sind" (Schneider). D. and V.'s translation "an inborn taste for philosophic inquiry" is wrong.

εἰς has often been doubted; but Schneider's explanation is certainly right, that τῷ οὕτω διατιθεμένῳ is the individual typifying a class, and that εἰς denotes one of the class. The idiom is analogous to the plural after a typical or generic singular: see on I 347 A. The emendations proposed (διασθάνηται for εἰς αἰσθάνηται Stallbaum, εἰσαυθὶς Richter, εἰσω Madvig, εἰσακούων or εἰσακούσας Richards) are not only superfluous, but indefensible in themselves. Plato hardly expects more than one such person to pause at all on his downward career. Here again we naturally think of Alcibiades, whose interviews with Socrates (according to *Symp.* 215 D) profoundly impressed him for the moment, but failed to effect a

permanent reform in the midst of so many temptations (ib. 216 B). Perhaps Socrates once hoped that Alcibiades would be his 'scientific ruler,' and bring back true prosperity to Athens. A tone of sorrow for the 'lost leader' seems to make itself felt in Plato's words.

494 E 29 τοὺς ἡγουμένους: i.e. οἱ ἡγούμενοι, whence the article, which Herwerden wrongly rejects. The voice should pause a little between ἐκείνους (which refers to 494 C) and τοὺς ἡγουμένους.

30 λέγοντάς τε κτλ. We should expect the future indicative, and on this ground the insertion of διατελεῖν has been proposed by Richards (Stephanus had previously desiderated διατελέσειν). So serious an alteration lacks every element of probability. Ast must be wrong in making λέγοντας etc. depend on οἴομεθα. If the text is sound, we should supply πάντα δράσειν or the like after οὐ, and regard the participle as agreeing with the subject of δράσειν. (Schneider and J. and C. take nearly the same view). δράσειν is of course easy to understand, but it is less easy to dispense with πάντα. Could Plato have written οὐ <πᾶν>, πᾶν μὲν ἔργον κτλ.? Cf. IX 575 E and πᾶν ποιῖν in *Ap.* 39 A and *Gorg.* 479 C. I prefer the anacoluthon.

31 τὸν πείθοντα. Such was Socrates, and he was brought to trial. Plato may well have thought of his master when he wrote δημοσίᾳ εἰς ἀγῶνας καθιστάνας. The most fatal count in the charge against Socrates was that he corrupted the youth (*Ap.* 24 B), and Alcibiades was held to be a case in point (Xen. *Mem.* I 2. 12). Plato now turns the tables on the Athenian people. He says in effect 'It was you who corrupted Alcibiades: and you impeached Socrates for trying to save him.'

ὅπως ἂν μὴ οἶός τ' ᾖ, καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἐπιβουλεύοντας καὶ δημοσίᾳ εἰς  
 495 ἀγῶνας καθιστάντας; | Πολλή, ἣ δ' ὅς, ἀνάγκη. Ἔστιν οὖν ὅπως  
 ὁ τοιοῦτος φιλοσοφήσει; Οὐ πάνν.

IX. Ὅρᾳς οὖν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι οὐ κακῶς ἐλέγομεν, ὥς ἄρα καὶ  
 αὐτὰ τὰ τῆς φιλοσόφου φύσεως μέρη, ὅταν ἐν κακῇ τροφῇ γένηται,  
 αἷτια τρόπον τινὰ τοῦ ἐκπεσεῖν ἐκ τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος, καὶ τὰ 5  
 λεγόμενα ἀγαθὰ, πλοῦτοί τε καὶ πᾶσα ἡ τοιαύτη παρασκευή; Οὐ  
 γάρ, ἀλλ' ὀρθῶς, ἔφη, ἐλέχθη. Οὗτος δὴ, εἶπον, ὦ θαυμάσιε,  
 B ὀλεθρός τε καὶ διαφθορά τοσαύτη τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοιαύτη τῆς βελτίστης  
 φύσεως εἰς τὸ ἄριστον ἐπιτήδευμα, ὀλίγης καὶ ἄλλως γιγνομένης,  
 ὥς ἡμεῖς φαμέν. καὶ ἐκ τούτων δὴ τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ οἱ τὰ μέγιστα 10  
 κακὰ ἐργαζόμενοι τὰς πόλεις γίγνονται καὶ τοὺς ἰδιώτας, καὶ οἱ  
 τὰγαθὰ, οἱ ἂν ταύτη τύχῳσι ῥύνετες· σμικρὰ δὲ φύσις οὐδὲν μέγα  
 οὐδέποτε οὐδένα οὔτε ἰδιώτην οὔτε πόλιν δρᾷ. Ἀληθέστατα, ἣ δ'  
 C ὅς. Οὗτοι μὲν δὴ οὕτως ἐκπίπτοντες, οἷς μάλιστα<sup>1</sup> προσήκει,  
 ἔρημον καὶ ἀτελῇ φιλοσοφίαν λείποντες αὐτοὶ τε βίον οὐ προσή- 15  
 κοντα οὐδ' ἀληθῇ ζῶσιν, τὴν δὲ ὥσπερ ὀρφανὴν ξυγγενῶν ἄλλοι  
 ἐπεισελθόντες ἀνάξιοι ἥσυχνάν τε καὶ ὀνειδῇ περιῆψαν, οἷα καὶ σὺ  
 φῆς ὀνειδίζειν τοὺς ὀνειδίζοντας, ὥς οἱ ξυνόντες αὐτῇ οἱ μὲν οὐδενός,  
 οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ πολλῶν κακῶν ἀξιοὶ εἰσιν. Καὶ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη, τά γε

3. ὁρᾳς II: ἄρα A.

495 A 3 ἐλέγομεν. 491 B ff.

495 B 9 εἰς should be taken with  
 ὀλεθρος and διαφθορά, as Schneider points  
 out. They are spoiled 'with reference to'  
 or 'for' the best of all vocations. Jowett  
 wrongly connects εἰς with βελτίστης.

10 φαμέν. 491 A, B.

ἐκ τούτων κτλ. *Corruptio optimi  
 pessima.*

οἱ—ἐργαζόμενοι was true of Alcibiades:  
 see Grote VIII p. 116 and Lysias *In Alc.*  
 I 16, 30, 35 ff. Isocrates' attempt in his  
*περὶ ζεύγους* to make out that Alcibiades  
 was a benefactor to his city is a futile and  
 fantastic performance.

12 ῥύνετες κτλ. With the metaphor  
 cf. 485 D. For σμικρὰ—δρᾷ see 419 E n.

495 B—296 A Abandoned by her  
 rightful lovers, Philosophy, alone and  
 desolate, is forced into a shameful alliance  
 with base pretenders. The offspring of  
 this unhallowed union is a bastard brood  
 of sophisms.

495 C 14 προσήκει: sc. φιλοσοφία:

"nam philosophia cum virgine ἐπικλήρω  
 comparatur, qualem in matrimonium du-  
 cere proximis cognatis aut permissum aut  
 iniunctum fuit" (Stallbaum). See Meier  
 u. Schömann *Att. Proc.* pp. 614—617.

15 ἀτελῇ κτλ. ἀτελῇ is said with  
 reference to the rites of marriage: cf.  
 Philostrate. *Vit. Apoll.* IV 45 ἐπ' ἀτελεῖ  
 γάμῳ and Soph. *Ant.* 1240 f. τὰ νυμφικὰ |  
 τέλη λαχὼν δέλαιος ἐν γ' Ἀιδῶν δόμοις.  
 With τε followed by δέ cf. x 611 D and  
 other examples quoted by Hoefler *de part.*  
*Pl.* p. 16.

16 ἀληθῇ is like ἀληθῶς ζῶν in 490 B,  
 a passage where the same kind of imagery  
 is employed.

17 ἥσυχνάν τε κτλ. Is the aorist  
 gnomic or past? It is usually taken as  
 gnomic, but Plato may be thinking of his  
 own times, in which Philosophy had come  
 to shame, because the unworthy had de-  
 filed her.

σὺ φῆς. Cf. 489 D and 487 C, D.



20 λεγόμενα ταῦτα. Εἰκότως γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, λεγόμενα. καθορῶντες γὰρ ἄλλοι ἀνθρωπίσκοι κενὴν τὴν χώραν ταύτην γιγνομένην, καλῶν δὲ ὀνομάτων καὶ προσχημάτων<sup>1</sup> μεστήν, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐκ τῶν εἰργμῶν D εἰς τὰ ἱερὰ ἀποδιδράσκοντες, ἄσμενοι καὶ οὗτοι ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν ἐκπηδῶσιν εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν, οἱ ἂν κομψότατοι ὄντες τυγχάνωσι 25 περὶ τὸ αὐτῶν τεχνίον. ὅμως γὰρ δὴ πρὸς γε τὰς ἄλλας τέχνας καίπερ οὕτω πραττούσης φιλοσοφίας τὸ ἀξίωμα μεγαλοπρεπέστερον λείπεται, οὗ δὲ ἐφίεμενοι πολλοί, ἀτελεῖς μὲν τὰς φύσεις, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τεχνῶν τε καὶ δημιουργῶν ὥσπερ τὰ σώματα λελώβηται, οὕτω καὶ τὰς<sup>1</sup> ψυχὰς ξυγκεκλασμένοι τε καὶ ἀποτεθρυμ- E 30 μένοι διὰ τὰς βαναυσίας τυγχάνουσιν· ἢ οὐκ ἀνάγκη; Καὶ

495 D 23 ἐκ τῶν τεχνῶν κτλ. It has been supposed that Plato has in view Antisthenes and the Cynic Diogenes, the latter of whom apparently started life as a moneychanger (D. L. VI 20). But the description which follows applies to sophists and sophistical rhetoricians rather than to the Cynic philosophers. The poet Gray says "this seems to be aimed at Protagoras, who was an ordinary countryman and a woodcutter" (see Gellius *Noct. Att.* v 3 and other authorities cited by Frei *Quaest. Prot.* pp. 6 ff.). Hermann (*Gesch. u. Syst.* p. 628) cites Euthydemus and Dionysodorus as cases in point (cf. 496 A n.). Each of these sophists had formerly taught the art of fighting in full armour (*Euthyd.* 271 C—272 B, 273 E). As speech-writing and rhetoric generally were counted among the arts, we may think also of Isocrates, who loved above everything to call himself a φιλόσοφος (*Antid.* 271 ff.). But although these and other examples may be quoted in illustration of what Plato here says, the tone of the whole passage shews that Plato is describing a familiar phenomenon of his own times, when clever and ambitious young men were in the habit of forsaking their handicrafts and devoting themselves to 'culture.' Cf. *Prot.* 318 E τὰς γὰρ τέχνας αὐτοὺς πεφηνγότας ἄκοντας πάλιν αὖ ἄγοντες ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τέχνας (sc. Hippias etc.), λογισμούς τε καὶ ἀστρονομίαν καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ μουσικὴν διδάσκοντες, and my article in *Cl. Rev.* xv p. 220.

27 ἐφίεμενοι κτλ. is an anacoluthon. The natural flow of the sentence is interrupted by the question ἢ οὐκ ἀνάγκη; which is intended to obtain Adeimantus' assent to τὰς ψυχὰς—τυγχάνουσιν. On

resuming, Plato interposes a comparison, and to this the general idea which forms the logical predicate to πολλοί is accommodated in ποῖ' ἅττα—φαῦλα. The sentence was thus understood by the editor of *q*; for τυγχάνουσιν, which seems a difficulty on this theory, is in *q* τυγχάνοντες. But τυγχάνοντες would be extremely inelegant; and Plato writes τυγχάνουσιν to correspond to λελώβηται. Even in other cases a finite verb sometimes replaces a participle in the second of two contrasted clauses, e.g. *Ap.* 21 E. J. and C. explain the passage in nearly the same way, as well as (apparently) Schneider and Stallbaum. It is impossible for many reasons to connect τυγχάνουσιν with ἐφίεμενοι and so escape the anacoluthon. I formerly suspected the text, and proposed <ἀπο>τυγχάνουσιν ('miss the mark,' i.e. fail to win the distinction which they covet). Another solution might be to place the troublesome τυγχάνουσιν after πολλοί. But neither change is in any degree probable; and it is better to acquiesce in the reading of the mss. Plato's anacolutha are a device for imparting life and reality to his dialogues. A careful translation should preserve them all.

495 E 29 ἀποτεθρυμμένοι; lit. 'broken off' i.e. 'truncated,' 'maimed.' The word is rare, and apparently used only here by Plato. Schneider thus explains the preposition: "quorum animis quasi arboribus cacumina defracta et vires ad enitendum necessariae debilitatae sunt." A comparison of *Theaet.* 173 A πολλὰ κάμπτονται καὶ συγκλῶνται and *Prot.* 325 D ὥσπερ ξύλον διαστρεφόμενον καὶ καμπτόμενον εὐθύνουσιν ἀπειλαῖς καὶ

μάλα, ἔφη. Δοκεῖς οὖν τι, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, διαφέρειν αὐτοὺς ἰδεῖν ἀργύριον κτησαμένου χαλκέως φαλακροῦ καὶ σμικροῦ, νεωστὶ μὲν ἐκ δεσμῶν λελυμένον, ἐν βαλανείῳ δὲ λελουμένου, νεουργὸν ἱμάτιον ἔχοντος, ὡς νυμφίου παρεσκευασμένου, διὰ πενίαν καὶ ἐρημίαν τοῦ δεσπότης τὴν θυγατέρα μέλλοντος γαμεῖν; Οὐ | πάνυ, ἔφη, 35 διαφέρει. Ποῦ' ἅττα οὖν εἰκὸς γεννᾶν τοὺς τοιούτους; οὐ νόθα καὶ φαῦλα; Πολλὴ ἀνάγκη. Τί δέ; τοὺς ἀναξίους παιδεύσεως,

πληγαῖς makes it not unlikely that the metaphor is as Schneider supposes. On the *vox nihili* ἀποτεθρυμμένοι (in the margin of Flor. A) see Ruhnken on Timaeus *Lex.* s.v. Timaeus seems to have found it in his text of the *Republic*.

30 διὰ τὰς βανασίας. Cf. Xen. *Oec.* 4. 2 αἷ γε βανασικαὶ καλοῦμεναι (sc. τέχναι)—καταλυμνίζονται—τὰ σώματα τῶν τε ἐργαζομένων καὶ τῶν ἐπιμελομένων, ἀναγκάζουσαι καθῆσθαι καὶ σκιατραφεῖσθαι, ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ πρὸς πῦρ ἡμερεύειν. τῶν δὲ σωμάτων θηλυνομένων καὶ αἱ ψυχὰς πολὺ ἀρρωστώτεροι γίνονται. It is probable that βανασία was "primarily a military conception, dependent for its origin on the obvious fact that certain modes of life and the exercise of certain trades disqualify from prowess in the field" (Greenidge *Gk. Const. History* p. 22, quoting in support Hdt. II 165—167). "Sedentary and within-door arts," says Bacon (quoted by Newman *Politics of Aristotle* I p. 105), "have in their nature a contrariety to a military disposition." In practice the term is freely applied by the writers of the best period to every kind of mechanical or illiberal labour or pursuit. Aristotle defines βανασία in these words: βάνανσον δ' ἔργον εἶναι δεῖ τοῦτο νομίζειν καὶ τέχνην ταύτην καὶ μάθησιν, ὅσαι πρὸς τὰς χρήσεις καὶ τὰς πράξεις τὰς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀχρηστον ἀπεργάζονται τὸ σῶμα τῶν ἐλευθέρων ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν ἢ τὴν διάνοιαν (*Pol.* Θ 2. 1337<sup>b</sup> 8 ff.). See also Whibley *Gk. Orig.* pp. 42 ff. and Newman l.c. pp. 104—115. The ancients mostly derived the word from βαῦνος 'a furnace' and αἶω, "quasi βάνανσος qui caminum accendit" (Stephanus-Hase *Thes.* s.v.). In view of the Boeotian βανά=γυνή and βανήκας: γυναῖκας Bionotol in Hesychius, I have conjectured in *Cl. Rev.* VII p. 112 that βάνανσος, which does not look like an Attic word, may be connected with βανά. If so, the word perhaps originally meant 'effeminate'

'unmanly': cf. θηλυνομένων in the extract quoted from Xenophon. In any case, however, the ancient etymology can hardly be right.

31 δοκεῖς οὖν τι κτλ. In the 'little bald tinker' several critics have recognised Isocrates: see for example Teichmüller *Lit. Fehd.* I p. 105 and Jackson's article on the Sophists in the *Enc. Brit.* ἐκ δεσμῶν λελυμένον—ἐν βαλανείῳ δὲ λελουμένου is an admirable example of rhetorical παρομοίωσις, and satirises the tricks of style for which Isocrates was notorious. But all the sophistical rhetoricians of the school of Gorgias affected meretricious ornaments of this kind (see Hug on *Symp.* 194 E ff. and especially Cope's *Rhetoric of Aristotle* III pp. 105, 106), and Plato's shafts are not levelled at Isocrates alone. As usual, he individualises the type, and if the resultant picture resembles Isocrates, so much the worse for him. Plato would not be sorry (cf. *Euthyd.* 305 ff., with Spengel's *Isokr. u. Pl.* pp. 36—40), and doubtless intended his readers to think of Isocrates, as they certainly would. See also on 498 E.

32 ἀργύριον κτλ. Cf. Cratin. *Seriph.* 2 Meineke ἀνδρῶν νεοπλουτοπονήρων | ἀσχυρῶν.

φαλακροῦ καὶ σμικροῦ. Was Isocrates bald and short? The bust of him in the Villa Albani is not bald, and it would be pressing the personality to the verge of absurdity to take these words so seriously. The poverty (πενίαν etc.) and loneliness is of course the daughter's (cf. 495 C ἐρημον καὶ ἀτελῆ φιλοσοφίαν λελποντες), not her father's, as D. and V. suppose. In other words τοῦ δεσπότης belongs only to τὴν θυγατέρα.

496 A 2 διαφέρει. See on 484 D. Herwerden ejects the word, quite needlessly, as usual.

ὅταν αὐτῇ πλησιάζοντες ὁμιλῶσι μὴ κατ' ἀξίαν, ποῖ' ἅττα φῶμεν  
 5 γεννᾶν διανοήματά τε καὶ δόξας; ἄρ' οὐχ ὡς ἀληθῶς προσήκοντα  
 ἀκοῦσαι σοφίσματα καὶ οὐδὲν γνήσιον οὐδὲ φρονήσεως ἀληθινῆς  
 ἐχόμενον; Παντελῶς μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

Χ. Πάνσμικρον δὴ τι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, λείπεται τῶν  
 κατ' ἀξίαν ὁμιλούντων φιλοσοφία, ἣ που ὑπὸ φυγῆς καταληφθὲν Β  
 10 γενναῖον καὶ εὖ τεθραμμένον ἦθος, ἀπορία τῶν διαφθερούντων κατὰ  
 φύσιν μείναν ἐπ' αὐτῇ, ἣ ἐν σμικρᾷ πόλει ὅταν μεγάλη ψυχὴ φυῇ

6. φρονήσεως Ast: φρονήσεως ἄξιον ΑΞ γ: φρονήσεως ἄξιον ὡς Π.

8. ἔφην Π: ἔφη ἦν δ' Α.

4 ποῖ' ἅττα—δόξας. Cf. *Sympr.* 210 D πολλοὺς καὶ καλοὺς λόγους καὶ μεγαλο-  
 πρεπεῖς τίκτηι καὶ διανοήματα ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ  
 ἀφθόνῳ. τίκτηι or γεννᾶν ἐν is the usual  
 expression for begetting on or out of: cf.  
 τόκος ἐν καλῷ *Sympr.* 206 B.

5 προσήκοντα κτλ.: 'deserving to be  
 called sophisms.' The fallacies in the  
*Euthydemus* are cases in point: cf.  
 495 D n. With φρονήσεως ἀληθινῆς ἐχό-  
 μενον cf. *Euthyd.* 306 D. ἄξιον, which  
 occurs in A after φρονήσεως, is probably,  
 as Cobet supposed, a marginal note direct-  
 ing attention to this vigorous and highly  
 elaborated passage: cf. 504 E n. and see  
 the curious description by Diogenes Laer-  
 tius (III 65 f.) of the different σημεία by  
 which it was customary to draw attention  
 to noteworthy or difficult places in the  
 text of Plato. Schneider and Jowett can  
 hardly be right in retaining the word.  
 Stephanus' conjecture οὐδὲ ἄξιον οὐδὲ  
 φρονήσεως ἀληθινῆς is awkward and not  
 likely to be correct. Campbell neatly  
 conjectures ἀξίως, but Cobet's solution,  
 which Ast foreshadowed, is more prob-  
 able.

496 A—497 A *The few who, from  
 various reasons, remain faithful to philo-  
 sophy, withdraw from political life. By  
 so doing, they keep themselves unspotted  
 from the world—no mean achievement, yet  
 not the greatest. If they meet with a  
 commonwealth appropriate to them, they  
 will themselves attain a larger growth, as  
 well as prove the saviours of their country.*

496 B γ ὑπὸ φυγῆς καταληφθὲν:  
 'arrested by exile,' so as not ἐκπεσεῖν ἐκ  
 τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύματος (495 A): cf. κατασχεῖν  
 below. Stallbaum's explanation 'over-  
 taken by exile,' which D. and V. apparently  
 accept, is in my judgment wrong. The read-  
 ing καταλειφθὲν (γ and several other MSS,

followed by Ast and one or two other  
 scholars) is less expressive and picturesque,  
 though it gives a fair sense if interpreted as  
 καταλειφθὲν τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ. Van Heusde's  
 conjecture ἀπὸ φυγῆς καταλειφθὲν would  
 (as Schneider observes) mean 'those who  
 survived after exile' and is wholly inad-  
 missible, as well as ἀπὸ φυγῆς καταληφθὲν  
 ('debarred from exile'), which Herwerden  
 proposes, inserting also ἦ after ἦθος. Has  
 Plato any special instances in view? Steinhart  
 (*Einleitung* p. 208) thinks of  
 Anaxagoras, and even of Plato himself.  
 But it cannot be said that either of them  
 was saved by exile from deserting Philo-  
 sophy, and Plato was hardly exiled, even  
 metaphorically speaking. Krohn (*Pl. St.*  
 pp. 117, 384) declares for Xenophon. It  
 is however more than doubtful, even  
 after Boeckh's attempt to overthrow the  
 tradition about unfriendliness between  
 Xenophon and Plato (*De similitudine quam*  
*Pl. c. Xen. exercuisse fertur* 1811), whether  
 Plato would have gone out of his way to  
 pay a compliment to his fellow-disciple.  
 Can Plato be thinking of his friend Dio?  
 If so, this passage must have been written  
 in or after 367 B.C., the year of Dio's  
 banishment from Syracuse. A personal  
 reference is easily combined with the  
 description of a class, and a tribute to  
 Dio would be very pleasing here. I  
 have lately found the same conjecture  
 in Thomas Gray's notes on the *Republic*.  
 See also *Introd.* § 4 and (for Plato's  
 connexion with Dio) Grote x pp. 332 ff.  
 See also 499 B n.

11 ὅταν κτλ. There is no reason to  
 suppose (with e.g. Steinhart *Einleitung*  
 p. 208) that Plato means Euclides of  
 Megara. Heraclitus is a good instance,  
 although Ephesus was hardly a σμικρὰ  
 πόλις.



καὶ ἀτιμάσασα τὰ τῆς πόλεως ὑπερίδῃ· βραχὺ δέ πού τι καὶ ἀπ' ἄλλης τέχνης δικαίως ἀτιμάσαν εὐφυνὲς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἂν ἔλθοι. εἴη δ' ἂν καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἡμετέρου ἐταίρου Θεάγου χαλινὸς οἷος κατασχεῖν.  
 C καὶ γὰρ Θεάγει τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα παρεσκεύασται πρὸς τὸ <sup>1</sup> ἐκ- 15  
 πεσεῖν φιλοσοφίας, ἡ δὲ τοῦ σώματος νοσοτροφία ἀπείργουσα αὐτὸν τῶν πολιτικῶν κατέχει. τὸ δ' ἡμέτερον οὐκ ἄξιον λέγειν, τὸ δαιμόνιον σημεῖον· ἡ γὰρ πού τι ἀλλῶ ἢ οὐδενὶ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν γέγονεν. καὶ τούτων δὴ τῶν ὀλίγων οἱ γενόμενοι κατ' ἐνστάμενοι ὥς ἡδὺ καὶ μακάριον τὸ κτῆμα, καὶ τῶν πολλῶν αὐτὸν ἱκανῶς ἰδόντες 20  
 D τὴν μανίαν, καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν περὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων πράττει, οὐδ' ἔστι ξύμμαχος, μεθ' ὅτου τις ἰὼν ἐπὶ <sup>1</sup> τὴν τῷ δικαίῳ βοήθειαν σφάζει· ἂν, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ εἰς θηρία ἄνθρωπος

13. ἂν ἔλθοι II: ἀνέλθοι A.

12 βραχὺ δέ πού τι κτλ. Some have thought of Phaedo of Elis, and Simon the Athenian, both of whom were members of the Socratic circle (Steinhart l.c. p. 208). The latter (whose very existence has been denied by some recent critics, but—as Hirzel *Der Dialog* pp. 102 ff. shews—on wholly inadequate grounds) was once a shoemaker (D. L. II 122). We may also in some respects compare the architect-philosopher Hippodamus of Miletus: see Susemihl and Hicks' *Politics of Aristotle* I pp. 331—334. Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1, p. 52 n. 1 thinks Plato may have had Socrates himself in view, but the δαιμόνιον σημεῖον accounts for him.

14 Θεάγου. Cf. *Ap.* 33 E, where it is implied that Theages died before Socrates. The tribute which Plato pays to his memory is all the more touching because Greek literature too seldom recognises that physical weakness may be combined with mental and moral strength: see III 406 C n. Plutarch (*de tuenda san. fruges*) 126 C, quoted by Stallbaum) remarks καὶ γὰρ φιλοσοφεῖν ἀρρωστῶν πολλοὺς παρέχουσι—a reminiscence, perhaps, of Plato.

496 C 18 τὸ δαιμόνιον σημεῖον. Socrates regarded his divine sign as a special if not unique revelation from God, without submitting it to further analysis. As here, so in *Ap.* 31 D, it is this which forbids him to enter on political life (τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὁ μοι ἐναντιούται τὰ πολιτικά πράττειν). What the phenomenon really was, is a question which

different writers have answered differently, according to their different points of view: see Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1 pp. 75—91. The subject is treated with great fulness in Ribbing's *Socrat. Stud.* II pp. 1 ff. and in Riddell's edition of the *Apology* pp. 109—117. τῶν ἔμπροσθεν γέγονε does not deny that such a sign may be vouchsafed to others in the future. Schneider conjectures that Plato added this limitation with a view to himself—an unlikely supposition, although no doubt the present passage is in some measure intended as a defence of Plato's abstention from political life: cf. 496 D n.

ἡ γὰρ πού τι κτλ. Cobet and Herwerden reject ἀλλῶ, because ἡ τις ἡ οὐδεὶς is the regular phrase: cf. *Ap.* 17 B and Hdt. III 140. But the separation of ἡ from τινι makes ἀλλῶ desirable to help out the meaning of τινι, and to ἀλλῶ in itself there cannot possibly be any objection.

19 τούτων—γενόμενοι: 'those who have become members of this small band.' J. and C. quote an exact parallel from Thuc. III 56. 6 ὧν ἡμεῖς γενόμενοι: cf. also supra II 360 A, *Phaed.* 69 D, *Parm.* 127 D (τὸν τῶν τριάκοντα γενόμενον) and *Latius* 754 D. γενόμενοι is found in some inferior MSS, and was accepted till Schneider, who restored the true reading. Liebhold absurdly conjectures ἐλόμενοι.

21 ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν. See on I 341 B.

496 D 23 τῷ δικαίῳ was restored by Schneider instead of τῶν δικαίων, on the sole authority of Vind. F. It has

ἐμπεσὼν οὔτε ξυναδικεῖν ἐθέλων οὔτε ἱκανὸς ὦν εἰς πᾶσιν ἀγρίοις  
 25 ἀντέχειν, πρὶν τι τὴν πόλιν ἢ φίλους ὀνῆσαι, προαπολόμενος  
 ἀνωφελὲς αὐτῷ τε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἂν γένοιτο, ταῦτα πάντα λογισμῷ  
 λαβὼν ἡσυχίαν ἔχων καὶ τὰ αὐτοῦ πράττων, οἷον ἐν χειμῶνι κοινορ-  
 τοῦ καὶ ζάλης ὑπὸ πνεύματος φερομένου ὑπὸ τειχίου ἀποστάς,  
 30 ὁρῶν τοὺς ἄλλους καταπιμπλαμένους ἀνομίας ἀγαπᾷ εἴ πῃ αὐτὸς  
 καθαρὸς ἀδικίας τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀνοσιῶν ἔργων τὸν τε ἐνθάδε βίον βιώσεται Ε  
 καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῦ μετὰ καλῆς ἐλπίδος ἱλεώς τε καὶ εὐμενὲς  
 ἀπαλλάσσεται. Ἄλλὰ τοι, ἦ δ' ὅς, οὐ τὰ ἐλάχιστα ἂν | διαπραξά- 497  
 μένος ἀπαλλάττοιο. Οὐδέ γε, εἶπον, τὰ μέγιστα, μὴ τυχὼν

since been found that τῷ δικαίῳ is actually the reading of A. ἡ τῶν δικαίων βοήθεια would mean something quite different, as Schneider shews; viz. "auxilium vel a iustis vel rebus in iustis, vel contra iustos seu iusta latum vel ferendum." With the general sentiment cf. *Ap.* 31 E—32 A, a passage which proves—if proof were needed—that Liebholt's extraordinary proposal to read σπονδάζοι for σφάζοιτο is untenable.

εἰς θηρία ἄνθρωπος κτλ. Herwerden would read ἀνθρώπους 'among men who are as beasts.' But the point is that the philosopher in existing commonwealths is like a lonely human being in the midst of wild beasts. Cf. *Timon of Athens* IV 3 "The commonwealth of Athens is become a forest of beasts." The comparison may have been suggested to Plato by Pherecrates' Ἄγριοι, to which he alludes in *Prot.* 327 D. In Pherecrates' play the Ἄγριοι were savages, to whom apparently some Athenians betook themselves, in the hope of finding more happiness than they enjoyed in Athens: see Kock's *Com. Graec. Fr.* I pp. 146—150. Plato points out that there are savages enough at home. In πᾶσιν ἀγρίοις the emphasis is on πᾶσιν: we should translate 'to hold out alone where all are savages.' Cf. ὑπὸ πάντων πολέμων IX 579 B. Herwerden weakens the effect by adding οὖσαν after ἀγρίοις.

27 λαβὼν: singular, in spite of γενόμενοι in 496 C. Cf. I 347 A η.

οἷον ἐν χειμῶνι κτλ. Jowett construes χειμῶνι with κοινορτοῦ; but χειμῶν κοινορτοῦ for 'a storm of dust' is scarcely a Greek idiom. κοινορτοῦ—φερομένου is of course a descriptive genitive absolute.

In this way Schneider also took the passage. ζάλη is 'tempestuous rain' μετὰ θυβρου πνοῇ, as Hesychius explains. χαλάζης was once conjectured by Ast, but he afterwards rightly withdrew the suggestion. Herwerden proposes οἷον ἐν ζάλῃ κοινορτοῦ ὑπὸ κτλ., and Richards ἐν χειμῶνι καὶ κοινορτοῦ ζάλῃ (or ζάλῃ κοινορτοῦ). Neither proposal is supported by any of the ancient citations, except that of Themistius (*Or.* VIII p. 104 C) whose reproduction of this passage is in other respects, as in this, extremely inaccurate: see Schneider's note. And ζάλῃ κοινορτοῦ is, to say the least, a questionable phrase. It is not well to mar the wonderful force and beauty of writing such as this by tasteless and inept conjectures. The passage has often been compared with Lucretius' "Suave mari magno," but the difference is greater than the resemblance. The Platonic philosopher is content (ἀγαπᾷ), if he can keep his own soul pure, because he cannot, as things now are, save both himself and others. But it is no pleasure for him to see "quibus ipse malis careat," for he would fain help others if they would but let him. That they will not is a misfortune, not for others only, but for him (αὐτὸς τε μᾶλλον αὐξήσεται κτλ.). We seem to catch in Plato's words a certain tone of sorrow, as if he had not himself attained the highest of which he was capable, because he could not find a philosophic city in which to dwell: see Morgenstern *De Plat. rep.* p. 161, where reference is made to *Ap.* 31 E and to the Platonic Epistles V 322 A, B, VII 324 B—326 B, 330 C—331 D: cf. also *Gorg.* 515 A—522 E, and Sussemihl *Gen. Entw.* II p. 190.



πολιτείας προσηκούσης· ἐν γὰρ προσηκούσῃ αὐτός τε μᾶλλον αὐξήσεται καὶ μετὰ τῶν ιδίων τὰ κοινὰ σώσει.

XI. Τὸ μὲν οὖν τῆς φιλοσοφίας ὧν ἔνεκα διαβολὴν εἴληφεν, 5 καὶ ὅτι οὐ δικαίως, ἐμοὶ μὲν δοκεῖ μετρίως εἰρησθαι, εἰ μὴ ἔτ' ἄλλο λέγεις τι σύ. Ἀλλ' οὐδέν, ἢ δ' ὅς, ἔτι λέγω περὶ τούτου· ἀλλὰ τὴν προσήκουσαν αὐτῇ τίνα τῶν νῦν λέγεις πολιτειῶν; Οὐδ' B | ἡντινοῦν, εἶπον, ἀλλὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἐπαιτιῶμαι, μηδεμίαν ἀξίαν εἶναι τῶν νῦν κατὰστασιν πόλεως φιλοσόφου φύσεως· διὸ καὶ στρέφε- 10 σθαί τε καὶ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι αὐτήν· ὥσπερ ξενικὸν σπέρμα ἐν γῇ ἄλλῃ σπειρόμενον ἐξίτηλον εἰς τὸ ἐπιχώριον φιλεῖ κρατούμενον ἰέναι, οὕτω καὶ τοῦτο τὸ γένος νῦν μὲν οὐκ ἴσχειν τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀλλότριον ἦθος ἐκπίπτειν· εἰ δὲ λήψεται τὴν ἀρίστην C πολιτείαν, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτὸ ἀριστόν ἐστιν, τότε δηλώσει, ὅτι τοῦτο 15 μὲν τῷ ὄντι θεῖον ἦν, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀνθρώπινα, τὰ τε τῶν φύσεων καὶ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων. δῆλος δὲ οὖν εἶ ὅτι μετὰ τοῦτο ἐρήσει τίς αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία. Οὐκ ἔγνωσ, ἔφη· οὐ γὰρ τοῦτο ἔμελλον, ἀλλ' εἰ αὕτη, ἣν ἡμεῖς διεληλύθαμεν οἰκίζοντες τὴν πόλιν, ἢ ἄλλη. Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, αὕτη· τοῦτο δὲ αὐτὸ ἐρρήθη μὲν καὶ τότε, ὅτι 20

497 A 3 προσηκούσης. The only city suited to the philosophic nature is Plato's: cf. IX 592 A.

497 A—498 C *Our justification of Philosophy is now complete. It remains to ask—Where is the political constitution adapted to the philosophic nature? Where, in other words, is the best polity? In the city which we have founded, except that the position of the Rulers requires to be more fully explained. A State, which is to handle Philosophy without danger, must assume a new attitude towards the subject. Philosophy should receive more, instead of less attention, as a man grows older.*

497 B 10 κατὰστασιν πόλεως is treated as a single noun: cf. πόλεως διοίκησις in *Prot.* 319 D and *Pol.* 296 E.

11 ὥσπερ—ἐκπίπτειν explains and amplifies στρέφασθαι τε καὶ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι. Asyndeton is regular in such cases, and Stephanus ought not to have proposed the insertion of καὶ before ὥσπερ: cf. IV 432 D, VIII 557 C and *Prot.* 311 E, where more illustrations are cited in my note. Stallbaum's punctuation is here, I think, preferable to that of Schneider, who prints only a comma before ὥσπερ.

12 εἰς τὸ ἐπιχώριον: as though 'a foreign geranium, allowed to run wild in England' were to 'degenerate into one of the English wild geraniums.' The illustration is due to Bosanquet. Plato's botanical error, such as it is, does not affect the argument.

14 ἦθος is read by II as well as A. The majority of MSS read εἶδος, which was accepted till Schneider restored the better and more authoritative reading.

497 C 15 δηλώσει='experience will shew' is idiomatic. See Blaydes on *Ar. Frogs* 1261.

16 ἦν. The past does not exclude the present: cf. IV 436 C II.

17 τίς—πολιτεία: i.e. what the best constitution is. Adimantus was about to ask whether the ἀρίστη πολιτεία is not the one which they have described. The reply is yes, provided that the position and status of the Rulers is made clearer. As it stands it is *not* the best: cf. VIII 543 E καλλῶν ἐτι ἔχων (imperfect participle) εἰπεῖν πόλιν τε καὶ ἀνδρα (the Philosopher's City and the Philosopher), where see note.

20 ὅτι δεῖσσι κτλ.: 'that there would always have to be present in the city a

δεήσοι τι αἰεὶ ἐνεῖναι ἐν τῇ πόλει λόγον ἔχον τῆς πολιτείας τὸν D  
αὐτόν, ὅνπερ καὶ σύ, ὁ νομοθέτης, ἔχων τοὺς νόμους ἐτίθεις. Ἐρρήθη  
γάρ, ἔφη. Ἄλλ' οὐχ ἱκανῶς, εἶπον, ἐδηλώθη, φόβῳ ὧν ὑμεῖς  
ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι δεδηλώκατε μακρὰν καὶ χαλεπὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν  
25 ἀπόδειξιν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὐ πάντως ῥᾶστον διελθεῖν. Τὸ  
ποῖον; Τίνα τρόπον μεταχειριζομένη πόλις φιλοσοφίαν οὐ διο-  
λεῖται. τὰ γὰρ δὴ μεγάλα πάντα ἐπισφαλῆ, καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον τὰ  
καλὰ τῷ ὄντι χαλεπά. Ἄλλ' ὅμως, ἔφη, λαβέτω τέλος ἡ ἀπόδει- E  
ξις τούτου φανεροῦ γενομένου. Οὐ τὸ μὴ βούλεσθαι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,  
30 ἄλλ' εἴπερ, τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι διακωλύσει· παρὼν δὲ τὴν γ' ἐμὴν  
προθυμίαν εἴσει. σκόπει δὲ καὶ νῦν, ὥς προθύμως καὶ παρακιν-  
δυνευτικῶς μέλλω λέγειν, ὅτι τούναντίον ἢ νῦν δεῖ τοῦ ἐπιτηδεύ-  
ματος τούτου πόλιν ἅπτεσθαι. Πῶς; Νῦν μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οἱ καὶ  
ἀπτόμενοι μεράκια ὄντα ἄρτι | ἐκ παίδων τὸ μεταξὺ οἰκονομίας 498

21. ἐνεῖναι Ξq: ἐν εἶναι A: ἐν εἶναι (sic) Π.

certain factor possessed of a reasoned theory of the constitution, identical with that possessed by you, the legislator, when you made the laws.' The rulers must understand the constitution and not merely accept it on the legislator's authority, if the spirit of the original legislator is to survive his death. ὀρθὴ δόξα is not enough; in order to fill the place of the founder of the city they require ἐπιστήμη. Plato confesses that he did not make this clear enough before (οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἐδηλώθη), and his confession is most true. In one passage (IV 429 C<sub>2</sub>), indeed, he seems expressly to imply that the Rulers do not fill the legislator's shoes. But there are also some hints or traces of the later view: see on III 414 A, IV 423 E (to which, perhaps, ἐρρήθη is intended to refer, although the reference is hardly justified), and 442 C. Cf. 502 D, 503 A, 504 D *passim*.

497 D 23 ὧν κτλ.: i.e. ἐκείνων ὧν κτλ. The literal translation is 'through dread of the topics to which cleaving you have shewn that the demonstration thereof is long and difficult.' (So also Schneider.) ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι (the opposite of ἀφίεναι as used in V 449 B and infra 504 E) refers to Adimantus' and the others' resolute determination not to let Socrates slur over the questions relating to women and children (V 449 B ff.) and to the possibility of realising the perfect city (471 C ff.). Cf. infra 505 A. φόβῳ is explained by V 450 C ff., 457 C,

473 E. J. and C. take ὧν as "ἐκείνων ἃ (cognate accusative)," understanding ἀντιλαμβανόμενοι as 'objecting to' or 'attacking,' but no objections were made by Glauco and Adimantus. They merely asked for further explanation, and were in fact favourably disposed rather than otherwise (V 450 D, 451 B). Herwerden's conjecture ὡς for ὧν refutes itself.

24 αὐτοῦ (like the subject of ἐδηλώθη) refers to the position of the Rulers in Plato's city—with everything that it involves, including the Community of wives and children, the Philosopher-king and all the leading topics discussed in V—VII; and τὸ λοιπὸν is what remains of this topic—the rest of VI and VII in fact.

25 πάντως. Bekker's πάντων (cf. *Latw* 779 E οὐ πάντων εὐκολώτατον) is a neat emendation, which Baiter and others have accepted. But οὐ πάντως ῥᾶστον 'not in every respect quite easy' (with the usual Greek *litotes*), is quite unobjectionable, as Schneider points out, and the confusion of *s* and *v* is rare.

27 τὸ λεγόμενον κτλ. D. and V. wrongly make τῷ ὄντι part of the proverb. Translate 'and it is true, as the proverb says, that beautiful things are hard.' Cf. IV 435 C and (for τῷ ὄντι) VIII 563 E.

497 E 33 οἱ καὶ ἀπτόμενοι κτλ. καὶ = 'at all.' Cf. εἰάν καὶ—ἐθέλωσιν 498 A.

498 A 1 τὸ μεταξύ means 'in the interval before entering upon' (Richards

καὶ χρηματισμοῦ πλησιάσαντες αὐτοῦ τῷ χαλεπωτάτῳ ἀπαλλ-  
 λίσσονται, οἱ φιλοσοφώτατοι ποιούμενοι· λέγω δὲ χαλεπώτατον  
 τὸ περὶ τοὺς λόγους· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἔπειτα, ἐὰν καὶ ἄλλων τοῦτο πρατ-  
 τόντων παρακαλούμενοι ἐθέλωσιν ἀκροαταὶ γίγνεσθαι, μεγάλα 5  
 ἡγούνται, πάρεργον οἴμενοι αὐτὸ δεῖν πράττειν· πρὸς δὲ τὸ γήρας  
 ἐκτὸς δὴ τινων ὀλίγων ἀποσβέννυνται πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῦ Ἡρακλει-  
 Β τείου ἡλίου,<sup>1</sup> ὅσον αὖθις οὐκ ἐξάπτονται. Δεῖ δὲ πῶς; ἔφη. Πᾶν  
 τούναντίον· μεράκια μὲν ὄντα καὶ παῖδας μεираκιώδη παιδείαν  
 καὶ φιλοσοφίαν μεταχειρίζεσθαι, τῶν τε σωμάτων, ἐν ᾧ βλαστάνει 10  
 τε καὶ ἀνδροῦται, εὖ μάλα ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, ὑπηρεσίαν φιλοσοφίᾳ  
 κτωμένους· προΐούσης δὲ τῆς ἡλικίας, ἐν ᾗ ἡ ψυχὴ τελειοῦσθαι

in *Cl. Rev.* II p. 324). The correlating or contrasting notion is idiomatically omitted: cf. note on *παραγωγῆς* in VII 518 E. Plentiful examples of this usage are supplied by Shilleto on *Dem. F. L.* 181, and Blaydes on *Ar. Ach.* 434 *μεταξὺ τῶν Ἰνοῦς* and *Birds* 187. With the sentiment cf. 487 C n. Richards was, I believe, the first to point out the true meaning of this passage: see also Solomon in *Cl. Rev.* VII p. 11. The traditional view, that *μεταξὺ κτλ.* means 'in the spare moments of house-keeping and business,' though still given as an alternative by J. and C., is untenable.

3 οἱ—ποιούμενοι: 'and they it is, forsooth, who are regarded as accomplished in philosophy.' Sarcasm is often expressed by an appositional participial clause at the end of a sentence: cf. e.g. *Ap.* 34 A, *Crito* 51 A. *ποιεῖσθαι* here is the passive of *ποιεῖν* in the sense of 'to construct in fancy,' 'represent,' as e.g. in *Theaet.* 197 D and *infra* x 609 C. The usage is at first sight strange, but occurs again in VII 538 C, IX 573 B and 574 D, where no other meaning is suitable. Stallbaum's attempt to explain the passages differently is unsuccessful, and the proposed emendations (such as Ast's *δοκούμενοι* for *ποιούμενοι*) are unsatisfactory in each of the four cases. See notes ad II.

4 ἐὰν καὶ goes with *ἐθέλωσιν* (Schneider): 'if they do consent' (cf. *καὶ ἀπτόμενοι* above). It is implied that many, or most of them, do not.

5 μεγάλα κτλ. Plato distinguishes three stages. In the first, *τὸ περὶ λόγους* is a man's *ἔργον* after boyhood until he begins practical life; it then becomes his *πάρεργον*, and he 'thinks it great things' to go to an occasional lecture: towards

old age all but very few neglect philosophy entirely. The proper study of philosophy reverses all this (*πᾶν τούναντίον*) as is shewn in B and C.

7 τοῦ Ἡρακλείτείου ἡλίου. Heraclitus *Fr.* 32 *Bywater νέος ἐφ' ἡμέρῃ ἥλιος*. Heraclitus meant the saying to be taken literally, and not merely as an expression of the universal law of change: see the authorities cited by Bywater ad loc. and Zeller<sup>5</sup> I p. 684 n. 2.

498 B 10 φιλοσοφίαν κτλ. *φιλοσοφίαν* in its wider sense denotes any 'liberal' training or study: cf. *Theaet.* 143 D, 172 C, and *Prot.* 335 D with my note ad loc. D. and V. are in error (as Bosanquet remarks) when they translate *παιδείαν καὶ φιλοσοφίαν* by 'a course of training in philosophy.' Nor is Sussehl (*Gen. Entw.* II p. 187) right in supposing that the reference is to the musical education of the earlier books. Plato explains what he means in VII 536 D, E.

11 ἀνδροῦται. The early editors read *ἀδρούται* (with E). *ἀδρούμαι* is a rare and somewhat obscure word, nowhere found in Plato; and it is better to retain *ἀνδρούται*, although the subject is not *μεράκια*, but *σώματα*.

ὑπηρεσίαν φιλοσοφίᾳ κτωμένους sums up in a single phrase the Platonic theory of athletics: see on III 410 A ff. and cf. IX 591 C, D.

12 ἐν ᾗ. Richards would write *ἐν ᾧ* as in *ἐν ᾧ βλαστάνει* above, asserting that "ἡ ἡλικία is their years, not any particular time of life"; but *ἡ ἡλικία* is often so used, e.g. *Sympr.* 209 B and *Men.* 89 B. Nor is *ἐν ᾧ*, 'while,' appropriate here. Translate 'when the years advance, in which the soul begins to reach its maturity.'



ἄρχεται, ἐπιτείνειν τὰ ἐκείνης γυμνάσια· ὅταν δὲ λήγῃ μὲν ἡ ῥώμη, πολιτικῶν<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ στρατειῶν ἐκτὸς γίγνηται, τότε ἤδη ἀφέτους<sup>C</sup> 15 νέμεσθαι καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο πράττειν, ὅ τι μὴ πάρεργον, τοὺς μέλλοντας εὐδαιμόνως βιώσεσθαι καὶ τελευτήσαντας τῷ βίῳ τῷ βεβιωμένῳ τὴν ἐκεῖ μοῖραν ἐπιστήσειν πρέπουσαν.

XII. Ὡς ἀληθῶς μοι δοκεῖς, ἔφη, λέγειν γε προθύμως, ὦ Σώκρατες· οἶμαι μέντοι τοὺς πολλοὺς τῶν ἀκουόντων προθυμότερον 20 ἔτι ἀντιτείνειν οὐδ' ὅπως τι οὖν πεισομένους, ἀπὸ Θρασυμάχου ἀρξαμένους. Μὴ διάβαλλε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐμὲ καὶ Θρασύμαχον<sup>1</sup> ἄρτι D φίλους γεγονότας, οὐδὲ πρὸ τοῦ ἐχθροὺς ὄντας. Πείρας γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀνήσομεν, ἕως ἂν ἡ πείσωμεν καὶ τοῦτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἡ προὔργου τι ποιήσωμεν εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν βίον, ὅταν αὖθις γενόμενοι τοῖς 25 τοιούτοις ἐντύχωσι λόγοις. Εἰς μικρόν γ', ἔφη, χρόνον εἴρηκας. Εἰς οὐδὲν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ὥς γε πρὸς τὸν ἅπαντα. τὸ μέντοι μὴ

14. στρατειῶν q: στρατιῶν AΠΞ.

498 C 14 γίγνηται κτλ. The subject is still ἡ ῥώμη, 'their physical strength,' not τις (as J. and C. assert). In ἀφέτους νέμεσθαι the metaphor (as observed by Heindorf on *Prot.* 320 A) is taken *de grege* *numini alicui consecrato*: cf. *Critias* 119 D ἀφétων ὄντων ταύρων ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος ἱερῷ. νέμεσθαι is properly 'to graze.' The effect of the Greek may be conveyed by rendering 'they roam the sacred fields at will,' although ἀφέτους of course agrees with the subject of νέμεσθαι.

498 C—502 C *Adimantus hardly expects the reasoning of Socrates to carry conviction to most of his hearers. But Socrates will not despair, believing that his words may perhaps bear fruit hereafter, if not here. As for the Multitude, their dissent is easily explained. They have heard enough of jingling rhetoric, but they have never yet seen a Philosopher-king, nor are they accustomed to discourses whose only aim is truth. Our perfect city is realised always and everywhere, wheresoever and whenever Philosophy sits on the throne. The Multitude will assent, if we approach them rightly; for their hatred is against the false philosophers, and not against the true. The lover of Truth is absorbed in contemplation of the changeless Realities, on the model of which he will frame human institutions, should*

*he be called upon to enter public life. Point this out to the Many, and reason with them, and they will agree. Our proposals, though difficult, are not impossible.*

20 ἀντιτείνειν κτλ. I formerly read ἀντιτενεῖν with Stephanus and others; but the present, which is in all the MSS, gives a good sense and makes a better balance with λέγειν προθύμως. Translate 'offer a still more enthusiastic opposition, being not in the least likely to agree.' The majority of editors retain the present.

ἀπὸ Θρασυμάχου κτλ. Thrasymachus was not likely to agree with so fierce an onslaught on his profession: see 493 A ff., 495 C ff.

498 D 22 οὐδὲ — ὄντας. Cf. I 354 A n.

24 αὖθις γενόμενοι 'born again' implies the re-incarnation of the Soul, as described in the end of Book X: see on 608 D ff. It is from casual allusions like the present, made in all seriousness, that we can best understand how profound and practical was Plato's belief in immortality. The seed sown here may bear its fruit in another life, so that the educator need not despair.

25 εἰς μικρόν κτλ. is not merely ironical but incredulous. We need not therefore (with J. and C.) be surprised



πείθεσθαι τοῖς λεγομένοις τοὺς πολλοὺς θαῦμα οὐδέν· οὐ γὰρ  
πώποτε εἶδον γενόμενον τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον

**E** <sup>1</sup> τοιαύτ' ἄττα ῥήματα ἐξεπίτηδες ἀλλήλοις ὁμοιωμένα, ἀλλ' οὐκ  
ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου ὥσπερ νῦν συμπεσόντα· ἄνδρα δὲ ἀρετῇ <sup>30</sup>  
παρισωμένον καὶ ὁμοιωμένον μέχρι τοῦ δυνατοῦ τελέως ἔργω  
τε καὶ λόγῳ, δυναστεύοντα ἐν πόλει ἑτέρα τοιαύτῃ, οὐ πώποτε |  
**499** ἐωρίκασιν οὔτε ἓνα οὔτε πλείους. ἢ οἷε; Οὐδαμῶς γε. Οὐδέ γε  
αὐτὸν λόγων, ὃ μακάριε, καλῶν τε καὶ ἐλευθέρων ἱκανῶς ἐπήκοοι  
γεγόνασιν, οἷον ζητεῖν μὲν τὸ ἀληθές ξυντεταμένως ἐκ παντὸς  
τρόπου τοῦ γινῶναι χάριν, τὰ δὲ κομφά τε καὶ ἐριστικὰ καὶ  
μηδαμόσε ἄλλοσε τείνοντα ἢ πρὸς δόξαν καὶ ἔριν καὶ ἐν δίκαις καὶ <sup>5</sup>  
ἐν ἰδίαις συνουσίαις πόρρωθεν ἀσπαζομένων. Οὐδὲ τούτων, ἔφη.

**B** Τούτων <sup>1</sup> τοι χάριν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ ταῦτα προορώμενοι ἡμεῖς τότε  
καὶ δεδιότες ὅμως ἐλέγομεν, ὑπὸ τάληθοῦς ἡναγκασμένοι, ὅτι οὔτε  
πόλις οὔτε πολιτεία οὐδέ γ' ἀνὴρ ὁμοίως μὴ ποτε γένηται τέλεος,

28. πολὺ A<sup>1</sup>Π: πολλοὶ corr. A<sup>2</sup>.  
mg. A<sup>2</sup>. 32. ἑτέρα Π: ἑτέρα A.

4. τρόπου Π et γρ in mg. A<sup>2</sup>: προσώπου A<sup>1</sup>.

29. τοιαύτ' ἄττα A<sup>1</sup>Π: γρ τοιαντὶ in  
3. ξυντεταμένως A<sup>2</sup>Π: ξυντεταγμένως A<sup>1</sup>.

at Glauco's incredulity and wonder in x 608 D. For οὐδέν 'a mere nothing' 'nought,' the much less expressive οὐδένα was conjectured by Hirschig and others. An exact parallel may be found in x 608 C. The grandeur and elevation of this passage recall vi 486 A.

**498 E** 29. τοιαύτ' ἄττα κτλ. Plato is here alluding to epideictic harangues by sophistical rhetoricians of the school of Gorgias. τοιαύτ' ἄττα ῥήματα = 'expressions of this sort' refers to the jingle in γενόμενον—λεγόμενον, which is an example of the rhetorical device called παρομοίωσις: see Arist. *Rhet.* III 9. 1410<sup>a</sup> 24 ff. παρομοίωσις δ' ἐὰν ὁμοία τὰ ἔσχατα ἔχη ἐκάτερον τὸ κῶλον, e.g. ἐν πλείοις δὲ φροντίσι καὶ ἐν ἐλαχίστοις ἐλπίσι, and many other examples: see Cope ad loc. In ἐξεπίτηδες—ὁμοιωμένα, 'assimilated to one another of set purpose,' the same device is meant. Isocrates and his literary brethren employed it constantly: see the references on 495 E.

ἀλλ' οὐκ—συμπεσόντα κτλ.: 'instead of spontaneously chiming together, as in the present case' etc., where the παρομοίωσις of γενόμενον and λεγόμενον is ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου ('natural,' 'spontaneous,' 'accidental' as opposed to ἐξεπίτηδες). παρισωμένον and ὁμοιωμένον

are said with a reference to παρίσσωσις (the equality of clauses, as for example in Isocr. *Paneg.* 76: see Cope l.c. p. 106) and παρομοίωσις. The Many have had quite enough of παρίσσωσις etc. in words; but they have never seen a Man παρίσσωμενον τῇ ἀρετῇ. Plato means that the time for mincing Rhetoric is past; we want a Man (ἄνδρα is emphatic), "with heart head hand, One still strong man in a blatant land, Who can rule, and dare not lie" (Tennyson). It is highly probable, as Dümmler holds (*Chron. Beitr.* p. 14), that Plato has specially in view Isocrates' *Panegyricus* throughout this passage. The contemptible devices which Plato here ridicules are extraordinarily common in that harangue. For other views of this passage see App. III.

**499 A** 5 δόξαν is 'seeming,' 'appearance' (τὸ ἀληθές above (Schneider): cf. 505 D. The rendering 'applause' (D. and V.) or 'fame,' is, I think, less likely to be right. For ἔριν cf. v 454 A n.

**499 B** 7 τότε. v 473 D.

8 οὔτε—οὔτε—οὐδέ γε is a common sequence where stress is laid on the last alternative: cf. 492 E and x 608 B. οὐδέ γ' ἀνὴρ = 'no, nor yet an individual man' is said because even the philosopher is not τέλεος except in the philosopher's city: cf. 497 A. ὁμοίως means simply 'in

- 10 πρὶν ἂν τοῖς φιλοσόφοις τούτοις τοῖς ὀλίγοις καὶ οὐ πονηροῖς, ἀχρήστοις δὲ νῦν κεκλημένοις, ἀνάγκη τις ἐκ τύχης παραβάλλῃ, εἴτε βούλονται εἴτε μή, πόλεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι, καὶ τῇ πόλει κατηκόφ γενέσθαι, ἣ τῶν νῦν ἐν δυναστείαις ἢ βασιλείαις ὄντων ὑέσιν ἢ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τινος θείας ἐπιπνοίας <sup>1</sup> ἀληθινῆς φιλοσοφίας C
- 15 ἀληθινὸς ἔρως ἐμπέσῃ. τούτων δὲ πότερα γενέσθαι ἢ ἀμφοτέρα ὥς ἄρα ἐστὶν ἀδύνατον, ἐγὼ μὲν οὐδένα φημὶ ἔχειν λόγον. οὕτω γὰρ ἂν ἡμεῖς δικαίως καταγελῶμεθα, ὥς ἄλλως εὐχαῖς ὅμοια

11. παραβάλλῃ Ξq: περιβάλλῃ ΑΠ.  
 ΑΞq: κατήκοι (sic) Π.

13. κατηκόφ Schleiermacher: κατήκοοι  
 17. καταγελῶμεθα Π: καταγελῶμεθα A.

like manner,' 'likewise,' and should not be construed with τέλεος in the sense of 'equally perfect,' as J. and C. translate.

11 ἀνάγκη—παραβάλλῃ. See *cr. n.* παραβάλλειν means accedere (not, as has been asserted, accidere): cf. VIII 556 C and *Lys.* 203 B. The word is not however quite appropriate here: and I should much prefer a convincing emendation of the text of A, Π and other MSS (ἀνάγκη—περιβάλλῃ). As it stands, περιβάλλῃ must either be intransitive, or else the infinitive ἐπιμεληθῆναι serves as its object in place of an accusative. Neither view is supported by any evidence. I formerly conjectured ἀνάγκην τις ἐκ τύχης περιβάλλῃ 'until some one happens to compel these philosophers' etc., but τις ἀνάγκη—γέγονεν in C does not favour this remedy. It is perhaps safest to read παραβάλλῃ provisionally and *pro tempore*. With ἐκ τύχης cf. IX 592 A εἰ μὴ θέα τις ξυμβῇ τύχῃ and *Er.* VII 327 E.

13 κατηκόφ. Schleiermacher's conjecture is accepted by Madvig, Baier, and J. and C. Stallbaum was inclined to read κατηκόοις. If κατήκοοι is right, it must stand for κατηκόοις, the nominative being due to the interposition of εἴτε βούλονται κτλ. But the construction is difficult, and the sense unsatisfactory. We require some guarantee that the city will obey (cf. 502 B), and κατηκόφ is the only reading which provides it.

τῶν νῦν—ὑέσιν. "I do not doubt but that this was meant as a compliment and incitement to the younger Dionysius (see Plato *Epist.* 7, p. 327). And I understand what follows p. 502 in the same manner. Hence it seems that this part of the dialogue was written after his first voyage to Sicily, and probably not long before his second, about Ol.

101, 3, when the elder Dionysius was just dead" (Thomas Gray *Works* ed. Gosse IV p. 251). In the parallel passage V 473 D Plato speaks of kings and δυνάσται, but not yet of kings' sons. The substance of Gray's conjecture is confirmed by recent criticism (see e.g. Hirmer *Entst. u. Kompos.* etc. p. 668): but Dionysius I died in Ol. 103, 2 (367 B.C.) and not in Ol. 101, 3 (374 B.C.), and Plato's second visit to Sicily seems to have taken place just after the old tyrant's death (Grote x pp. 346—356). See also on V 473 D, VI 496 B and *Introd.* § 4.

499 C 15 τούτων δὲ πότερα κτλ. Grote pronounces the Platonic commonwealth impossible because "we cannot understand from whence the force is to come, tending and competent to generate" it at the first. Once begun, he holds, "there is no reason why it might not have continued." That the real difficulty is in starting it, Plato himself clearly understands (cf. 501 A n.). He would not however allow that the difficulty is insurmountable; since a θέα τις τύχῃ (IX 592 A) may well occur. But the true fulfilment of Plato's Ideal, as he himself foretells in IX 592 B, is to be sought, not in any single earthly commonwealth, but in its influence, direct and indirect, upon the moral, political, religious, and intellectual progress of mankind: see V 470 E n. and Zeller's dissertation on *Der platonische Staat in seiner Bedeutung für die Folgezeit* in his *Vorträgen und Abhandlungen*<sup>2</sup> pp. 68 ff.

17 ἄλλως κτλ. For ἄλλως 'merely' cf. *Theat.* 176 D γῆς ἄλλως ἀχθῇ. On εὐχαῖς see V 450 D n.

λέγοντες. ἢ οὐχ οὕτως; Οὕτως. Εἰ τοίνυν ἄκροις εἰς φιλοσοφίαν πόλεως τις ἀνάγκη ἐπιμεληθῆναι ἢ γέγονεν ἐν τῷ ἀπείρῳ τῷ παρεληλυθότι χρόνῳ, ἢ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν ἐν τινι βαρβαρικῷ τόπῳ 20  
**D** πόρρῳ που ἐκτὸς ὄντι τῆς ἡμετέρας ἐπόψεως, ἢ καὶ ἔπειτα γενήσεται, περὶ τούτου ἔτοιμοι τῷ λόγῳ διαμάχεσθαι, ὡς γέγονεν ἢ εἰρημένη πολιτεία καὶ ἔστιν καὶ γενήσεται γε, ὅταν αὕτη ἡ Μοῦσα πόλεως ἐγκρατὴς γένηται. οὐ γὰρ ἀδύνατος γενέσθαι, οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ἀδύνατα λέγομεν· χαλεπὰ δὲ καὶ παρ' ἡμῶν ὁμολογεῖται. 25  
**E** Καὶ ἐμοί, ἔφη, οὕτω δοκεῖ. Τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι οὐκ αὖ δοκεῖ, ἐρεῖς; Ἴσως, ἔφη. ὦ μακάριε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἢ μὴ πάνυ οὕτω τῶν πολλῶν κατηγορεῖ. ἀλλοίαν τοι δόξαν ἔξουσιν, ἐὰν αὐτοῖς μὴ φιλονικῶν ἀλλὰ παραμυθούμενος καὶ ἀπολυόμενος τὴν τῆς φιλομαθίας διαβολὴν ἐνδεικνύῃ οὓς λέγεις τοὺς φιλοσόφους, καὶ διορίζῃ 30  
**500** ὥσπερ ἄρτι τὴν τε φύσιν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐπιτήδευσιν, ἵνα μὴ ἠγῶνται σε λέγειν οὓς αὐτοὶ οἴονται. ἢ καὶ ἐὰν οὕτω θεῶνται, ἀλλοίαν τ' οὐ φήσεις αὐτοὺς δόξαν λήψεσθαι καὶ ἄλλα ἀποκρινεῖσθαι; ἢ οἷε τινὰ χαλεπαίνειν τῷ μὴ χαλεπῷ ἢ φθονεῖν τῷ μὴ φθονεῖν ἄφθονόν τε καὶ πρᾶον ὄντα; ἐγὼ μὲν γάρ σε προφθάσας 5  
λέγω, ὅτι ἐν ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἠγοῦμαι, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει χαλεπὴν

23. αὕτη A<sup>1</sup>Π: αὐτὴ A<sup>2</sup>.  
ἀποκρίνεσθαι A.

3. τ' οὐ Baiter: τοι AΠΞq. ἀποκρινεῖσθαι Π:

20 βαρβαρικῷ—ἐπόψεως. Cf. *Phaed.* 78 A. Touches of this kind are rare in Plato and generally full of pathos, as if the hope of mankind no longer lay in Hellas. The present sentence is a confession of the fact that the foundations of Plato's city are not laid in Hellenism, but in Humanity, understood as Plato himself understands the word in 501 B. See on V 470 E.

499 D 22 ἔτοιμοι. The ellipse of the first person of the copula is rare, except when ἐγώ or ἡμεῖς is expressed, but ἔτοιμος is a privileged word: cf. *Parm.* 137 B and other examples in Schanz *Nov. Comm. Pl.* p. 35.

23 αὕτη ἡ Μοῦσα. Philosophy.

499 E 27 μὴ πάνυ κτλ. Plato's attitude to οἱ πολλοί (as Krohn remarks *Pl. St.* p. 118) has somewhat altered since 492 B ff., partly, perhaps, because his wrath has been diverted against the false philosophers. But this attempt to soothe the many-headed Beast should not be taken too seriously: see 501 E—

502 A n.

28 ἀλλοίαν τοι κτλ. See App. IV.

500 A 2 ἢ καὶ κτλ. 'Or even if they view them in this light, will you deny that they will change their opinion?' Baiter's correction—see *cr. n.*—is, as I now think, the simplest, and best explains the corruption. I can see no ground for writing ἐὰν οὕτω αἰσθωνται or ἐὰν τοῦτ' αἰσθωνται with Richards. With οὐ φήσεις cf. VII 534 B. For other views on this passage see App. IV.

5 πρᾶον is an allusion to the universally admitted *πραότης* of the Athenian *ἄνθρωπος*; see Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 22. 4 τῇ εὐθυαίᾳ τοῦ δήμου *πραότητι* (where Sandys quotes Dem. *Timocr.* 51) with Isocr. *Antid.* 20, 300. Hence (as Schneider points out) *δημοτικόν τι καὶ πρᾶον* in *Euthyd.* 303 D. Cf. also Soph. *O. C.* 1126 f.

6 ἐν ὀλίγοις τισίν. Dümmler (*Chr. Beil.* p. 45) thinks of Isocrates, but there is nothing to suggest a specific reference here.



οὕτω φύσιν γίγνεσθαι. Καὶ ἐγὼ ἀμέλει, ἔφη, ξυνοίομαι. <sup>1</sup> Οὐκοῦν **B**  
καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο ξυνοίει, τοῦ χαλεπῶς πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν τοὺς πολ-  
λοὺς διακεῖσθαι ἐκείνους εἶναι τοὺς ἔξωθεν οὐ προσήκον  
**10** ἐπεισκευαμένους, λοιδορουμένους τε αὐτοῖς καὶ φιλαπεχθημόνως  
ἔχοντας καὶ αἰεὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων τοὺς λόγους ποιουμένους, ἥκιστα  
φιλοσοφία πρέπον ποιούντας; Πολύ γ', ἔφη.

XIII. Οὐδὲ γάρ που, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, σχολὴ τῷ γε ὡς ἀληθῶς  
πρὸς τοῖς οὖσι τὴν διάνοιαν ἔχοντι κάτω βλέπειν εἰς ἀνθρώπων  
**15** <sup>1</sup>πραγματείας καὶ μαχόμενον αὐτοῖς φθόνου τε καὶ δυσμενείας **C**  
ἐμπίμπλασθαι, ἀλλ' εἰς τεταγμένα ἅττα καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα αἰεὶ  
ἔχοντα ὁρῶντας καὶ θεωμένους οὐτ' ἀδικοῦντα οὐτ' ἀδικούμενα  
ὑπ' ἀλλήλων, κόσμῳ δὲ πάντα καὶ κατὰ λόγον ἔχοντα, ταῦτα  
μιμείσθαι τε καὶ ὅ τι μάλιστα ἀφομοιοῦσθαι. ἢ οἶει τινὰ μηχανὴν  
**20** εἶναι, ὅτῳ τις ὁμιλεῖ ἀγάμενος, μὴ μιμείσθαι ἐκείνο; Ἀδύνατον,  
ἔφη. Θείῳ δὲ καὶ κοσμίῳ ὅ γε φιλόσοφος ὁμιλῶν κόσμὸς τε <sup>1</sup> καὶ **D**

17. ἀδικούμενα  $\Xi^1 q$ : ἀδικούμενον  $\text{A}\Pi^1 \Xi^2$ : ἀδικούμενος  $\Pi^2$ .

**500 B 9** τοὺς ἔξωθεν κτλ. Isocrates seems to have taken this as a personal attack, as perhaps it was intended to be. His reply may be found in *Antid.* 260 ff. περὶ τοὺς πολιτικοὺς λόγους ἡμεῖς ὄντες, οὓς ἐκεῖνοί φασιν εἶναι φιλαπεχθημόνας (cf. φιλαπεχθημόνως ἔχοντας here), πολὺν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς τυγχάνοντες αὐτῶν ὄντες· οἱ μὲν γὰρ αἰεὶ τι περὶ ἡμῶν φλαῦρον λέγουσιν, ἐγὼ δ' οὐδὲν ἂν εἴποιμι τοιούτων, ἀλλὰ ταῖς ἀληθείαις χρῆσθαι περὶ αὐτῶν κτλ. See the interesting discussion in Dümmler l.c. pp. 8 ff.

**10** αὐτοῖς and not αὐτοῖς is certainly what Plato wrote. False philosophers, like bad scholars, are always abusing one another. The middle, which is reciprocal, is also decisive in favour of αὐτοῖς: cf. *Charm.* 154 A λοιδορουμένους ἀλλήλοις. J. and C. (with Stallbaum and the editors generally, except Schneider) read αὐτοῖς, remarking that "it was by no means an uncommon practice of the old philosophers to abuse the people." Plato is not speaking of the old philosophers at all, but only of sophists and pretenders, who do not abuse, but flatter and cajole the people (493 A ff.).

**11** αἰεὶ περὶ ἀνθρώπων κτλ. The seeker after Truth does not indulge in personalities (cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* IV 9. 1125<sup>a</sup> 5 ff. and *Rhet.* II 4. 1381<sup>b</sup> 7), or scandal (*Theaet.* 173 D: cf. 174 E ff.). His single-

minded pursuit of Truth leaves him neither time nor inclination to talk about people.

**12** πολὺ γε: sc. ἥκιστα. Adimantus accommodates his answer to the last clause of Socrates' question. See on **V** 465 E.

**13** σχολή. Cf. *Theaet.* 172 D ff.

**500 C 16** εἰς τεταγμένα ἅττα κτλ. With the general sense cf. *Theaet.* 174 D ff., *Phaed.* 79 C, D, *Tim.* 47 B, C and Euripides *Fr.* 902 ὁλβιος ὅστις τῆς ἱστορίας | ἔσχε μάθησιν | μῆτε πολιτῶν ἐπὶ πημοσύ-  
νην | μῆτ' εἰς ἀδίκους πράξεις ὁρμῶν | ἀλλ' ἀθανάτου καθορῶν φύσεως | κόσμον ἀγήρων, πῇ τε συνέστη | καὶ ὅπη καὶ ὅπως. | τοῖς δὲ τοιούτοις οὐδέποτε ἀσχερῶν | ἔργων με-  
λέτημα προσίξει. Euripides' lines are conceived in the spirit of Plato and exactly illustrate his meaning, especially if, as is usually supposed, they refer to the philosopher Anaxagoras. An eloquent modern parallel may be found in Stevenson's '*Virginibus puerisque*' p. 260.

**17** ὁρῶντας. For the change from singular to plural cf. I 347 A n.

**21** κοσμίῳ. It has been thought that there is a play on κόσμος in the sense of the Universe or Heavens. But the philosopher's gaze outsoars the Heavens, and is fixed on the ὑπερουράνιος τόπος, where the Ideas dwell (*Phaedr.* 247 C).



θείος εἰς τὸ δυνατόν ἀνθρώπῳ γίγνεται· διαβολὴ δ' ἐν πᾶσι πολλή. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν. Ἄν οὖν τις, εἶπον, αὐτῷ ἀνάγκη γένηται ἢ ἐκεῖ ὁρᾷ μελετῆσαι εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἡθὴ καὶ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ τιθέναι καὶ μὴ μόνον ἑαυτὸν πλάττειν, ἄρα κακὸν δημιουργὸν αὐτὸν οἶε 25 γενήσεσθαι σωφροσύνης τε καὶ δικαιοσύνης καὶ ξυμπάσης τῆς δημοτικῆς ἀρετῆς; Ἕκιστά γε, ἢ δ' ὅς. Ἄλλ' ἐὰν δὴ αἰσθωνται

**E** οἱ πολλοί, ὅτι ἀληθὴ περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγομεν, <sup>1</sup> χαλεπανοῦσι δὴ τοῖς φιλοσόφοις καὶ ἀπιστήσουσιν ἡμῖν λέγουσιν, ὥς οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἄλλως εὐδαιμονήσειε πόλις, εἰ μὴ αὐτὴν διαγράψειαν οἱ τῷ θεῷ παρα- 30 δείγματι χρώμενοι ζωγράφοι; Οὐ χαλεπανοῦσιν, ἢ δ' ὅς, ἐάνπερ

**501** αἰσθωνται. ἀλλὰ δὴ τίνα | λέγεις τρόπον τῆς διαγραφῆς; Λαβόντες, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὥσπερ πίνακα πόλιν τε καὶ ἡθὴ ἀνθρώπων πρῶτον μὲν καθαρὰν ποιήσειαν ἄν, ὃ οὐ πάνυ ῥάδιον· ἀλλ' οὖν οἷσθ' ὅτι τούτῳ ἂν εὐθύς τῶν ἄλλων διενέγκοιεν, τῷ μῆτε ιδιώτου μῆτε πόλεως ἐθελῆσαι ἂν ὑψασθαι μηδὲ γράφειν νόμους, πρὶν ἢ 5 παραλαβεῖν καθαρὰν ἢ αὐτοὶ ποιῆσαι. Καὶ ὁρθῶς γ', ἔφη. Οὐκ-

4. διενέγκοιεν *q*: διενεγκέιν **ΑΠ**: διενεγκεῖεν (*sic*) **Ξ**.

**500 D** 22 διαβολή κτλ. ἐν πᾶσι is neuter, 'albeit misrepresentation is rife everywhere,' "there is always detraction going on" (J. and C.).

23 ἂν οὖν τις κτλ. Cf. 484 C.

27 δημοτικῆς ἀρετῆς. Not scientific virtue, because its intellectual basis in the minds of the people is ὁρθὴ δόξα, and not ἐπιστήμη. See IV 430 C n., and on δημοτικὴ ἀρετὴ generally Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1, pp. 593—601, and Archer-Hind's edition of the *Phaedo* App. 1. The 'demotic virtue' which the philosopher constructs is of course the best of its kind.

**501 A** 3 δ οὐ πάνυ ῥάδιον. Cf. 499 C n. Plato's *kátharais* is sufficiently drastic. He would rusticate the entire population above ten years of age, and bring up the remainder in the principles of his καλλιπολεῖ (VII 540 E ff. n.).

4 διενέγκοιεν. See *cr. n.* Schneider retains διενεγκέιν, comparing other passages in which *ἔτι* is followed by an infinitive. Instances of this irregularity occasionally occur (Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 877), but it is unusually awkward here, and the majority of editors are probably right in following *q*. With the sentiment cf. *Laws* 735 B—736 C, where the necessity of an initial *kátharais* is equally insisted on, and various forms of legislative purgation are described.

μῆτε ιδιώτου κτλ. The individual is cleansed by the Socratic elenchus, which purges him of his false persuasion of knowledge: cf. *Soph.* 230 B—E, where this kind of *kátharais* is expounded in detail. Gildersleeve (*A. J. Ph.* III p. 201) points out that the 'articular infinitive' with *ἂν* is rare in Plato.

5 γράφειν νόμους: 'to paint or draft laws.' Richards is inclined to cancel μηδὲ—νόμους as involving "a most awkward and inartistic confusion of the figure (painting) with the thing figured (legislation)." Nothing is more usual in Plato than such a 'confusion,' if the phrase employed bears, like γράφειν νόμους, or is capable of bearing, like ἀνδρεῖσθαι below, a meaning of its own as well as an application in the simile, and it is a narrow conception of art which pronounces the idiom inartistic. Cf. 507 A n. and *Euthyphr.* 3 A with my note ad loc., and see also on V 451 B. Cobet's ἐγγράφειν νόμους, which Baier adopts, is another unsuccessful attempt to obliterate this characteristic feature of Plato's style.

6 παραλαβεῖν καθαρὰν. Plato would cite as examples a tutor who is entrusted with the sole authority over a child, and legislators who (as in the *Laws* 702 B ff.) receive autocratic power in order to found a colony. Cf. 499 B n.

οὖν μετὰ ταῦτα οἶε ὑπογράψασθαι ἂν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας;  
 Τί μὴν; Ἐπειτα, ὁἶμαι, ἀπεργαζόμενοι πυκνὰ ἂν ἐκατέρωσε B  
 ἀποβλέποιεν, πρὸς τε τὸ φύσει δίκαιον καὶ καλὸν καὶ σῶφρον καὶ  
 10 πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνο αὖ, ὃ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμ-  
 ποιοῖεν, ξυμμιγνύντες τε καὶ κεραννύντες ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδεύματων τὸ  
 ἀνδρείκελον, ἀπ' ἐκείνου τεκμαίρομενοι, ὃ δὴ καὶ Ὅμηρος ἐκάλεσεν  
 ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐγγιγνόμενον θεοειδές τε καὶ θεοείκελον. Ὁρθῶς,  
 ἔφη. Καὶ τὸ μὲν ἄν, οἶμαι, ἐξαλείφοιεν, τὸ δὲ πάλιν ἐγγράφοιεν,  
 15 ἕως ὅ τι μάλιστα ἀνθρώπεια ἦθη εἰς ὅσον ἐνδέχεται θεοφιλή C

8. ἐκατέρωσε q: ἐκατέρως AΠΞ. 10. δ Ξ et corr. q: τὸ AΠ. In A tamen cum non post ἀνθρώποις (quod affirmant Turicenses), sed post ἐμποιοῖεν interpunctum sit, videtur scriba negligentius exarasse τὸ pro ὅ.

501 B 9 τὸ φύσει δίκαιον is assuredly the Idea of Justice, as opposed to τὸ νόμῳ δίκαιον 'conventional justice': cf. 500 C and (for φύσει) V 476 B. See also on X 598 A. Bosanquet ignores the most essential and characteristic feature of Plato's teaching when he remarks that "the 'moral' principles of justice and other moral qualities are no doubt those which Plato believes himself to have found present, in various degrees, throughout inorganic and organic nature and the animal world, and culminating in the life of man." It is better to let Plato soar where we cannot follow him than thus to clip his wings. See the Appendix to Book VII *On Plato's Dialectic*.

10 καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνο κτλ. The legislative painter looks now at his model (the φύσει δίκαιον etc.), now at his picture (the δίκαιον etc. which he is implanting among men), rubbing out one part and painting another in again (τὸ μὲν—ἐγγράφοιεν), till he is satisfied with the result. He combines and mixes various ἐπιτηδεύματα or institutions, till he produces the true ἀνδρείκελον or 'colour and likeness of true Manhood'; just as the painter mixes various colours to produce his ἀνδρελκελον or flesh-tint. ἀνδρελκελον in painting was a sort of flesh-colour, made by mixing various colours together: see *Crat.* 424 E, *Xen. Oec.* 10. 5, *Arist. de gen. an.* I 18. 725<sup>a</sup> 26 and Ruhnken on *Timaeus Lex.* s.v. To this Plato of course alludes, but he intends us also to take the word in its etymological signification, as is clear from θεοείκελον below. The stress in ἀνδρείκελον, as in θεοειδές and θεοείκελον, is on the first

part of the compound: it is not the mere ἀνθρωποειδές, but the *Man*-like, at which the legislator aims: cf. the force of ἀνδρα in 498 E. ἀνδρείκελον might be translated by 'the human form divine,' except that 'form' suggests a wrong notion. For other views on this passage see App. V.

13 θεοείκελον. *II.* I 131 et al. It is pleasing to meet with so cordial and spontaneous an acknowledgment of Homer as a kindred spirit in a passage so full of Plato's characteristic idealism. There is more than a grain of truth in Longinus' observation: μόνος Ἡρόδοτος Ὀμηρικώτατος ἐγένετο; Σησίχορος ἔτι πρότερον ὅ τε Ἀρχίλοχος, πάντων δὲ τούτων μάλιστα ὁ Πλάτων ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀμηρικοῦ κείνου νάματος εἰς αὐτὸν μυρίας ὅσας παρατροπὰς ἀποχευευσάμενος (περὶ ὕψους 13. 3). By the words τὸ ἀνδρείκελον—θεοείκελον Plato means to suggest that Man is then most manlike when he most resembles God: and (as Tennyson says) "then most godlike being most a man." Cf. IX 589 D η. This sure and abiding conviction of the presence of a divine element within us, rendering our nature essentially and truly human, makes itself felt in nearly all the dialogues of Plato. It is the ultimate source of all his idealism, religious and metaphysical, no less than moral and political, and may well be considered the most precious and enduring inheritance which he has bequeathed to posterity.

501 C 15 ὅ τι μάλιστα should be taken with ποιήσειαν, and εἰς ὅσον ἐνδέχεται with θεοφιλή: 'until, as far as possible, they have made mere human characters as dear to God as human

ποιήσκειαν. Καλλίστη γοῦν ἄν, ἔφη, ἡ γραφή γένοιτο. Ἄρ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πείθομέν πῃ ἐκείνους, οὓς διατεταμένους ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἔφησθα ἵεναι, ὡς τοιοῦτός ἐστι πολιτειῶν ζυγράφος ὃν τότ' ἐπηνούμεν πρὸς αὐτούς, δι' ὃν ἐκείνοι ἐχαλέπαινον, ὅτι τὰς πόλεις αὐτῷ παρεδίδομεν, καὶ τι μᾶλλον αὐτὸ νῦν ἀκούοντες πραῦννται; Καὶ 20

- D** πολὺ γε, ἦ δ' ὅς, εἰ σωφρονοῦσιν. Πῇ<sup>1</sup> γὰρ δὴ ἔξουσιν ἀμφισβη-  
τῆσαι; πότερον μὴ τοῦ ὄντος τε καὶ ἀληθείας ἐραστὰς εἶναι τοὺς  
φιλοσόφους; Ἄτοπον μέντ' ἄν, ἔφη, εἶη. Ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν φύσιν  
αὐτῶν οἰκείαν εἶναι τοῦ ἀρίστου, ἦν ἡμεῖς διήλθομεν; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο.  
Τί δέ; τὴν τοιαύτην τυχοῦσαν τῶν προσηκόντων ἐπιτηδευμάτων 25  
οὐκ ἀγαθὴν τελέως ἔσεσθαι καὶ φιλόσοφον εἶπερ τινὰ ἄλλην; ἡ  
**E** ἐκείνους φήσει μᾶλλον, οὓς ἡμεῖς ἀφωρίσαμεν; <sup>1</sup> Οὐ δήπου. Ἔτι  
οὖν ἀγριανοῦσι λεγόντων ἡμῶν, ὅτι πρὶν ἂν πόλεως τὸ φιλόσοφον  
γένος ἐγκρατὲς γένηται, οὔτε πόλει οὔτε πολίταις κακῶν παῦλα  
ἔσται, οὐδὲ ἡ πολιτεία, ἦν μυθολογοῦμεν λόγῳ, ἔργῳ τέλος λήψεται; 30  
Ἴσως, ἔφη, ἦττον. Βούλει οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, μὴ ἦττον φῶμεν αὐτούς,  
502 ἀλλὰ παντάπασι πρῶους γεγονέναι καὶ πεπεῖσθαι, ἵνα | εἰ μὴ τι  
ἄλλο, αἰσχυρθέντες ὁμολογήσωσιν; Πάνν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

20. καὶ τι Vind. E Flor. ACTV: καὶ τί A: καὶ ἔτι IIΞ q. φήσειν AΠΞ: φήσεις q.

27. φήσει nos:

characters can be.' For the σχῆμα ἐκ παραλλήλου see Schanz, *Nov. Comm. Pl.* pp. 12—15. Schneider can hardly be right in connecting ὁ τι μάλιστα with ἀνθρώπεια. For θεοφιλή Badham conjectured θεοειδῆ—a most arbitrary change, though approved by Cobet and Baier. How could θεοειδῆ have degenerated into θεοφιλή, which is in all the mss? The opposite corruption was far more likely. Plato means us to understand that God loves those most who most resemble Him: cf. x 612 E and *Laus* 716 C.

17 ἔφησθα. V 474 A.

20 αὐτό: viz. the statement ὡς τοιοῦτος —αὐτοῦς with its interpretation in the preceding exposition.

501 D 27 φήσει. We should expect φήσουσι, but the transition from plural to singular is common (see on 1 347 A), and Plato is probably thinking of the objector in 487 C (φαίη ἂν τις κτλ.): cf. 489 D and 490 D. οὐκ ἀγαθὴν just above (instead of μὴ ἀγαθὴν as in μὴ τὴν φύσιν) prepares the way for φήσει, by shewing that the infinitives are begin-

ning to escape from the sway of ἀμφισβητῆσαι. φήσει in φήσει λογιζόμενος II 366 A furnishes an exact parallel to φήσει here. The best mss—see *cr. n.*—read φήσειν, which is retained by Schneider and others. If φήσειν is right, we must either (1) refer it to ἔξουσιν, and suppose that the future is “ob ἔσεσθαι pro φάναι receptum” (Schneider, Stallbaum), or (2) supply an οἶε (J. and C.). Neither explanation is in my judgment possible. φήσεις, the reading of q and editors before Bekker, may be defended from 489 B and 489 D, where Adimantus is identified with the antagonist of 487 C, but the corruption is not a very likely one. Madvig, *more suo*, expels the word. Cf. *Introd.* § 5.

501 E 31 μὴ ἦττον. Herwerden would insert χαλεπούς or πικρούς, Richards ἀγρίους or ἀγριάλειν. If ἦττον is pronounced with emphasis, its meaning is easily caught, after ἦττον in Adimantus' reply. It is virtually a quotation: “wollen wir nicht statt dieses weniger” etc. (Schneider).



XIV. Οὗτοι μὲν τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τοῦτο πεπεισμένοι ἔστων· τοῦδε δὲ πέρι τις ἀμφισβητήσῃ, ὥς οὐκ ἂν τύχοιεν γενόμενοι βασιλέων ἔκγονοι ἢ δυναστῶν τὰς φύσεις φιλόσοφοι; Οὐδ' ἂν εἷς, ἔφη. Τοιούτους δὲ γενομένους ὥς πολλὴ ἀνάγκη διαφθαρῆναι, ἔχει τις λέγειν; ὥς μὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν σωθῆναι, καὶ ἡμεῖς ξυγχωροῦμεν· ὥς δὲ ἐν παντὶ τῷ<sup>1</sup> χρόνῳ τῶν πάντων οὐδέποτε οὐδ' ἂν B εἷς σωθείη, ἔσθ' ὅστις ἀμφισβητήσῃ; Καὶ πῶς; Ἀλλὰ μήν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εἷς ἱκανὸς γενόμενος, πόλιν ἔχων πειθομένην, πάντ' ἐπιτελέσαι τὰ νῦν ἀπιστούμενα. Ἰκανὸς γάρ, ἔφη. Ἀρχοντος γάρ που, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τιθέντος τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα, ἃ διεληλύθαμεν, οὐ δήπου ἀδύνατον ἐθέλειν ποιεῖν τοὺς πολίτας. Οὐδ' ὁπωστίουν. Ἀλλὰ δὴ ἅπερ ἡμῖν δοκεῖ, δόξαι καὶ ἄλλοις C 15 θαυμαστόν τι καὶ ἀδύνατον; Οὐκ οἶμαι ἔγωγε, ἢ δ' ὅς. Καὶ C μὴν ὅτι γε βέλτιστα, εἴπερ δυνατά, ἱκανῶς ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν, ὥς ἐγῶμαι, διήλθομεν. Ἰκανῶς γάρ. Νῦν δὴ, ὥς ἔοικεν, ξυμβαίνει ἡμῖν περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἄριστα μὲν εἶναι ἃ λέγομεν, εἰ γένοιτο, χαλεπὰ δὲ γενέσθαι, οὐ μέντοι ἀδύνατά γε. Ξυμβαίνει γάρ, ἔφη.

XV. Οὐκοῦν ἐπειδὴ τοῦτο μόγις τέλος ἔσχεν, τὰ ἐπίλοιπα δὴ μετὰ τοῦτο λεκτέον, τίνα<sup>1</sup> τρόπον ἡμῖν καὶ ἐκ τίνων μαθημάτων τε D

9. ἀμφισβητήσῃ q: ἀμφισβητήσῃε AΞ: ἀμφισβητήσῃως Π.

502 A 3 πεπεισμένοι ἔστων. See on 499 E. Plato's attempt to conciliate the Many is obviously half-hearted. The Multitude can never be philosophers (494 A), and are not likely to believe in the Philosopher-king. But it was necessary to prove or postulate some degree of assent or at least quiescence on their part in order to demonstrate the possibility of the perfect city. Cf. 502 C n.

4 τις. τίς is read by A, but Adimantus's reply makes it probable that the indefinite pronoun is correct.

5 βασιλέων ἔκγονοι. See on 499 B. 502 B 10 εἷς ἱκανὸς κτλ. Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 125) justly sees in this sentence "an expression of the convictions which led Plato to Sicily" in 367 B.C. Cf. Grote *Plato* I p. 126 and supra 499 B n. Richards would read "<σῶς> γενόμενος or γενόμενός <τε καὶ σῶς γενόμενος> or something similar." <περὶ> γενόμενος would give the same sense, and be better Greek. But γενόμενος = εἰ γένοιτο, 'should he arise,' is sufficient. He

could not be said to be ἱκανός if he were corrupted.

14 ἅπερ ἡμῖν δοκεῖ: i.e. the arrangements of Plato's καλλίπολις, as J. and C. point out. A ruler may arise who will approve of these, and frame laws accordingly. Plato is trying to prove that his ideal city is not impossible.

502 C 19 οὐ μέντοι ἀδύνατά γε. 'Not impossible' is the final verdict which Plato's readers, like Plato himself, will pass upon his city. His tone is far less hopeful than in Books II—IV, and even in V 473 B ff. he is, I think, more optimistic. It is impossible not to feel that 501 C—502 C is written, in some measure, *invita Minerva*. Plato is glad to escape from so difficult and uncongenial a topic into his native element again. He is beginning to see that the Perfect City is in truth a παράδειγμα ἐν οὐρανῷ (IX 592 B). See on V 470 E, VI 499 C, 499 E, 502 A and VII 540 D—541 B, and cf. Hirmer *Entst. u. Komp.* etc. p. 638.

502 C—504 A Our next duty is to



καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων οἱ σωτῆρες ἐνέσονται τῆς πολιτείας, καὶ κατὰ ποίας ἡλικίας ἕκαστοι ἐκάστων ἀπτόμενοι; Λεκτέον μέντοι, ἔφη. Οὐδέν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὸ σοφόν μοι ἐγένετο τήν τε τῶν γυναικῶν τῆς κτήσεως δυσχέρειαν ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν παραλιπόντι καὶ παιδογονίαν <sup>25</sup> καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων κατάστασιν, εἰδότει ὡς ἐπίφθονός τε καὶ χαλεπὴ γίγνεσθαι ἢ παντελῶς ἀληθής. νῦν γὰρ οὐδὲν ἦττον **E** ἦλθεν τὸ δεῖν <sup>1</sup> αὐτὰ διελθεῖν. καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ τῶν γυναικῶν τε καὶ παίδων πεπέρανται, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς μετελθεῖν

27. ἡ Ξ: ἡ ΑΠ: εἰ καὶ γ.

describe the Rulers and their position in our city. We have already seen that they must be patriotic; let us now add that they must be philosophers. Those who combine the peculiar features of the philosophic temperament are necessarily few, and they must be submitted to stringent intellectual as well as moral tests, to see whether they will be able to endure the greatest of all studies.

**502 D 22 ἐνέσονται.** ἐγγενήσονται is conjectured by Richards, who compares 521 C and VIII 552 E, 557 C. The proposal is attractive, but involves too great a departure from the MSS. ἐνέσονται moreover is better suited to καὶ κατὰ πόλιν—ἀπτόμενοι than ἐγγενήσονται would be. τίνα τρόπον ἐνέσονται means, I think, not how they will be produced (that is expressed in ἐκ τίνων—ἐπιτηδευμάτων), but how they will be in the city, i.e. the whole subject of their position and standing in the State. It is this, as well as their education, which is described in the sequel. The present sentence is intended as a full and accurate forecast of the rest of VI and VII. Ξ has ἔσονται, which was read till Bekker restored ἐνέσονται.

24 οὐδὲν κτλ. Cf. 497 C, D *iii*. There, as here, the κατάστασις τῶν ἀρχόντων and the position of women and children etc. are treated as parts of one and the same question. The first obscure hint of this connexion is in IV 423 E, but it is not till V 471 C ff. that we begin to see the intimate relation between the two subjects. In V 450 C Socrates for the first time touches on the question 'Are our proposals about women' etc. 'possible?' The same question reappears in 471 C, but with a larger scope 'Is the perfect city possible as a whole?' The reply

is 'Yes, if Philosophers are Kings'; and thus is re-opened the whole subject of the κατάστασις τῶν ἀρχόντων. Plato is therefore justified in connecting, as he does, the two topics here mentioned. But he overstates the case when he asserts that the κατάστασις τῶν ἀρχόντων has been omitted in Books III and IV (see III 412 B ff.), or slurred over in the same way as the Community of Wives and Children, in spite of various hints of a fuller treatment still to come (III 414 A: cf. IV 442 C *n.*). See also on 503 A and Krohn *Pl. St.* p. 127, Pfeleider *Zur Lösung* etc. p. 28, with the replies of Grimmelt *de reip. Pl. comp. et unit.* p. 49 and Westerwick *de rep. Pl. comm.* pp. 54 ff.

26 τὴν—κατάστασιν = 'the appointment of the Rulers' is equivalent, as in the title or heading of a chapter, to τὸ περὶ τῆς—καταστάσεως. Of this subject the Rulers' education naturally forms the most important part; but we ought not to explain τῶν ἀρχόντων as brachylogical for τῆς τῶν ἀρχόντων παιδείας (with Krohn *Pl. St.* p. 126).

27 παντελῶς ἀληθής. The adjective should be translated literally, so as to suggest that the best κατάστασις is also the truest. The ideal is the true in Plato: cf. V 473 A *n.*

**502 E 29 τὸ δὲ—δεῖ.** Plato admits that the subject of the Rulers requires to be reinvestigated practically from the beginning. Their strictly *intellectual* needs have hitherto been almost ignored: see 497 C *n.* But Plato does not propose to supersede the earlier education in Music and Gymnastic, nor are the two schemes theoretically incompatible, as Krohn appears to hold (*Pl. St.* p. 127). We are clearly intended to suppose that the

30 δεῖ. ἐλέγομεν δ', εἰ μνημονεύεις, δεῖν αὐτοὺς φιλοπόλιδας τε 503  
φαίνεσθαι βασανιζομένους ἐν ἡδοναῖς τε καὶ λύπαις καὶ τὸ δόγμα  
τοῦτο μήτ' ἐν πόνοις μήτ' ἐν φόβοις μήτ' ἐν ἄλλῃ μηδεμιᾷ μετα-  
βολῇ φαίνεσθαι ἐκβάλλοντας, ἢ τὸν ἀδυνατοῦντα ἀποκριτέον, τὸν  
5 δὲ πανταχοῦ ἀκήρατον ἐκβαίνοντα ὥσπερ χρυσὸν ἐν πυρὶ βασανι-  
ζόμενον στατέον ἄρχοντα καὶ γέρα δοτέον καὶ ζῶντι καὶ τελευτή-  
σαντι καὶ ἄθλα. τοιαυτ' ἅττα ἦν τὰ λεγόμενα παρεξιόντος καὶ  
παρακαλυπτομένου τοῦ λόγου, <sup>1</sup> πεφοβημένου κινεῖν τὸ νῦν παρόν. B  
'Αληθέστατα, ἔφη, λέγεις· μέμνημαι γάρ. "Οκνος γάρ, ἔφην, ὦ  
10 φίλε, ἐγώ, εἰπεῖν τὰ νῦν ἀποτετολμημένα· νῦν δὲ τοῦτο μὲν  
τετολμήσθω εἰπεῖν, ὅτι τοὺς ἀκριβεστάτους φύλακας φιλοσόφους  
δεῖ καθιστάναι. Εἰρήσθω γάρ, ἔφη. Νόησον δὴ, ὡς εἰκότως  
ὀλγιοὶ ἔσονται σοι. ἦν γὰρ διήλθομεν φύσιν δεῖν ὑπάρχειν αὐτοῖς,  
εἰς ταὐτὸ ξυμφύεσθαι αὐτῆς τὰ μέρη ὀλγᾶκις ἐθέλει, τὰ πολλὰ δὲ  
15 διεσπασμένη φύεται. <sup>1</sup> Πῶς, ἔφη, λέγεις; Εὐμαθεῖς καὶ μνήμονες C

Rulers receive the moral as well as the intellectual training, although in practice, no doubt, some modifications might be necessary, so long as the two proceeded simultaneously. See VII 536 D and II 376 E *iii*.

30 ἐλέγομεν. III 412 C—414 B.  
503 A 2 τὸ δόγμα τοῦτο. The patriot's creed: see III 412 E, 413 C.

4 ἢ = 'alioquin.' Cf. V 463 D *n*.  
7 καὶ ἄθλα is ejected by Cobet. The precise words do not occur in III 414 A, but they are unobjectionable, and end the sentence well. Cf. V 460 B καὶ γέρα δοτέον καὶ ἄθλα, and see also on V 465 D.

8 παρακαλυπτομένου: 'putting on her veil.' The λόγος is personified, as often.

κινεῖν τὸ νῦν παρόν. There is perhaps a hint of the proverb εὐ κείμενον κακὸν μὴ κίνει. No one who reads III 412 B—414 B without reference to the present passage would detect that the λόγος 'leaves the high road' in 414 B because she is afraid to raise the question of the Philosopher-king. The words ὡς ἐν τύπῳ, μὴ δι' ἀκριβείας, εἰρήσθαι would not suggest to him anything of the kind; and the impression which the earlier account of the Rulers leaves on us is that it was intended by Plato himself to be complete in outline, though not in detail. From the standpoint of Book VI it is certainly even in outline incomplete. Cf. Krohn *Pl. St.* p. 126, where the

case is somewhat overstated; and see on 497 C, 502 D. But there is nothing in all this to justify any chorizontic inference, if only we have regard to the laws of the Dialogue as a form of literary art. See *Introd.* § 4.

503 B 9 ὁκνος κτλ. Examples of the omission of ἦν will be found in our most perfect guardians,' i.e. that in Schanz *Nov. Comm. Pl.* p. 33. *q*<sup>2</sup> has ὥκνον: but cf. V 450 D.

11 ὅτι—καθιστάναι: lit. 'that we must appoint philosophers in the persons of our most perfect guardians,' i.e. that the rulers we appoint must be philosophers. The ἀκριβέστατοι φύλακες are the same as the τέλει φύλακες of IV 428 D: and the whole expression is equivalent to ὅτι φιλοσόφους δεῖ εἶναι τοὺς ἀκριβεστάτους φύλακας οὓς καθίσταμεν. To read καθεστάναι for καθιστάναι (with *v*) is much less elegant; still less should we follow D. and V. in transposing φύλακας and φιλοσόφους. For the sense of ἀκριβεστάτους cf. (with Jackson) I 341 B, 342 D.

15 διεσπασμένη. Cobet proposes διεσπασμένα, which he wrongly asserts to be the reading of A. But the *parts* of the philosophic φύσις are not torn asunder; it is the φύσις *itself* which is *in partes distincta*. Bywater's διεσπαρμένα avoids this difficulty; but διεσπασμένη is much better, because it suggests that the disjunction is 'unnatural' (in the Platonic sense of παρὰ φύσιν): see on IV 443 B.

καὶ ἀγχίνοι καὶ ὀξεῖς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τούτοις ἔπεται καὶ νεανικοὶ τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τὰς διανοίας οἷσθ' ὅτι οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἅμα φύεσθαι οἰοι κοσμίως μετὰ ἡσυχίας καὶ βεβαιότητος ἐθέλουν ζῆν, ἀλλ' οἱ τοιοῦτοι ὑπὸ ὀξύτητος φέρονται ὅπῃ ἂν τύχωσιν, καὶ τὸ βέβαιον ἅπαν αὐτῶν ἐξοίχεται. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, λέγεις. Οὐκοῦν τὰ 20 βέβαια αὐτὰ ἦθη καὶ οὐκ εὐμετάβολα, οἷς ἂν τις μᾶλλον ὡς

**D** πιστοῖς<sup>1</sup> χρήσαιτο, καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πρὸς τοὺς φόβους δυσκίνητα ὄντα πρὸς τὰς μαθήσεις αὐτοὶ ποιεῖ ταῦτόν· δυσκινήτως ἔχει καὶ δυσμαθῶς ὥσπερ ἀπονεναρκωμένα, καὶ ὕπνου τε καὶ χάσματος ἐμπίμπλονται, ὅταν τι δέῃ τοιοῦτον διαπνεεῖν. Ἔστι ταῦτα, ἔφη. 25 Ἡμεῖς δέ γε ἔφαμεν ἀμφοτέρων δεῖν εὖ τε καὶ καλῶς μετέχειν, ἢ μῆτε παιδείας τῆς ἀκριβεστάτης δεῖν αὐτῷ μεταδιδόναι μῆτε τιμῆς μῆτε ἀρχῆς. Ὁρθῶς, ἢ δ' ὅς. Οὐκοῦν σπάνιον αὐτὸ οἶε ἔσεσθαι;

**E** Πῶς δ' οὐ; Βασανιστέον δὴ ἔν τε<sup>1</sup> οἷς τότε ἐλέγομεν πόνοις τε καὶ φόβοις καὶ ἡδοναῖς, καὶ ἔτι δὴ ὁ τότε παρείμεν νῦν λέγομεν, ὅτι καὶ 30 ἐν μαθήμασι πολλοῖς γυμνάζειν δεῖ σκοποῦντας εἰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα

504 μαθήματα δυνατὴ ἔσται ἐνεργεῖν, εἴτε καὶ ἀποδειλιάσει, ὥσπερ οἱ

16. καὶ νεανικοὶ τε—διανόας post ἔπεται nos: post φύεσθαι codd.

The philosophic nature *ought* to be born whole.

503 C 15 εὐμαθεῖς κτλ. 'The faculty of learning easily, memory, sagacity, quickness, and so on, together with spirit and high-mindedness, are, as you know, not often naturally combined with the disposition to live soberly in quiet and steadfast ways' etc. Plato means that natural intelligence and vivacity, with their accompaniments of spirit and highmindedness, rarely go with moral steadfastness. A good illustration is afforded by the contrast between "the Athenian and the Spartan, the former 'neither resting themselves nor letting anyone else rest, the latter so slow that aggression can hardly rouse them to repel it'" (Bo-anquet). Cf. Thucyd. I 70. For other views on the text and interpretation of this difficult passage see App. VI.

19 ὑπὸ ὀξύτητος κτλ. Theaet. 144 A οἱ τε ὀξεῖς—καὶ ἀγχίνοι καὶ μνήμονες—ἄττοντες φέρονται ὥσπερ τὰ ἀνεμμάτιστα πλοῖα.

20 τὰ βέβαια κτλ. Theaet. 144 B οἱ τε αὐτὸ ἐμβριθέστεροι νωθοὶ πῶς ἅπαν-

τῶσι πρὸς τὰς μαθήσεις καὶ λήθης γέμοντες.

503 D 26 ἔφαμεν. 484 D—487 A. ἀμφοτέρων is explained in 503 C n.

27 αὐτῷ is probably masculine (Schneider), in spite of αὐτό (the philosophic ἦθος) immediately following. We can hardly speak of assigning concrete τιμὴ or ἀρχή to an ἦθος. The pronoun refers to the philosophic guardian that is to be. See on δυνατὴ ἔσται 503 E.

503 E 29 ἐλέγομεν. III 413 A ff. 32 δυνατὴ ἔσται: sc. ἡ φύσις αὐτῶν. φύσις was last employed in 503 B, since when it has been represented both by the individual and by the ἦθος (αὐτῷ and αὐτό in 503 D). We must bear in mind that the Greek inflexions of gender made it easier for them than it is for us to tolerate such irregularities. No Greek could possibly misunderstand the reference, as soon as he heard the -η- of δυνατῇ. A tolerably close parallel will be found in *Phaedr.* 254 B (not D, as Stallbaum prints). See also 508 D and X 605 C m. Bywater conjectures δυνήσεται, but δυνήσεται is unlikely to have been corrupted into δυνατὴ ἔσται.



ἐν τοῖς ἄθλοις ἀποδειλῶντες. Πρέπει γέ τοι δὴ, ἔφη, οὕτω σκοπεῖν· ἀλλὰ ποῖα δὴ λέγεις μαθήματα μέγιστα;

XVI. Μνημονεύεις μὲν που, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι τριττὰ εἶδη ψυχῆς  
 5 διαστησάμενοι ξυμβιβάζομεν δικαιοσύνης τε πέρι καὶ σωφροσύνης  
 καὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ σοφίας ὃ ἕκαστον εἶη. Μὴ γὰρ μνημονεύων, ἔφη,  
 τὰ λοιπὰ ἂν εἶην δίκαιος μὴ ἀκούειν. Ἡ καὶ τὸ προρρηθὲν αὐτῶν;  
 Ἰ Τὸ ποῖον δὴ; Ἐλέγομέν που, ὅτι, ὥς μὲν δυνατόν ἦν κάλλιστα B  
 αὐτὰ κατιδεῖν, ἄλλη μακροτέρα εἶη περίοδος, ἦν περιελθόντι κατα-

2. ἄθλοις Orelli: ἄλλοις codd.

504 A 2 ἄθλοις. See *cr. n.* Orelli's emendation has met with considerable favour; but Schneider, Stallbaum, and J. and C. still retain ἄλλοις. With the MS reading we must, I think, translate 'in the other cases' i.e. in the *πόντοι* etc. spoken of just before. (If Plato merely meant 'in other kinds of effort' it was not worth his while to insert the clause at all.) But ὥσπερ certainly suggests something more than a mere comparison between flinching at moral, and flinching at intellectual tests; and nothing could be more appropriate, or more in Plato's way, than an allusion to the games: see on V 465 D. That ἄθλοι in this sense is half-poetic, "occurring only in the *Timaeus* and the *Laws*" (J. and C.), is scarcely an objection in Plato. ἄθλοι also suits well with γυμνάζειν. In [*Axioch.*] 365 A occur the words ὥς γὰρ ἀγωνιστῆς δειλός, ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις γενναῖος φαινόμενος, ἀπολέλοιπας ἐν τοῖς ἄθλοις. The author of the *Axiochus* may have been thinking of the present passage, and if so, he certainly read ἄθλοις. See also the fine anecdote in Plut. *Them.* II. 3.

504 A—505 B *Adimantus enquires what these 'greatest studies' are. You will remember, says Socrates, that we described our earlier or psychological method of arriving at the Virtues as inadequate and incomplete. Our guardians must travel by a longer road, if they would reach their proper goal, i.e. the highest of all studies, which is something above and beyond even the virtues. And these very virtues must no longer be seen merely in outline; they must be studied in all their fulness and perfection. The highest study is the Idea of the Good, as Adimantus has often heard before. It is the knowledge of this Idea which alone renders all other knowledge useful and profitable.*

504 A 5 διαστησάμενοι. IV 436 A ff. ξυμβιβάζομεν: 'we drew conclusions,' viz. in IV 441 C ff. The use of συμβιβάζειν as a synonym for συμπεραίνεισθαι, συλλογίζεσθαι, is common in Aristotle: for examples see Bonitz *Ind. Ar.* s. v.

504 B 8 ἐλέγομεν. See IV 435 D n. ἦν: "ut *ἐχρῆν* et similia dictum" (Schneider). There is no reason to eject the word (with Madvig) or to write εἶη: why should not the mood of the *oratio recta* be retained? εἶη would be unpleasant with εἶη following so soon. Liebhold's ὥς μὲν δυνατόν ἦ is unclassical: see on I 349 C. Richards conjectures ὥς μὲν <ὥς οἱ ὅσον οἱ εἰς τὸ> δυνατόν κάλλιστα κτλ., taking ὥς with κατιδεῖν. But we ought not to multiply instances of ὥς for ὥστε in Plato (II 365 D n.). The infinitive means simply 'for desecring,' 'in order to desecrify in the best possible way': see Goodwin *MT.* p. 308 and Kühner *Gr.* II p. 586.

9 αὐτά is of course the four cardinal virtues, like ταῦτα in 504 D. The 'longer circuit' is the educational training necessary in order to enable the guardians to obtain scientific knowledge of the virtues by discerning their relation with the Idea of Good: cf. 506 A. In Book IV Justice, Temperance etc. were regarded as psychological qualities or relations; but the philosophic Guardians must learn their metaphysical import. Throughout the rest of VI and VII Plato, in short, discards Psychology for Metaphysics. Thus much is clear; but many difficult and interesting questions arise in connexion with this passage, as Krohn and others have pointed out. The μακροτέρα περίοδος mentioned in IV 435 D appears to be a longer way of determining, not the essential nature of the virtues, but whether Soul has 'parts' or not. (A



φανῇ γίγνοιτο, τῶν μέντοι ἔμπροσθεν προειρημένων ἐπομένας 10 ἀποδείξεις οἷον τ' εἶη προσάψαι. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐξαρκεῖν ἔφατε, καὶ οὕτω δὴ ἐρρήθη τὰ τότε τῆς μὲν ἀκριβείας, ὥς ἐμοὶ ἐφαίνετο, ἑλλιπῇ, εἰ δὲ ὑμῖν ἀρεσκόντως, ὑμεῖς ἂν τοῦτο εἴποιτε. Ἄλλ' C ἔμοιγε, ἔφη, μετρίως· ἐφαίνετο μὴν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις. Ἄλλ', ὃ φίλε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, μέτρον τῶν τοιούτων ἀπολείπον καὶ ὅτιοῦν τοῦ 15 οὗτος οὐ πᾶν μετρίως γίγνεται· ἀτελὲς γὰρ οὐδὲν οὐδενὸς μέτρον. δοκεῖ δ' ἐνιότῃ τισιν ἱκανῶς ἤδη ἔχειν καὶ οὐδὲν δεῖν περαιτέρω ζητεῖν. Καὶ μάλ', ἔφη, συχνοὶ πάσχουσιν αὐτὸ διὰ ῥαθυμίαν. Τούτου δέ γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τοῦ παθήματος ἥκιστα προσδεῖ φύλακι πόλεώς τε καὶ νόμων. Εἰκόσ, ἦ δ' ὅς. Τὴν μακροτέραν τοίνυν, ὃ D ἐταῖρε, ἔφην, περιτέον ἢ τῷ τοιούτῳ, καὶ οὐχ ἥττον μανθάνοντι πονητέον ἢ γυμναζομένῳ· ἦ, ὃ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν, τοῦ μεγίστου τε καὶ μάλιστα προσήκοντος μαθήματος ἐπὶ τέλος οὐποτε ἤξει. Οὐ γὰρ ταῦτα, ἔφη, μέγιστα, ἀλλ' ἔτι τι μείζον δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ ὧν

13. ἑλλιπῇ Π: ἑλλειπῇ (sic) A. 15. ἀπολείπον v et in mg. A<sup>2</sup> (γρ ἀπολείπον καὶ ὅτι οὗν τοιούτος οὐ πᾶν μέτριος): ἀπολείπων A<sup>1</sup>: ἀπολείπων (sic) Π: ἀπολιπόν g. 17. δεῖν Π: δεῖ A. 19. προσδεῖ Π: προσδεῖται A. 22. ἢ γυμναζομένῳ—τε Π: om. A.

solution of this difficulty is suggested on 435 D). Socrates' shorter road, again, is not a way by which the Guardians are to go, but a method employed by himself in studying primarily the Soul, and secondarily the virtues. Finally, what is the relation between the psychological conception of Virtue and the metaphysical? And does the metaphysical conception involve a revised psychology or not? The last question is touched on in the notes to X 611 B, where Plato himself appears to raise it. For the last but one see on 504 D.

10 ἐπομένας: 'corresponding with' 'on a level with' (Jowett) viz. in point of ἀκριβεία: cf. IV 435 D τῶν γε προειρημένων τε καὶ προσκεκμημένων ἀξίως, where see note. For the genitive with ἐπομένους cf. (with Stallbaum) *Pol.* 271 E and *Laws* 899 C (ὅποσα τούτων ξυνεπόμενα, according to the best ms). Bywater would read ἐχομένας here and ἐχόμενα in the *Politicus*, but it is safer to make no change, although the reverse corruption of ἐχόμενα for ἐπόμενα apparently occurs in *Gorg.* 494 E, if Bekker's restoration is correct.

504 C 14 ἀλλ' ὃ φίλε κτλ. Socrates σοφίζεται περὶ τὸ ὄνομα (509 D)—plays on

the etymological sense of μετρίως. In effect he says "Don't say 'μετρίως': short measure in such cases is no measure at all: for—if 'Measure' be rightly understood—there can be no *imperfect* measure of anything." Etymologically, for example, ἀτελὲς μέτρον ὕδατος is a misnomer, for the measure must be exactly commensurate with the water. Hence the μέτρον τῶν ἀκριβεστάτων must itself be ἀκριβεστάτον (cf. 504 E). The essential perfection of μέτρον, τὸ μέτριον and the like is expounded in *Pol.* 284 A ff., *Phil.* 64 D ff. and 66 A: cf. also *Laws* 716 C ff., where we read that God, not Man, is the Measure of all things. The translation 'Nothing imperfect is the measure of anything' (Jowett and others) suggests, I think, a wrong idea, and is not so well adapted to μέτρον—γίγνεται.

17 τισιν: with reference, perhaps, to Adimantus and the others (J. and C., comparing II 372 E. Cf. also v 465 E). Adimantus betrays no consciousness of the allusion in his reply.

504 D 22 ἢ=alioquin. Cf. v 463 D n.

νῦν δῆ. The reference (somewhat loose, as usual) is to 503 E.

25 διήλθομεν; Καὶ μείζον, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ αὐτῶν τούτων οὐχ ὑπο-  
 γραφὴν δεῖ ὥσπερ νῦν θεάσασθαι, ἀλλὰ τὴν τελεωτάτην ἀπεργασίαν  
 μὴ παριέναι. ἡ οὐ γελοῖον ἐπὶ μὲν ἄλλοις σμικροῦ ἀξίοις πᾶν  
 ποιεῖν<sup>1</sup> συντεινομένους, ὅπως ὁ τι ἀκριβέστατα καὶ καθαρώτατα E  
 ἔξει, τῶν δὲ μεγίστων μὴ μεγίστας ἀξιοῦν εἶναι καὶ τὰς ἀκριβείας;  
 30 Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. ὁ μέντοι μέγιστον μάθημα καὶ περὶ ὅ τι αὐτὸ  
 λέγεις, οἷε τιν' ἂν σε, ἔφη, ἀφεῖναι μὴ ἐρωτήσαντα τί ἐστιν; Οὐ  
 πάνυ, ἣν δ' ἐγώ· ἀλλὰ καὶ σὺ ἐρώτα. πάντως αὐτὸ οὐκ ὀλιγάκις  
 ἀκῆκοας, νῦν δὲ ἡ οὐκ ἐννοεῖς ἢ αὖ διανοεῖ μοι πράγματα παρέχειν 505  
 ἀντιλαμβανόμενος. οἶμαι δὲ τοῦτο μᾶλλον, ἐπεὶ ὅτι γε ἡ τοῦ

30. ἔφη Ast: ἔφη, ἄξιον τὸ διανόημα codd.

25 καὶ μείζον κτλ. καί—καί=‘not only—but also.’ αὐτῶν τούτων is ‘harum ipsarum virtutum.’

οὐχ ὑπογραφὴν—ὥσπερ νῦν is as clear a proof as we could wish that Justice and the other virtues, as described in Book IV, are not the transcendental αὐτὰ καθ' αὐτὰ εἶδη: see on III 402 C. They are only a ὑπογραφή or ‘adumbratio’ of the Ideas, being, we may suppose, simply the psychological relations which result from the παρουσία of the Ideas in certain particulars, viz. in human souls, during their union with human bodies. ὥσπερ νῦν admits moreover that the Rulers of III and IV (apart from a few suggestions to the opposite effect: see on 497 C) had only ‘correct opinion’ and not ‘knowledge’ (in the strict Platonic sense): it was their duty to accept and carry out the precepts of Plato, the founder of the city (IV 429 C n.).

27 παριέναι. The present is better than παρεῖναι, which Herwerden conjectures.

504 E 30 καὶ μάλα. See *cr. n.* The words ἄξιον τὸ διανόημα are not strictly suitable to ἡ οὐ γελοῖον, and although διανόημα is of course a Platonic word, it is questionable whether Plato could have used it in this way. Perhaps we owe the comment to a gratified monk, who may have applied the observation to systematic theology. The comment is at all events a just one. Cf. 406 A n. Plato's remark is best illustrated by the case of the exact sciences; and in a certain sense it may be said that he wished to make Politics into an exact science.

ὁ μέντοι κτλ.: lit. ‘but that which you call the greatest study, and that which you call its subject whatever it be—do you suppose any one would let you off without asking what they are?’ Richards finds a difficulty, but there is none, if only we take ὁ τι not as interrogative, but as the indefinite relative. For εἶναι omitted see Schanz *Nov. Comm. Pl.* p. 33. The μέγιστον μάθημα is Dialectic; and its subject the Idea of Good, though of course the latter can itself be called the μέγιστον μάθημα, as in 505 A. For ἐρώτα Richards neatly conjectures ἐρωτᾶς, but the text (‘You may ask it yourself if you like’) is better. See next note.

505 A 2 ἀντιλαμβανόμενος: ‘by holding on fast to me,’ ‘refusing to let me go,’ is the opposite of ἀφεῖναι: cf. VIII 544 B n. ‘By raising objections’ (D. and V.) is incorrect: see on 497 D. Socrates means ‘you intend to bother me as before’—αὖ refers to V 449 B ff.—‘by not letting me off, but on this occasion you won't succeed, for I have the answer ready, so ask away!’ Cf. ἐρώτα in *Gorg.* 448 B.

ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέα κτλ. It is clear from πολλάκις ἀκῆκοας that the supremacy of the Idea of Good was already a recognised tenet of the Platonic school. No proof of the doctrine is here attempted by Plato (cf. V 475 E n.): it is merely expounded and explained. τὸ Πλάτωνος ἀγαθόν was in antiquity a proverb for any dark or obscure saying: see Amphis ap. D. L. III 27 ἥττον οἶδα τοῦτ' ἐγώ, | ὧ δέσποτ', ἢ τὸ Πλάτωνος ἀγαθόν. (Another allusion occurs in Alexis ap. Athen. VIII

ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέα μέγιστον μάθημα, πολλάκις ἀκήκοας, ἥ δίκαια καὶ  
 τᾶλλα προσχρησάμενα χρήσιμα καὶ ὠφέλιμα γίγνεται. καὶ νῦν  
 σχεδὸν οἶσθ' ὅτι μέλλω τοῦτο λέγειν, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ ὅτι αὐτὴν 5  
 οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἴσμεν· εἰ δὲ μὴ ἴσμεν, ἄνευ δὲ ταύτης εἰ ὅ τι μάλιστα  
 τᾶλλα ἐπισταίμεθα, οἶσθ' ὅτι οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ὄφελος, ὥσπερ οὐδ' εἰ  
 B<sup>1</sup> κεκτῆμεθά τι ἄνευ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. ἥ οἶε τι πλεόν εἶναι πᾶσαν  
 κτήσιν ἐκτῆσθαι, μὴ μέντοι ἀγαθὴν; ἥ πάντα τᾶλλα φρονεῖν ἄνευ  
 τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, καλὸν δὲ καὶ ἀγαθὸν μηδὲν φρονεῖν; Μὰ Δί' οὐκ 10  
 ἔγωγ', ἔφη.

8. εἶναι Ξ q: εἰδέναι AII, sed δ et é punctis notavit A<sup>2</sup>.

354 D). Some account of the enormous literature of the subject will be found in Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1. pp. 709 ff., 718 n. 1. In addition to Stumpf's treatise to be presently named, I have found the monograph by Biehl *Die Idee des Guten bei Platon* Graz 1870 particularly good and useful. Other special treatises are also referred to in the course of the notes. The majority of interpreters are now agreed in identifying Plato's Idea of the Good with his philosophical conception of the Deity. The best and fullest proof of the identity is still, I think, Stumpf's exhaustive dissertation *Das Verhältniss des Platonischen Gottes zur Idee des Guten* Halle 1869. There is only one passage in his works where Plato himself appears expressly to identify the two, viz. *Phil.* 22 C, but on the principle that things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another, the identification is complete, and I have therefore thought myself at liberty throughout the notes occasionally to illustrate Plato's metaphysics by his theology.

3 δίκαια καὶ τᾶλλα. It is only by *κοινωνία* with the Idea of Good that *δίκαια*, *καλά* etc. become good i.e. useful and beneficial (synonyms of 'good': see V 457 B n.). Otherwise they are altogether useless. *δίκαια* does not of course mean the Idea of Justice, but τὰ πολλὰ δίκαια in the widest sense of the term, including νόμιμα περὶ δικαίου: see on V 476 A, 476 C, 479 D. Baiter's δὴ καὶ for δίκαια καὶ occurs in one or two inferior MSS, but is certainly wrong: see on 506 A.

5 ὅτι—ἴσμεν. Cf. 506 D ff., VII 517 B ff., 532 E ff. and *Tim.* 28 C, where much the same is said of the πατὴρ τοῦ παντός.

6 εἰ δὲ μὴ ἴσμεν κτλ.: 'and if we know it not, and should know all else excepting it never so well' etc. Cobet does ill to expunge εἰ δὲ μὴ ἴσμεν. The repetition of εἰ before ἐπισταίμεθα is necessary because, while ἴσμεν expresses a fact, ἐπισταίμεθα is only an improbable supposition: see next note. The sentiment is one of Plato's commonplaces: see for example *Alc.* II 144 D ff. (where it is expounded in detail), 147 B, *Charm.* 173 A ff., *Euthyd.* 280 E ff., 289 A ff., 291, and cf. also *Lach.* 199 C, *Lys.* 219 B ff., *Phaed.* 69 B. Stumpf *das Verhältniss* etc. p. 87 n. compares also the language about the Gods in *Laws* 905 C. The *Euthydemus* and *Charmides* already forecast the city of the Philosopher-king, in which the Knowledge of Good shall 'sit alone in the helm of the state' (*Euthyd.* 291 D): see Nohle *die Staatslehre Pl.* pp. 39—48.

8 κεκτῆμεθα. To possess a thing ἄνευ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ is matter of common and daily occurrence; to know everything (except the Good) is not. Hence the indicative κεκτῆμεθα is as appropriate now as the optative ἐπισταίμεθα was before. I formerly read κεκτῆμεθα with II and the majority of editors, but now agree with Schneider that there is no reason to depart from the text of A.

505 B 9 φρονεῖν ἄνευ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ. The last three words were suspected by Morgenstern and bracketed by Stallbaum and others. If we take these words (like ἄνευ ταύτης above) with τᾶλλα, they are not superfluous; 'eo enim quod quis reliqua omnia excepto bono intelligit, efficitur ut nihil, quod pulchrum et bonum sit, intelligat' (Schneider). That some writers might have omitted the



XVII. Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τόδε γε οἶσθα, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἡδονὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθόν, τοῖς δὲ κομψότεροις φρόνησις. Πῶς δ' οὐ; Καὶ ὅτι γε, ὦ φίλε, οἱ τοῦτο ἡγούμενοι οὐκ ἔχουσι δεῖξαι, 15 ἥτις φρόνησις, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζονται τελευτώντες τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φάναι. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη, γελοίως. Πῶς γὰρ οὐχί, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, <sup>1</sup> εἰ ὀνειδίζοντές γε, ὅτι οὐκ ἴσμεν τὸ ἀγαθόν, λέγουσι πάλιν ὡς εἰδόσιν; φρόνησιν γὰρ αὐτό φασιν εἶναι ἀγαθοῦ ὡς αὐτὸ ξυνιέντων ἡμῶν ὅ τι λέγουσιν, ἐπειδὴν τὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φθέγγονται ὄνομα. Ἀληθέστατα, 20 ἔφη. Τί δέ; οἱ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀγαθόν ὀρίζομενοι μὴν μή τι ἐλάττονος πλάνης ἔμπλεοι τῶν ἐτέρων; ἢ οὐ καὶ οὗτοι ἀναγκάζονται ὁμολογεῖν ἡδονὰς εἶναι κακάς; Σφόδρα γε. Συμβαίνει δὲ αὐτοῖς, οἶμαι, ὁμολογεῖν <sup>1</sup> ἀγαθὰ εἶναι καὶ κακὰ ταυτά. ἢ γάρ; Τί μὴν; <sup>D</sup> Οὐκοῦν ὅτι μὲν μεγάλαι καὶ πολλαὶ ἀμφισβητήσεις περὶ αὐτοῦ, 25 φανερόν; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Τί δέ; τόδε οὐ φανερόν, ὡς δίκαια μὲν

phrase is no ground for interfering with Plato's characteristic fulness of expression.

505 B—506 A *What then is the Good? The majority answer 'Pleasure,' others, who are more refined, 'Knowledge.' Neither of these views is tenable. Men are constantly disputing about the Good, but its existence is practically admitted by all, for it is the ultimate object of all endeavour. The Idea of the Good must be known by our Guardians; for unless they know the connexion between the Good, and particular instances of the just, the honourable etc., they cannot guard the latter, or even indeed be said to know them in any adequate measure.*

12 τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς κτλ. We need not (with Tietzel *Die Id. d. Guten u. d. Gottesbegriff* p. 9) find in this an allusion to Aristippus and the Cyrenaics. Plato means what he says and no more. Pleasure is always the *summum bonum* of the Many: cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* I 3, 1095<sup>b</sup> 16. In τοῖς κομψότεροις Dümmler (*Antisth.* p. 43) and others have recognised Antisthenes: cf. RP<sup>7</sup> § 218 B n. b. Hermann (*Gesch. u. System* p. 329 n. 323) interprets the words—more correctly, I think—of Socrates (cf. Xen. *Mem.* IV 5. 6) and his immediate followers, Antisthenes included. The Megarians sometimes held the same view (D. L. II 106). See also next note.

505 C 19 ἐπειδὴν κτλ.: "when they utter the mysterious word 'good'." For φθέγγεσθαι of a high-sounding, oracular,

impressive utterance cf. VII 527 A, VIII 568 A, *Prot.* 342 E, *Phaedr.* 238 D, *Ar. Clouds* 315. Plato's criticism applies to himself, in common with the other pupils of Socrates, and was doubtless intended to do so. He constantly declares that 'knowledge of the good' is the all-important possession for man: see on εἰ δὲ μὴ ἴσμεν 505 A. The present discussion removes the *petitio principii* by explaining what the ἰδέα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ really means.

21 ἢ οὐ καὶ οὗτοι κτλ. This is exactly what happens to Callicles in *Gorg.* 495 A—499 C. If Plato is referring to any dialogue at all, the *Gorgias* i.e. illustrates his point much better than the *Philebus* (13 A—C), to which Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1. p. 548, Susemihl *Gen. Entw.* II p. 192, and others of the older generation of scholars suppose that Plato is alluding. But there is nothing to suggest any cross-reference at all. On the question whether the *Philebus* is or is not prior to the *Republic* see Jackson in *J. Ph.* xxv pp. 65—82.

505 D 25 τόδε οὐ φανερόν κτλ. The contrast is between δίκαια, καλὰ on the one hand, and ἀγαθὰ or ὠφέλιμα (V 457 B n.) on the other. All men desire the reality of good (cf. IV 438 A n.), but many are content with the semblance of honour. Cobet expunges τὰ δοκοῦντα, and καὶ before δοκεῖν, thereby leaving a very crabbed piece of Greek. Ast's καὶ διώκειν for καὶ δοκεῖν is on a higher plane of criticism. The text is nevertheless sound. δοκεῖν 'to seem' is used absolutely, as in II 361 B,

καὶ καλὰ πολλοὶ ἂν ἔλαιντο τὰ δοκοῦντα, κὰν μὴ ᾗ, ὅμως ταῦτα  
 πράττειν καὶ κεκτηῖσθαι καὶ δοκεῖν, ἀγαθὰ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἔτι ἀρκεῖ τὰ  
 δοκοῦντα κτᾶσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄντα ζητοῦσιν, τὴν δὲ δόξαν ἐνταῦθα  
 E ἤδη πᾶς ἀτιμάζει; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Ὁ δὲ διώκει ἡ μὲν ἅπαντα  
 ψυχὴ καὶ τούτου ἔνεκα πάντα πράττει, ἀπομαντευομένη τι εἶναι, 30  
 ἀποροῦσα δὲ καὶ οὐκ ἔχουσα λαβεῖν ἱκανῶς τί ποτ' ἐστὶν οὐδὲ  
 πίστει χρῆσασθαι μονίμῳ, οἷα καὶ περὶ τᾶλλα, διὰ τοῦτο δὲ  
 ἀποτυγχάνει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων εἴ τι ὄφελος ἦν, περὶ δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον  
 506 καὶ τοσοῦτον | οὕτω φῶμεν δεῖν ἐσκοτῶσθαι καὶ ἐκείνους τοὺς  
 βελτίστους ἐν τῇ πόλει, οἷς πάντα ἐχειριούμεν; Ἡκιστὰ γ', ἔφη.  
 Οἶμαι γοῦν, εἶπον, δίκαιά τε καὶ καλὰ ἀγνοούμενα ὅπη ποτὲ ἀγαθὰ  
 ἐστίν, οὐ πολλοῦ τινὸς ἄξιον φύλακα κεκτηῖσθαι ἂν ἑαυτῶν τὸν  
 τοῦτο ἀγνοοῦντα, μαντεύομαι δὲ μηδένα αὐτὰ πρότερον γνῶσεσθαι 5  
 ἱκανῶς. Καλῶς γάρ, ἔφη, μαντεύει. Οὐκοῦν ἡμῖν ἡ πολιτεία  
 B τελέως ἡ κεκοσμήσεται, εἰάν ὁ τοιοῦτος αὐτὴν ἐπισκοπῇ φύλαξ, ὁ  
 τούτων ἐπιστῆμων;

26. ᾗ ΘFr: εἴη AΠΞ q.

and prepares the way for δόξαν 'seeming' (cf. 499 A) below. So also Schneider and Stallbaum understand the passage. For *ἔτι* and *ἤδη* see on III 412 B.

29 δ δὲ διώκει κτλ. With *δ* followed by *τούτου* cf. II 357 B n. Cobet's *ὅτου* for *τούτου* is an unlucky venture. Stumpf justly observes that the Idea of Good is here regarded as the final cause: cf. *Phaed.* 98 B ff. and *Phil.* 20 D, 54 C. For a striking theological presentation of the same view see *Laws* 715 E ff. and 903 B—D. Plato's *ἰδέα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ* laid "the foundations of the teleological view of the world" (Krohn *Pl. St.* p. 131).

505 E 30 ἀπομαντευομένη. Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* x 2. 1173<sup>a</sup> 4 f. Ἵσως δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς φαύλοις ἔστι τι φυσικὸν [ἀγαθόν] κρείττον ἢ καθ' αὐτὰ, δ ἐφέλεται τοῦ οἰκεῖου ἀγαθοῦ. ἀπομαντευομένη implies the same instinctive, half-unconscious, divination of something beyond our grasp.

32 διὰ τοῦτο κτλ. See 505 A n.

506 A 1 καὶ ἐκείνους: i.e. as well as *οἱ πολλοί*. For *καὶ* cf. VII 519 B.

3 οἶμαι γοῦν κτλ. No one who does not know the *ἰδέα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ* can possibly know in what respect or how far particular *δίκαια* (such as, for example, a particular *νόμιμον περὶ δικαίου*: see v 479 D n.) are good, because it is the *παρουσία τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ* in them which makes

them good (505 A n.). And no one who is ignorant *ὅπη ποτὲ ἀγαθὰ ἐστίν* can possibly defend *δίκαια* (such as for example the *δίκαια ἐπιτηδεύματα* of Plato's city), because he is at the mercy of anyone who attempts to shew that they are bad. Nor, until we know how far particular *δίκαια* are good (*πρότερον*), can we adequately know these *δίκαια* themselves, i.e. know which of these really *is δίκαιον* and which not, for we do not know how they stand in relation to the ultimate source of all justice, viz. the Idea of the Good. It is this which, in the last resort, is the true 'measure of all things' (*Laws* 716 c ff., where Plato employs the language of theology). Hence the supreme necessity for our Guardians to know the *ἰδέα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*. Bekker first restored the true reading of this passage, which had been strangely mutilated in earlier editions. Stallbaum reads *μηδ' ἂν ἔνα* with *q*, but instances of the future with *ἂν*—see on 492 C—should not be wilfully multiplied.

506 B 8 τούτων: i.e. τὰ δίκαιά τε καὶ καλὰ, ὅπη ποτὲ ἀγαθὰ ἐστίν.

506 B—508 B After some hesitation, Socrates undertakes to describe the Idea of Good, not as it is in itself, but through its image, *ἀναλογία ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ*.

Let me remind you (he proceeds) of our

XVIII. Ἀνάγκη, ἔφη. ἀλλὰ σὺ δὴ, ὦ Σώκρατες, πότερον  
 10 ἐπιστήμην τὸ ἀγαθὸν φῆς εἶναι, ἢ ἡδονήν, ἢ ἄλλο τι παρὰ ταῦτα;  
 Οὗτος, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀνὴρ, καλῶς ᾔσθα καὶ πάσαι καταφανής ὅτι σοὶ  
 οὐκ ἀποχρήσοι τὸ τοῖς ἄλλοις δοκοῦν περὶ αὐτῶν. Οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 δίκαιόν μοι, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, φαίνεται τὰ τῶν ἄλλων μὲν ἔχειν  
 εἰπεῖν δόγματα, τὸ δ' αὐτοῦ μή, τοσοῦτον χρόνον περὶ ταῦτα  
 15 πραγματευόμενον. Τί δέ; ἦν δ' ἐγώ. ἰ δοκεῖ σοι δίκαιον εἶναι περὶ  
 ὧν τις μὴ οἶδεν λέγειν ὡς εἰδότα; Οὐδαμῶς γ', ἔφη, ὡς εἰδότα,  
 ὡς μέντοι οἰόμενον ταῦθ' ἃ οἶεται ἐθέλγειν λέγειν. Τί δέ; εἶπον.  
 οὐκ ᾔσθησαι τὰς ἄνευ ἐπιστήμης δόξας, ὡς πᾶσαι αἰσχυραί; ὧν αἱ  
 βέλτισται τυφλαί. ἢ δοκοῦσί τί σοι τυφλῶν διαφέρειν ὁδὸν ὀρθῶς  
 20 πορευομένων οἱ ἄνευ νοῦ ἀληθές τι δοξάζοντες; Οὐδέν, ἔφη.  
 Βούλει οὖν αἰσχυρὰ θεάσασθαι, τυφλά τε καὶ σκολιά, ἐξὸν ἰ παρ' D

II. ἀνὴρ καλῶς II: ἀνὴρ καλῶς A<sup>1</sup>: ἀνὴρ καλὸς A<sup>2</sup>.

usual distinction between Particulars and Ideas, the former apprehended by Sight, the latter by Reason. In the case of most of the senses, nothing is required except the faculty and its object in order that a sensation may take place. But in order that we may see, a third requisite is necessary, viz. Light. Now the author of *Light is the Sun*, and we may therefore say that the Sun is the cause of Sight. We must not identify either Sight or the Eye with the Sun, although the Eye resembles the Sun more closely than any other organ of sense, and the Sun himself is seen by the Eye.

506 B 9 πότερον ἐπιστήμην κτλ. Even if it could be shewn that the *Philebus* is earlier than the *Republic*—and recent critics take the opposite view—there would be no sufficient reason for holding (with Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1. p. 708 n.) that Plato is referring to that dialogue, although he there denies that either Knowledge or Pleasure is the Chief Good (20 B ff., 60 E). See also on 505 C and 506 E.

II οὗτος κτλ. καλῶς has in reality—see *cr. n.*—more and better MS support than καλός, which Schneider retained in the belief that A read καλός. Used in this way, καλῶς is colloquial (Jebb on *Soph. O. T.* 1008 καλῶς εἰ δῆλος οὐκ εἰδὼς τί δρᾷς).

506 C 15 δοκεῖ σοι δίκαιον κτλ. The sentence is ironical, as is clear from ἐξὸν παρ' ἄλλων (the Sophists forsooth) ἀκοῖν φανὰ τε καὶ καλὰ in D below.

Plato frequently feigns ignorance and self-distrust before expounding some great principle of whose truth he is himself profoundly convinced: cf. v 450 D. The notion that he really lays claim only to δόξα or even ὀρθὴ δόξα of the Good is hardly to be entertained, although he does not claim to have perfect knowledge: to that we may, perchance, attain hereafter. See 505 A n.

19 ἢ δοκοῦσί τί σοι κτλ. On ὀρθὴ δόξα see *Men.* 97 A—98 A, *Theaet.* 201 C, *Tim.* 51 D, E. Correct opinion believes, but does not know, and is therefore blind and insecure. Its ethical correlate is πολιτικὴ or δημοτικὴ ἀρετή: cf. 500 D and IV 430 C *nn.* See in general Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1. pp. 588 ff.

21 σκολιά='crooked,' 'awry' is objected to by Hermann on the ground that ὀρθαὶ δόξαι may be blind, but cannot be 'crooked.' This is true, but αἱ ἄνευ ἐπιστήμης δόξαι may be both blind and awry; and αἰσχυραί, which looks back to αἰσχυραί, shews that it is not correct opinions, but opinions without knowledge generally, which are described in τυφλά—σκολιά. Socrates' mock humility will not pretend to more than δόξα, let alone ὀρθὴ δόξα. If you wish for 'science,' go to your sophistical rhetoricians, forsooth, and 'hear things bright and beautiful.' φανὰ τε καὶ καλὰ may be an allusion to the 'lumina orationis' of Isocrates and his friends: see 498 E n. σκότια, which Hermann conjectures, is apparently not used by Plato.



ἄλλων ἀκούειν φανά τε καὶ καλά; Μὴ πρὸς Διός, ἢ δ' ὅς, ὦ Σώκρατες, ὁ Γλαῦκων, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τέλει ὢν ἀποστῆς. ἀρκέσει γὰρ ἡμῖν, κἂν ὥσπερ δικαιοσύνης πέρι καὶ σωφροσύνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διήλθες, οὕτω καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ διέλθης. Καὶ γὰρ ἐμοί, ἦν δ' 25 ἐγώ, ὦ ἐταῖρε, καὶ μάλα ἀρκέσει· ἀλλ' ὅπως μὴ οὐχ οἶός τ' ἔσομαι, προθυμούμενος δὲ ἀσχημονῶν γέλωτα ὀφλήσω. ἀλλ', ὦ μακάριοι, Ε αὐτὸ μὲν τί ποτ' ἐστὶ τὰγαθόν, εἰσώμεν τὸ νῦν εἶναι· πλεον γάρ μοι φαίνεται ἢ κατὰ τὴν παρούσαν ὁρμὴν ἐφικέσθαι τοῦ γε δοκοῦντος ἐμοί τὰ νῦν· ὅς δὲ ἔκγονός τε τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ φαίνεται καὶ ὁμοιό- 30 τας ἐκείνῳ, λέγειν ἐθέλω, εἰ καὶ ὑμῖν φίλον, εἰ δὲ μή, ἔαν. 'ΑΛΛ', ἔφη, λέγε· εἰσαυθὺς γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποτείσεις τὴν διήγησιν.

507 Βουλοίμην ἂν, εἶπον, ἐμέ τε δύνασθαι αὐτὴν | ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ὑμᾶς κομίσασθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὥσπερ νῦν τοὺς τόκους μόνον. τοῦτον δὲ δὴ

506 D 23 ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τέλει ὢν: not 'just as you are reaching the goal' (Jowett), but 'as if you were at the end.' Jowett practically omits ὥσπερ in his translation.

506 E 29 ὁρμὴν. The idea is as of a start or impulse which enables one to clear the obstacles in the way: cf. v 451 C.

30 τὰ νῦν should be taken with ἐφικέσθαι. If we take it with δοκοῦντος, we must suppose that Socrates intends to suggest that his view of the matter may change (so D. and V.). He is hardly likely to have made such a suggestion, even ironically. εἰσώμεν τὸ νῦν εἶναι is also in favour of connecting τὰ νῦν with ἐφικέσθαι. Cf. *Tim.* 48 C f. τὴν μὲν γὰρ περὶ πάντων εἶτε ἀρχὴν εἶτε ἀρχὰς—τὸ νῦν οὐ ῥητέον, δι' ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν, διὰ δὲ τὸ χαλεπὸν εἶναι κατὰ τὸν παρόντα τρόπον τῆς διεξόδου δηλῶσαι τὰ δοκοῦντα κτλ. The emphasis on τὸ νῦν εἶναι and τὰ νῦν seems to hint that a description of the ἀγαθόν, as it is in itself, may be expected on some future occasion. But there is no dialogue in which the Idea of Good is so clearly described as in the *Republic*, and it is not without reason that every historian of Philosophy regards this passage as the *locus classicus* on the subject. O. Schneider (*Versuch einer genet. Entw. d. Pl. ἀγαθόν* p. 15) thinks of the *Philebus*; Susemihl (*Gen. Entw.* II p. 193) of the *Φιλόσοφος*, which was perhaps planned, but probably never executed (see on 484 A). The *Philebus* is unsuitable; and of the *Φιλό-*

σοφος we know nothing. I am inclined to think—in view especially of *βουλοίμην ἂν* κτλ. below—that, although Plato may have cherished the idea of describing the Good without the aid of a simile—*εἶδεσιν αὐτοῖς δι' αὐτῶν*—, he never, at all events in any of his dialogues, did so. In a certain sense, perhaps, the *Timaeus* describes the Good (see Archer-Hind's edition p. 27), but even there, we study the 'Father of all' not in himself so much as in his works. I agree with Stumpf's conclusion (l.c. p. 75) that Plato could hardly have depicted the Idea of Good at all except by means of a comparison. Certainly nothing else could have made it equally clear; and, in point of fact, 'es wird nirgends Mehr gegeben' (Stumpf, l.c. p. 59 n.). See also next note.

ὅς δὲ ἔκγονος κτλ. The ἔκγονος is the Sun, as presently appears. Socrates' procedure in *Phaed.* 99 C—E is in some respects like his procedure here. A nearer parallel is *Phaedr.* 246 A, where, before describing the soul, Socrates observes *ὅλον μὲν ἐστὶ, πάντη πάντως θείας εἶναι καὶ μακρὰς διηγῆσεως, ᾧ δὲ ἔοικεν, ἀνθρωπίνης τε καὶ ἐλάττωτος*. The Idea of Good, like the Soul, is best described by one man to another in a figure. On *εἰσαυθὺς* see last note and IV 430 C n.

507 A 2 τοὺς τόκους. The comparison, which is already suggested in *ἀποτείσεις, ἀποδοῦναι* ('pay' as well as 'render'), and *κομίσασθαι*, culminates in the word *τόκος* ('interest' and 'offspring'). See on *γράφειν νόμους* 501 A and (for a

οὖν τὸν τόκον τε καὶ ἔκγονον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ κομίσασθε· εὐλα-  
 βεῖσθε μέντοι, μὴ πη ἐξαπατήσω ὑμᾶς ἄκων, κίβδηλον ἀποδιδούς  
 5 τὸν λόγον τοῦ τόκου. Εὐλαβησόμεθα, ἔφη, κατὰ δύναμιν· ἀλλὰ  
 μόνον λέγε. Διομολογησάμενός γ', ἔφην ἐγώ, καὶ ἀναμνήσας ὑμᾶς  
 τὰ τ' ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν ῥηθέντα καὶ ἄλλοτε ἤδη πολλάκις εἰρημένα.  
 Τὰ ἴ ποῖα; ἦ δ' ὅς. Πολλὰ καλὰ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ πολλὰ ἀγαθὰ καὶ B  
 ἕκαστα οὕτως εἶναί φασιν τε καὶ διορίζομεν τῇ λόγῳ. Φαμέν γάρ.  
 10 Καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ καλὸν καὶ αὐτὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ οὕτω περὶ πάντων, ἃ  
 τότε ὥς πολλὰ ἐτίθεμεν· πάλιν αὖ καὶ ιδέαν μίαν ἐκάστου, ὥς μιᾶς  
 οὔσης, τιθέντες, ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον προσαγορεύομεν. Ἔστι ταῦτα.  
 Καὶ τὰ μὲν δὴ ὀράσθαι φασιν, νοεῖσθαι δ' οὐ, τὰς δ' αὖ ιδέας  
 νοεῖσθαι μέν, ὀράσθαι δ' οὐ. Παντάπασιν μὲν οὖν. Τῷ οὖν C  
 15 ὀρώμεν ἡμῶν αὐτῶν τὰ ὀρώμενα; Τῇ ὕψει, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ'  
 ἐγώ, καὶ ἀκοῇ τὰ ἀκουόμενα καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις αἰσθήσεσι πάντα τὰ  
 αἰσθητά; Τί μῆν; Ἄρ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐννεόηκας τὸν τῶν

3. κομίσασθε A<sup>2</sup>II: κομίσασθαι A<sup>1</sup>.

II. καὶ nos: κατ' codd.

similar play on τόκος) cf. VIII 555 E and Ar. *Thesm.* 842—845. κίβδηλον below is a metaphor from counterfeit coinage.

6 διομολογησάμενός γε. γε ('yes,' 'not until': cf. with Schneider *Phaedr.* 228 D δέξας γε πρῶτον κτλ.) was restored by Bekker from the best MSS. Stephanus (with Ξ etc.) read δέ.

7 ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν. Cf. V 475 E n.

507 B 9 εἶναί is not of course used in its technical sense, otherwise it would be inconsistent with the end of Book V. Socrates means only that the Platonist distinguishes between two categories—τὰ πολλὰ, and the Ideas.

10 καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ κτλ. The literal meaning of the text above printed is as follows: 'So likewise a Beautiful itself, and a Good itself and similarly about all which we formerly took' (or 'postulated') 'as many; reversing our procedure (πάλιν αὖ), we postulate also one Idea of each, believing that there is but one, and call it the essential so-and-so.' καὶ—ἐτίθεμεν is best explained as still under the influence of φασιν—λόγῳ. τότε (as Schneider observes) refers 'ad eam, quae modo facta est, multorum commemorationem': cf. 510 B. Stallbaum is mistaken in supposing that the allusion is to V 475 E ff. Plato's meaning will appear from a single example. We postulate both πολλὰ

δίκαια and also ἐν δίκαιον, viz. the *ιδέα μία δίκαιον*, and we call the latter ὃ ἔστιν δίκαιον: cf. *Phaedr.* 75 B τοῦ δ' ἔστιν ἴσον, *Symp.* 211 C and elsewhere. We postulate only one *ιδέα δίκαιου*, because we believe that there is but one: see X 597 C, D, where Plato shews why there cannot be more. For αὐτό used of the Ideas, see on IV 438 B, 438 C and V 476 A n. Instead of καὶ ιδέαν, the MSS—see *cr. n.*—read κατ' ιδέαν (κατιδέαν Vind. F.). For the interchange of καὶ and κατὰ see Schaefer's *Greg. Cor.* p. 234 n. 26. An unduly sloping accent is enough to account for the corruption of ΚΑΙΙΔΕΑΝ into ΚΑΤΙΔΕΑΝ (as in uncial MSS it would be written: see Thompson *Gk. Palaeogr.* p. 127). See also my article in *Cl. Rev.* XIII p. 100. Other views on the text and interpretation of this difficult passage are discussed in App. VII.

507 C 17 ἄρ' οὖν κτλ. On the unique position of Sight among the senses see *Phaedr.* 250 D and Bonitz on Arist. *Met.* A 1. 980<sup>b</sup> 23: cf. also *Phaedr.* 65 B, *Tim.* 47 A ff., *Hipp. Maior* 297 E ff. It is the costliest (πολυτελεστάτη) because it requires an additional precious or valuable element (μὴ ἄτιμον 508 A) beyond what is necessary for the operation of the others, viz. Light: cf. *Tim.* 45 C, D and Arist. *de An.* II 7. 418<sup>b</sup> 2 ff.

αἰσθήσεων δημιουργὸν ὅσῳ πολυτελεστάτην τὴν τοῦ ὁρᾶν τε καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι δύνάμιν ἐδημιούργησεν; Οὐ πάννυ, ἔφη. Ἄλλ' ὧδε σκόπει. ἔστιν ὃ τι προσδεῖ ἀκοῇ καὶ φωνῇ γένους ἄλλου εἰς τὸ 20  
 D τὴν μὲν ἀκούειν, τὴν δὲ ἀκούεσθαι, ὃ εἰ μὴ παραγένηται<sup>1</sup> τρίτον, ἢ μὲν οὐκ ἀκούσεται, ἢ δὲ οὐκ ἀκουσθήσεται; Οὐδενός, ἔφη. Οἶμαι δέ γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οὐδ' ἄλλαις πολλαῖς, ἵνα μὴ εἴπω ὅτι οὐδεμιᾷ, τοιούτου προσδεῖ οὐδενός. ἢ σύ τίνα ἔχεις εἰπεῖν; Οὐκ ἔγωγε, ἦ δ' ὅς. Τὴν δὲ τῆς ὀψews καὶ τοῦ ὁρατοῦ οὐκ ἐννοεῖς ὅτι 25  
 προσδεῖται; Πῶς; Ἐνούσης που ἐν ὄμμασιν ὀψews καὶ ἐπιχειροῦντος τοῦ ἔχοντος χρῆσθαι αὐτῇ, παρούσης δὲ χροᾶς ἐν αὐτοῖς,  
 E εἰ μὴ παραγένηται γένος τρίτον ἰδίᾳ<sup>1</sup> ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεφυκός, οἶσθα, ὅτι ἢ τε ὀψις οὐδὲν ὀψεται τά τε χρώματα ἔσται ἀόρατα. Τίνος δὴ λέγεις, ἔφη, τούτου; Ὁ δὴ σὺ καλεῖς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, φῶς. 30  
 Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, λέγεις. Οὐ σμικρᾷ ἄρα ιδέα ἢ τοῦ ὁρᾶν αἰσθησις καὶ  
 508 ἢ τοῦ ὁρᾶσθαι δύναμις τῶν ἄλλων ξυζεύξεω τιμιωτέρῳ ζυγῷ

30. σὺ—ὁρώμενα (515 D) om. II, duobus excisis foliis.

20 ἔστιν ὃ τι κτλ. Steinhart (p. 689 n. 213) and others remark on Plato's error in denying that a medium is necessary in Hearing etc. Aristotle was well aware of this fact (see his *de An.* II 7. 419<sup>a</sup> 25 ff.), and there are several indications that it was not altogether unknown to Plato. In *Tim.* 67 B, for example, air is regarded as in a certain sense the medium of sound. Here, however, where a scientific analysis of perception is not proposed, Plato takes his stand upon the broad fact of experience, that whereas we can hear, touch, etc. either in light or in darkness, we can see only where there is light.

507 D 23 οὐδ' ἄλλαις πολλαῖς. 'Non αἰσθήσεσι suppleendum est, quippe quae non amplius tres supersint, sed δυνάμεις vel δυνάμεων συζεύξεσι' (Schneider). It may be added that the antecedent of ἄλλαις is the same as that of τίνα and τὴν τῆς ὀψews καὶ τοῦ ὁρατοῦ, and τὴν is certainly for τὴν δύνάμιν: cf. τὴν τοῦ ὁρᾶν τε καὶ ὁρᾶσθαι δύνάμιν in C. Plato is thinking quite generally of δυνάμεις τοῦ ποιεῖν τε καὶ πάσχειν: cf. *Theaet.* 156 A.

27 ἐν αὐτοῖς κτλ. If ἐν αὐτοῖς is right, αὐτοῖς must be interpreted as τοῖς ὁρωμένοις, for it is clear from 508 C ὅτι ἂν τὰς χροᾶς τὸ ἡμερινὸν φῶς ἐπέχῃ that colour is here regarded as inherent in the ob-

ject. Grammatically, however, αὐτοῖς can scarcely mean anything except τοῖς ὄμμασιν, and in my edition of 1897 I accordingly proposed to read ἐν αὐτοῖς <τοῖς ὁρωμένοις>. Ficinus translates *praesente item colore*, omitting ἐν αὐτοῖς altogether. For other views see App. VIII.

507 E 30 τίνος—τούτου; The genitive has been variously explained as (1) dependent on γένος (Schneider), (2) in agreement with παραγενόμενον understood (Stallbaum, Campbell), (3) like ἔππων in τί δὲ ἔππων οἶει; V 459 B (Jowett). (2) is in my opinion grammatically impossible. For (3) cf. V 470 A n. Jowett's view is perhaps possible, but we should have expected simply τί δὴ λέγεις—τούτο; Schneider's explanation ('Pray what is this whose γένος you mention?') is, I think, the least unsatisfactory. Perhaps we should read δεῖν for δῆ.

δ δὴ σὺ καλεῖς. Herwerden needlessly writes δ δὴ καὶ σὺ καλεῖς.

31 οὐ σμικρᾷ κτλ. ἰδέα, 'kind,' 'class,' is here a synonym for γένος as in *Theaet.* 184 D, *Pol.* 289 B. The dative expresses the 'amount of difference' after the comparative τιμιωτέρῳ ('more precious': cf. πολυτελεστάτην in 507 C). Cf. II 373 E and IX 579 C τοῖς τοιοῦτοις κακοῖς πλείω καρποῦται with note ad loc.



ἐζύγησαν, εἴπερ μὴ ἄτιμον τὸ φῶς. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη, πολλοῦ γε δεῖ ἄτιμον εἶναι.

XIX. Τίνα οὖν ἔχεις αἰτιάσασθαι τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῶν τούτου  
 5 κύριον, οὗ ἡμῖν τὸ φῶς ὄψιν τε ποιεῖ ὁρᾶν ὃ τι κάλλιστα καὶ τὰ  
 ὁρώμενα ὁρᾶσθαι; Ὅνπερ καὶ σύ, ἔφη, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι· τὸν ἥλιον  
 γὰρ δῆλον ὅτι ἐρωτᾷς. Ἀρ' οὖν ὧδε πέφυκεν ὄψις πρὸς τοῦτον  
 τὸν θεόν; Πῶς; Οὐκ ἔστιν ἥλιος ἢ ὄψις οὔτε αὐτὴ οὐτ' ἐν ᾧ  
 ἐγγίγνεται, ὃ δὴ καλοῦμεν ὄμμα. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν. Ἀλλ' ἡλιοειδέσ- B  
 10 τατόν γε οἶμαι τῶν περὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεις ὀργάνων. Πολύ γε.  
 Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὴν δύναμιν, ἣν ἔχει, ἐκ τούτου ταμειομένην ὥσπερ  
 ἐπίρρυτον κέκτῃται; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Ἀρ' οὖν οὐ καὶ ὁ ἥλιος  
 ὄψις μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν, αἴτιος δ' ὦν αὐτῆς ὁρᾶται ὑπ' αὐτῆς ταύτης;  
 Οὕτως, ἢ δ' ὅς. Τοῦτον τοίνυν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, φάναι με λέγειν τὸν τοῦ

508 A 4 τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ θεῶν: the heavenly constellations, which form the οὐράνιον θεῶν γένος (*Tim.* 40 A). Plato's description of the sun is instinct with religious feeling. The 'clear god and patron of all light, From whom each lamp and shining star doth borrow The beauteous influence that makes him bright' claims adoration from Plato not merely as an οὐράνιος θεός, like the other stars, but as the symbol and scion (ἐκγονος) of the Supreme Idea or God. Cf. Bonitz *Disp. Plat. diae*, p. 6 n. 3, and especially Paul Shorey in *Chicago Studies in Cl. Phil.* Vol. I pp. 224 ff. The sun-worship of some of the Neo-Platonists was inspired in no small measure by this passage of the *Republic*; see in particular Julian's 'Address to the Sovereign Sun' (εἰς τὸν βασιλέα ἡλίου) *Or.* IV. Cf. 508 D n.

508 B 9 ἡλιοειδестаτήν. The Eye is the Body's Sun: cf. *Ar. Thesm.* 16, 17 ᾧ μὲν βλέπειν χρὴ πρῶτ' ἐμυχανήσατο | ὀφθαλμὸν ἀντίμιμον ἡλίου τροχῷ. A similar idea appears in St Matth. 6. 22 ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματος ἐστὶν ὁ ὀφθαλμός. Conversely, the Sun is often in Greek poetry called the Eye of the World or of Day, and Shakespeare invokes the Sun in the words 'O eye of Eyes!' (*Rape of Lucrece*): cf. also Milton *Par. Lost* v 171 'Thou Sun! of this great world both eye and soul.' Both comparisons rest ultimately on the favourite Greek idea of the Universe as the Macrocosm, and Man as the Microcosm. See on this subject Zeller<sup>3</sup> II 2, p. 488, III 2, pp. 136, 397 nn.,

and Stein *Psych. d. Stoa* I pp. 205—214.

11 οὐκοῦν κτλ. Pindar *Fr.* 107 (Bergk) expresses the same idea in the language of poetry: Ἀκτὶς ἀελίου, τί πολὺ σκοπ', ἐμήσαο, θεῶν μᾶτερ ὀμμάτων.

τὴν δύναμιν is of course τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ ὁρᾶν, 'the power of seeing.' The translation 'faculty' (D. and V.) for δύναμις is incorrect; for the faculty of ὄψις is supposed to be present in the eyes even when there is no light (507 D). But the eye has no 'power' to see, i.e. cannot exercise the faculty of ὄψις unless such a power is constantly dispensed (ταμειομένην) to it from the Sun. Cf. Biehl *die Id. d. Guten* p. 52, where the same view is taken. The word ἐπίρρυτον ('flowing over,' 'overflowing it,' cf. *Tim.* 80 D) as well as ταμειομένην unmistakably points the allusion to Light. See also on ὅταν μὲν κτλ. and τοῦτο τοίνυν κτλ. in 508 D.

508 B—509 A So much for our similitude. The interpretation is as follows. The offspring and image of the Good is the Sun, whose relation to Sight and its objects is the same as that of the Good to Thought (νοῦς) and the objects of Thought. The analogue of Light is Truth; as we cannot see without Light, so, where Truth is absent, we cannot know. The Idea of the Good is the source of Truth and Knowledge, although itself apprehended by Knowledge. As Light and Sight resemble the Sun, so Truth and Knowledge resemble the Good, but the Good is not identical with either, for it transcends both.

14 φάναι. Cf. 473 A n.

**C** ἀγαθοῦ ἔκγονον, ὃν τὰγαθὸν ἐγέννησεν ἀνάλογον<sup>1</sup> ἑαυτῷ, ὃ τί περ 15  
αὐτὸ ἐν τῷ νοητῷ τόπῳ πρὸς τε νοῦν καὶ τὰ νοούμενα, τοῦτο τοῦτοι  
ἐν τῷ ὁρατῷ πρὸς τε ὄψιν καὶ τὰ ὁρώμενα. Πῶς; ἔφη· ἔτι διέλθῃ  
μοι. Ὁφθαλμοί, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οἶσθ' ὅτι ὅταν μηκέτι ἐπ' ἐκείνά τις  
αὐτοὺς τρέπη, ὧν ἂν τὰς χροῖας τὸ ἡμερινὸν φῶς ἐπέχῃ, ἀλλὰ ὧν  
νυκτερινὰ φέγγη, ἀμβλυώττουςί τε καὶ ἐγγὺς φαίνονται τυφλῶν. 20  
ὥσπερ οὐκ ἐνούσης καθαρᾶς ὀψεως. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Ὅταν δέ  
**D** γ', οἶμαι, ὧν ὁ ἥλιος<sup>1</sup> καταλάμπει, σαφῶς ὁρώσι, καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς  
τούτοις ὁμμασιν ἐνούσα φαίνεται. Τί μήν; Οὕτω τοῖνυν καὶ τὸ  
τῆς ψυχῆς ὧδε νοεῖ· ὅταν μὲν, οὗ καταλάμπει ἀλήθειά τε καὶ τὸ

24. καταλάμπει A<sup>1</sup>g: καταλάμπη A<sup>2</sup>Ξ.

**508 C 15** ὃ τί περ—ὁρώμενα explains ἀνάλογον ἑαυτῷ, which should be understood in its strict sense of proportionate or 'geometrical equality': see *Gorg.* 508 A ἡ ἰσότης ἢ γεωμετρικὴ καὶ ἐν θεοῖς καὶ ἐν ἀνθρώποις μέγα δύναται.

**16** τοῦτον after τοῦτο is needed to balance αὐτό (cf. 511 E): in construction, it depends, like ὧν, on ἐγέννησεν (Schneider). τοῦτο itself, like ἀνάλογον ἑαυτῷ, is predicative ('ut hoc esset'). Stallbaum erroneously supplies φάναι με λέγειν to govern τοῦτον.

**19** ὧν ἂν—ἐπέχῃ. ἐπέχῃ 'occupat' as in the Homeric ἐπὰ δ' ἐπέσχε πέλεθρα and the like. With ἐπὶ of light cf. *Mimn.* 2. 8 ἐπὶ γῆν κιδναται ἥελιος. The Greek will not admit of D. and V.'s translation 'upon which the light of day is shedding colour'; and Plato moreover, both here and in *Tim.* 67 c, looks on Colour as something inherent in the Object, not imparted by Light, although Light is of course necessary in order to see it. Cf. 507 D n.

φῶς—φέγγη: 'lux—lumina.' The words are constantly interchanged, but, when contrasted with φέγγος, φῶς denotes a natural or primary, φέγγος an artificial or derivative light. See Neil on *Ar. Knights* 1319. Plato knew that the Moon's light is borrowed from the Sun (x 616 E).

**22** ὧν ὁ ἥλιος κτλ. 'The Sun' is here said loosely for 'the Sunlight' or 'light of Day' (τὸ ἡμερινὸν φῶς above); for, as appears from 508 E, 508 A, it is not the Sun, but Light, which is to be equated with Truth and Being (οὗ καταλάμπει ἀλήθειά τε καὶ τὸ ὄν in D). See also on τοῦτο τοῖνυν κτλ. in 508 D. In-

stead of καταλάμπει, καταλάμπη is read by a majority of editors, with several MSS, including Ξ: but ὅς for ὃς ἂν is, to say the least, extremely rare in prose, and the corruption καταλάμπη was easy after ὅταν. καταλάμπει was, if I mistake not, originally the reading of A (see *cr. n.*), and is at least as well supported by the other MSS as καταλάμπη. J. and C., reading καταλάμπη, strangely observe that 'ἂν would be felt as superfluous after ὅταν.'

**508 D 23** ἐνούσα φαίνεται: sc. καθαρὰ ὄψις, supplied from καθαρᾶς ὀψεως above. '<ὄψις> ἐνούσα <σαφὴς> lubens suppleverim' says Herwerden, and ὄψις is found in a few MSS, including g. But the feminine inflexion prevents the possibility of mistake: cf. 503 E n. The initial syllable of ἐνούσα should be emphasized to point the contrast with οὐκ ἐνούσης, where οὐκ is also emphatic.

**24** ὅταν μὲν κτλ. ἀπερίσγηται = 'is stayed upon' (cf. IX 581 A), not 'has fastened upon' (D. and V.), which suggests an altogether different and much less appropriate idea. Cf. *Phaed.* 79 D πέπνυται τοῦ πλάνου, Plot. xx 4 Kirchhoff παύσασα δὲ τῆς περὶ τὸ αἰσθητὸν πλάνης ἐνιδρύει τῷ νοητῷ, and Dante *Parad.* 4. 124, 125 Io veggio ben che giammai non si sazia Nostro intelletto, see 'I ver non lo illustra'. The soul can find no rest except in that 'whereon Truth and Being shine': elsewhere she is tossed to and fro with every wind of doctrine (ἄνω—μεταβάλλον. For ἄνω καὶ κάτω see Heindorf on *Gorg.* 495 A). Instead of οὗ, van Heusde proposes ὅ, but ὅδ is proved correct by ὧν above. With ἐνόησέν τε καὶ ἔγνω cf. 490 B n. Here, as there, the aorists

25 ὄν, εἰς τοῦτο ἀπερείσθαι, ἐνόησέν τε καὶ ἔγνω αὐτὸ καὶ νοῦν ἔχειν φαίνεται· ὅταν δὲ εἰς τὸ τῷ σκότῳ κεκραμένον, τὸ γιγνόμενόν τε καὶ ἀπολλύμενον, δοξάζει τε καὶ ἀμβλυώττει ἄνω καὶ κάτω τὰς δόξας μεταβάλλον καὶ ἔοικεν αὖ νοῦν οὐκ ἔχοντι. Ἔοικε γάρ. Τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ ἴτην ἀλήθειαν παρέχον τοῖς γιγνωσκομένοις καὶ **E**  
30 τῷ γιγνώσκοντι τὴν δύναμιν ἀποδιδὼν τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέαν φάθι

denote instantaneous action. The faculty of *νοῦς* is suddenly actualized into *νόησις* by being turned upon its proper object. Then and not till then does the Soul 'appear to have reason,' for Reason has hitherto lain dormant within. Cf. (with Biehl l.c. p. 51) *Tim.* 37 C, *Parm.* 136 E and VII 518 C—519 A. See also on τοῦτο τοίνυν κτλ. below, and 508 E n.

26 κεκραμένον. The suggestion κερυμμένον forgets that τὸ γιγνόμενον is not total darkness but only twilight. It is ἀμφοτέρων μετέχον, τοῦ εἶναι τε καὶ μὴ εἶναι (V 478 E: cf. also 479 C)—a half-way house between absolute Not-Being and absolute Being.

27 δοξάζει is explained by V 476 D ff.  
29 τοῦτο τοίνυν κτλ. The following equations are involved:

- |     |   |   |  |
|-----|---|---|--|
|     | τόπος ὁρατός                                    | = | τόπος νοητός.  |
| (1) | Sun   | = | Idea of Good.  |
| (2) | Light   | = | Truth.   |
| (3) | Objects of Sight (Colours)                      | = | Objects of Knowledge (Ideas).  |
| (4) | Seeing Subject                                  | = | Knowing Subject.   |
| (5) | Organ of Sight (Eye)                            | = | Organ of Knowledge ( <i>νοῦς</i> ).  |
| (6) | Faculty of Sight ( <i>ὄψις</i> )                | = | Faculty of Reason ( <i>νοῦς</i> ).   |
| (7) | Exercise of Sight ( <i>ὄψις</i> , <i>ὁρᾶν</i> ) | = | Exercise of Reason ( <i>νοῦς</i> i.e. <i>νόησις</i> , <i>γνώσις</i> , <i>ἐπιστήμη</i> ). |
| (8) | Ability to see                                  | = | Ability to know.   |

With regard to (2), Light has been variously interpreted as symbolizing the Idea of Good (Plotinus, as appears from XXIII 4), Reason (Steinhart, *Einleitung* pp. 212 ff.), and the Ideas (Susemihl *Gen. Entw.* II pp. 195 ff.). But the chiasmus in 508 E, 509 A (*ἐπιστήμην—ὄψιν*) clearly establishes equation (2) as well as (6), and the entire simile is

plunged in confusion if Light is equated with anything except Truth. Cf. Stumpf l.c. p. 60 *nn.* and Biehl l.c. pp. 50—53. Plato means that as Light, coming from the Sun, enables colours to be seen, and the faculty of Sight to see, so Truth (or rather Trueness, as Bosanquet remarks), coming from the Good, enables the Ideas to be known, and the faculty of *νοῦς* to know. It should be carefully noted that Truth (or its source, the Idea of Good) is not yet regarded as creating, but only as actualizing the faculty of Reason. The conception of the Good as the ultimate cause of all Existence follows later (509 B ff.): here it is represented only as the cause of Knowledge. See also on 490 B, 508 D (*ὅταν μὲν κτλ.*). If we would grasp the full significance of Plato's comparison, we must not be content with the merely philosophical interpretation of Light, but remember also the many poetical and religious associations which attached themselves to such words as *φῶς* and *φῆγγος*, especially in the Mysteries: see Neil on *Ar. Knights* 1319, Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 229 f., 238 f. and Hatch on *The influence of the Mysteries upon Christian usages* in his *Hibbert Lectures* pp. 283—309. The prominent position occupied by Light in the half-religious, half-philosophical teaching of Plotinus (see Zeller<sup>3</sup> III 2 pp. 498 f., 500 n. 2, 616 al.) may to a large extent be attributed to the elaboration and expansion of the mystical elements involved in Plato's simile, the whole of which, together with the similes of the Line and the Cave, is of the greatest importance for the history of Neoplatonism. Cf. also 508 A, B *nn.*

508 E 30 τὴν δύναμιν sc. τοῦ γιγνώσκειν is not the faculty of Knowledge or Reason, but the power to exercise that faculty, hardly different, indeed, from the actual exercise of Reason ('die thatkräftige Aeusserung' Biehl l.c.). Hence *γνώσεως* ('the exercise of knowledge,' cf. *ὁρασις*, *νόησις* and the like) below. Plato's



εἶναι, αἰτίαν δ' ἐπιστήμης οὖσαν καὶ ἀληθείας ὡς γινωσκομένην  
 μὲν διανοοῦ, οὕτω δὲ καλῶν ἀμφοτέρων ὄντων, γνώσεώς τε καὶ  
 ἀληθείας, ἄλλο καὶ κάλλιον ἔτι τούτων ἡγούμενος αὐτὸ ὀρθῶς  
 509 ἡγήσει· ἐπιστήμην δὲ καὶ ἀλήθειαν, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖ φῶς τε | καὶ ὄψιν  
 ἡλιοειδῇ μὲν νομίζειν ὀρθόν, ἥλιον δ' ἡγεῖσθαι οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἔχει, οὕτω  
 καὶ ἐνταῦθα ἀγαθοειδῇ μὲν νομίζειν ταῦτ' ἀμφοτέρα ὀρθόν, ἀγαθὸν  
 δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι ὁπότερον αὐτῶν οὐκ ὀρθόν, ἀλλ' ἔτι μειζόνως τιμητέον  
 τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔξιν. Ἀμήχανον κάλλος, ἔφη, λέγεις, εἰ ἐπιστήμην 5  
 μὲν καὶ ἀλήθειαν παρέχει, αὐτὸ δ' ὑπὲρ ταῦτα κάλλει ἐστίν· οὐ  
 γὰρ δήπου σύ γε ἡδονὴν αὐτὸ λέγεις. Εὐφήμει, ἦν δ' ἐγώ· ἀλλ'  
 B ὅδε μᾶλλον τὴν εἰκόνα αὐτοῦ ἔτι ἐπισκόπει. <sup>1</sup> Πῶς; Τὸν ἥλιον  
 τοῖς ὀρωμένοις οὐ μόνον, οἶμαι, τὴν τοῦ ὁράσθαι δύναμιν παρέχειν  
 φήσεις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν καὶ αὔξην καὶ τροφήν, οὐ γένεσιν 10  
 αὐτὸν ὄντα. Πῶς γάρ; Καὶ τοῖς γινωσκομένοις τοίνυν μὴ

31. γινωσκομένην nos: γινωσκομένης codd.

exposition suffers somewhat from the want of a strict philosophical nomenclature. Aristotle would have expressed the same meaning by saying that *ὄψις* and *νοῦς* are two *δυνάμεις*, which *ἐνεργοῦσι* through Light and Truth respectively, becoming in the one case *ἄρασις*, in the other *νόησις*. Plato's *τὴν δύναμιν*, in fact, is nearly equivalent to Aristotle's *τὴν ἐνέργειαν*. Cf. Biehl l.c. pp. 50—53.

31 αἰτίαν κτλ. 'And being the cause of Knowledge and Truth, I would have you conceive of it as apprehended, no doubt, by Knowledge, but beautiful as is the act of Knowledge, and beautiful though Truth be, you will be right in thinking that it is something other and even more beautiful than these.' The words αἰτίαν—ἀληθείας sum up and carry on τὸ—ἀποδιδόν. ὡς γινωσκομένην is in predicative agreement with αἰτίαν after διανοοῦ (cf. *Pol.* 258 C πάσας τὰς ἐπιστήμας ὡς οὖσας δύο εἶδη διανοηθῆναι): the words are the counterpart of ὁ ἥλιος—δρᾶται ὑπ' αὐτῆς ταύτης (sc. τῆς δυνεως) in the simile 508 B. μὲν after γινωσκομένην balances δέ after οὕτω: though apprehended by Knowledge, and therefore in some sense subject thereto, the Idea of Good is (as being the cause of both) more beautiful than Knowledge and Truth. I have (with van Heusde) altered γινωσκομένης of the best MSS—

see *cr. n.*—to γινωσκομένην. On other interpretations of this difficult passage see App. IX.

509 A 5 τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἔξιν: i. q. τὸ ἀγαθὸν ὡς ἔχει (J. and C.).

6 οὐ γὰρ δήπου κτλ. is said in view of the question in 506 B. There is certainly no allusion to the *Philebus*: see 505 C n.

509 A—C In the second place the Sun also provides the objects of sight with generation (γένεσις), increase, and nutriment, although generation is not identical with the Sun. In like manner, the objects of Knowledge receive their Being and Existence from the Good, which is itself distinct from and higher than Existence.

509 B ff. 8 τὸν ἥλιον κτλ. The Good has been shewn to be the cause of Knowledge: Socrates now proceeds to shew that it is also the cause of Being. In the philosophy of Plato, Knowledge is the epistemological counterpart of Being, Being the ontological counterpart of Knowledge: see V 476 E ff. *nn.* The final unity in which both Knowledge and Being meet is the Idea of the Good, which is therefore the supreme and ultimate cause of the Universe. See also on οὐκ οὖσας κτλ. below and the Appendix to Book VII *On Plato's Dialectic*.

10 οὐ γένεσιν αὐτὸν ὄντα. See on οὐκ οὖσας ὄντος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ below.

μόνον τὸ γιγνώσκεισθαι φάναι ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ παρεῖναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἶναι τε καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ὑπ' ἐκείνου αὐτοῖς προσεῖναι, οὐκ οὐσίας ὄντος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ, ἀλλ' ἔτι ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας πρεσβεία καὶ  
 15 δυνάμει ὑπερέχοντος.

XX. <sup>1</sup> Καὶ ὁ Γλαῦκων μάλα γελοῖως, "Απολλων, ἔφη, δαιμονίας C ὑπερβολῆς. Σὺ γάρ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, αἴτιος, ἀναγκάζων τὰ ἐμοὶ δοκοῦντα περὶ αὐτοῦ λέγειν. Καὶ μηδαμῶς γ', ἔφη, παύσῃ, εἰ μὴ τι, ἀλλὰ

18. ἀλλὰ Ξ q: ἄλλα A.

12 φάναι. V 473 A n. ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ εἶναι κτλ. Cf. Arist. *Met.* A 6. 988<sup>a</sup> 10 τὰ γὰρ εἶδη τοῦ τί ἐστιν αἰτία τοῖς ἄλλοις, τοῖς δ' εἶδει τοῦ τί ἐν. Plato identified τὰγαθόν and τὸ ἐν: see the anecdote in Aristox. *Harm.* § 30 Mar-guard.

13 οὐκ οὐσίας κτλ. has occasioned a vast amount of discussion. Krohn boldly declares that 'Die *ἰδέα τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ* ist keine Idee, denn sie hat keine *οὐσία*, sondern es ist eine Macht, die mit unserer Denkweise nur als die *Gothheit* begriffen werden kann' (*Pl. St.* p. 146). Fouillée *La Philosophie de Platon* II p. 109 draws an over-subtle distinction between εἶναι and οὐσία, holding that although the Good is not οὐσία, it nevertheless is *ὄν* (cf. VII 518 C). Others have suspected the text, O. Schneider, for example, proposing οὐ <μόνον> οὐσίας κτλ. (*Versuch einer genet. Entw. d. Plat. ἀγαθόν* p. 16). That the text is right, the balance with οὐ γένεσιν—ὄντα conclusively shews. The Sun, said Socrates, is the cause of γένεσις, though not himself γένεσις. Just so the Good is the cause of οὐσία, though not itself οὐσία, but (to use a Neoplatonic expression) ὑπερούσιος. Plato's meaning is as follows. The Sun is not γένεσις in the sense in which the objects which he produces are γιγνόμενα. Yet in a certain sense he too is γένεσις, for he is ὁρατός: see VII 529 C ff. and *Tim.* 28 B. (Bosanquet cannot be right in denying that Plato regards the Sun as a γιγνόμενον). As the cause of γένεσις, we may, in fact, regard the Sun as the only true γένεσις, for all γιγνόμενα are derived from him. Similarly the Good is not οὐσία in the sense in which the Ideas are οὐσiai; but in a higher sense it is the only true οὐσία, for all οὐσiai are only specific determinations of the Good. The ὑπερουσιότης of the Good is merely Plato's way of saying that the first Prin-

ciple of all existence must itself be undervived. See on ἀρχὴν ἀνυπόθετον 510 B and cf. Biehl l.c. p. 62 and Fouillée l.c. II pp. 105—111, where the matter is very clearly explained. The doctrine of the ὑπερουσιότης of the Highest afterwards became a cardinal point with the Neoplatonists: see Plotinus ap. RP.<sup>7</sup> p. 528, and for other references Hermann *Vind. diss. de id. boni* pp. 40 n. 84, 41 n. 87, Zeller<sup>3</sup> III 2. pp. 490 ff., Fouillée *La Philosophie de Platon* III pp. 289, 291 nn., and Shorey *Chicago Studies in Cl. Phil.* I p. 188 n. 1. It is highly characteristic of Plato's whole attitude that he finds the true keystone of the Universe—the ultimate fountain from which both Knowledge and Existence flow—in no cold and colourless ontological abstraction, like Being, but in that for which *πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις συσπενάξει καὶ συνωδίνει* (*Rom.* 8. 22)—viz. τὸ ἀγαθόν. Cf. *Phaed.* 97 C ff. and see also on 508 D. The conception is poetical and religious no less than philosophical, and may be compared with Dante's 'L' Amor che muove il Sole e l'altre Stelle' and Tennyson's 'For so the whole round earth is every way Bound by gold chains about the feet of God,' as well as with Aristotle's *πρῶτον κινούν ἀκίνητον* *Met.* A 7 et al.

509 C 16 καὶ ὁ Γλαῦκων κτλ. "Glaucō exclaimed, very comically, 'Save us all, what an amazing transcendence!'" It is Glaucō's προθυμία which is γελοῖον: see 506 D. ὑπερβολῆς is not 'exaggeration' (Jowett), but refers to ὑπερέχοντος: cf. ἀμήχανον κάλλος λέγεις 509 A. A ὑπερβολή which transcends existence may well be called δαιμονία ('supernatural,' 'miraculous').

18 εἰ μὴ τι, ἀλλὰ κτλ. Stephanus proposed ἄλλο for ἀλλά (as in 501 E), but cf. *Men.* 86 E εἰ μὴ τι οὖν, ἀλλὰ συμκρόν γε μοι τῆς ἀρχῆς χάλασον.

509 C—511 E Socrates, at Glaucō's

τὴν περὶ τὸν ἥλιον ὁμοιότητα αὐ διεξιῶν, εἴ πῃ ἀπολείπει. Ἀλλὰ  
 μὴν, εἶπον, συχνὰ γε ἀπολείπω. Μηδὲ σμικρὸν τοίνυν, ἔφη, παρα- 20  
 λήψης. Οἶμαι μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ πολὺ ὅμως δέ, ὅσα γ' ἐν τῷ  
 D παρόντι δυνατόν, ἐκὼν οὐκ ἀπολείψω. Μὴ γάρ, ἔφη. Ἦ νόησον  
 τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὥσπερ λέγομεν, δύο αὐτῶ εἶναι, καὶ βασιλεύειν  
 τὸ μὲν νοητοῦ γένους τε καὶ τόπου, τὸ δ' αὖ ὁρατοῦ, ἵνα μὴ οὐρανοῦ  
 εἰπὼν δόξω σοὶ σοφίζεσθαι περὶ τὸ ὄνομα. ἀλλ' οὖν ἔχεις ταῦτα 25  
 διττὰ εἶδη, ὁρατὸν, νοητόν; Ἐχω. Ὡσπερ τοίνυν γραμμὴν δίχα  
 τετμημένην λαβὼν ἄνισα τμήματα πάλιν τέμνε ἐκάτερον τὸ τμήμα

24. οὐρανοῦ Ξg: οὐρανὸν A.

27. τὸ Ξg: om. A.

request, now proceeds to expound the similitude more fully. Let us take a line, and divide it into two unequal parts, to represent the objects of Sight and the objects of Thought respectively. If we further subdivide each part in the ratio of the original sections, we shall have four segments, representing, in order of clearness, (1) Images and the like, (2) so-called real things, (3) the objects of that intellectual method which descends from assumptions to a conclusion, using sensible objects as images or illustrations, (4) the objects of that intellectual method, which ascends from assumptions to an unassumed first principle, without making use of any sensible illustrations whatsoever, and thereafter descends to a conclusion. The third section represents the subjects investigated by the so-called 'Arts' or mathematical sciences; the fourth is the sphere of Dialectic. The corresponding mental states are called by Socrates *ekastia*, *plousis*, *diánoia*, and *vñsis*. Each of these is clear or sure exactly in proportion as its objects are true.

509 D ff. The simile of the Line contains perhaps more Platonic teaching than any passage of equal length in Plato's writings, and is of primary and fundamental importance for the interpretation of his philosophy. I have discussed the various difficulties as they occur, partly in the notes and partly in the Appendices to this Book. For a consecutive exposition of the whole simile in its connexion with the simile of the Cave see App. I to Book VII.

509 D 23 αὐτῶ: the Sun and the Idea of the Good.

24 ἵνα μὴ οὐρανὸν κτλ. "I do not say

'of heaven,' lest you should imagine that I am etymologising on the name." The Sun might well be called *βασιλεὺς οὐρανοῦ*. Socrates pretends to avoid the word *οὐρανός*, lest by thus equating it with *ὁρατός* (for the contrast with *νοητός* would suggest that *οὐρανοῦ*=*ὁρατοῦ*) he should be accused of deriving *οὐρανός* from *ὁρᾶν*, as certain clever people did in Plato's time (*Crat.* 396 B. The same derivation is given by Philo Jud. *de mund. opif.* 10). For *σοφίζεσθαι* in this sense cf. *σοφία* in *Crat.* 396 C, D. E. S. Thompson (*Proceedings of the Camb. Phil. Soc.* 1888 p. 14) takes *σοφίζεσθαι* simply as 'pun' and thinks that the pun is between *νοῦ* (suggested in *νοητοῦ* above) and *οὐρα-νοῦ*, quoting *ἀπ' ὄνου πεσεῖν*, and the anecdote in D. L. II 118, VI 3: cf. also Isocrates *Apophth.* Fr. 8 ed. Blass. But such a pun is both far-fetched and pointless, and in view of the passage from the *Cratylus* there should be no doubt that Plato *more suo* is merely scoffing at a well-known contemporary etymology. The reading *οὐρανόν*—see *cr. n.*—would be fatal to Thompson's theory, but *οὐρανοῦ* (which most mss read) is more pointed and idiomatic, and perhaps right, though the accusative is not indefensible.

27 ἄνισα. It appears from the Scholiast that even ancient critics debated whether *ἄνισα* or *ἴσα* (els *ἴσα v*) should be read. Proclus (*in Plat. remp.* I p. 288 Kroll) and the author of the third *Quaest. Plat.* in Plutarch (1001 C ff.) read *ἄνισα*: *ἴσα* appears in a grammarian cited by Stallbaum from Villosion *Anecd. Gr.* II p. 199. The dispute still reigns, Stallbaum and some others



ἀνὰ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον, τό τε τοῦ ὁρωμένου γένους καὶ τὸ τοῦ νοου-  
 μένου, καὶ σοι ἔσται σαφηνεία καὶ ἀσαφεία πρὸς ἀλλήλα ἐν μὲν τῷ  
 30 ὁρωμένῳ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον τμήμα <sup>1</sup> εἰκόνες. λέγω δὲ τὰς εἰκόνας **E**  
 πρῶτον μὲν | τὰς σκιάς, ἔπειτα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι φαντάσματα καὶ 510  
 ἐν τοῖς ὅσα πυκνά τε καὶ λεῖα καὶ φανὰ ξυνέστηκεν, καὶ πᾶν τὸ  
 τοιοῦτον, εἰ κατανοεῖς. Ἀλλὰ κατανοῶ. Τὸ τοῖνυν ἕτερον τίθει ᾧ  
 τοῦτο ἔοικεν, τά τε περὶ ἡμᾶς ζῶα καὶ πᾶν τὸ φυτευτὸν καὶ τὸ

preferring ἴσα, others, such as Richter (*Fl. Jahrb.* 1867 p. 145) and Dümmler (*Antisth.* p. 80) ἀν' ἴσα, others even ἂν ἴσα (which is certainly not Greek, though found in a few inferior mss); but there should be no question that Plato wrote ἄνισα. If the line is bisected, all four segments are equal, and the elaborate proportions drawn in 510 A, 511 E, VII 534 A represent no corresponding relations between the different segments of the line. The inequality, as Schneider and Steinhardt point out, is intended to represent the difference in σαφηνεία or ἀλήθεια between the δοξαστὸν (or ὁρατὸν) and the γνωστὸν (or νοητὸν): cf. σαφηνεία καὶ ἀσαφεία below and 510 A. (So also Benson in Nettleship's *Lect. and Rem.* II p. 239 n.). For this reason the νοητὸν should be represented by a longer segment. Others assign the larger part to the ὁρατὸν, as being the region of τὰ πολλὰ (Plutarch l.c. and Espinas in his edition of Book VI), but the length of the two main segments should follow the primary and fundamental principle of Plato's classification. The relevant consideration is not at present multiplicity *versus* unity, but different degrees of clearness and truth. Beckman's excision of ἄνισα τμήματα (*num Plato artefactorum ideas statuierit* p. 38) needs no refutation. See also next note.

27 πάλιν τέμνε κτλ. See Figure 1 on p. 65.

$$AD : DC :: AC : CB,$$

$$\text{and } CE : EB :: AC : CB.$$

It follows (1) that  $AD : DC :: CE : EB$ ,

(2) that  $DC = CE$ ; for

$$\frac{CE}{EB} = \frac{AC}{CB}, \therefore \frac{CE}{CE + EB} = \frac{AC}{AC + CB},$$

$$\text{i.e. } \frac{CE}{CB} = \frac{AC}{AB}, \therefore CE = \frac{AC \cdot CB}{AB}.$$

Similarly

$$\frac{DC}{AC} = \frac{CB}{AB}, \therefore DC = \frac{AC \cdot CB}{AB}.$$

But  $\frac{AC \cdot CB}{AB}$  has been proved equal to  $CE$ .

$$\therefore DC = CE.$$

(This last equality—so far as it goes—is a slight though unavoidable defect in the line, for  $DC$  is not equal to  $CE$  in point of clearness. See last note). Neither of these inferences is expressly drawn by Plato himself; but he appears to make use of the first in 532 A ff.

29 καὶ σοι ἔσται κτλ.: 'and when classified according to their relative clearness and obscurity, the different segments will represent—in the visible sphere, segment 1, Images' etc. The datives, like ἀληθεία in 510 A, are causal, and state the principle on which the entire classification (of νοητά as well as ὁρατά) rests. With ἐν μὲν τῷ ὁρωμένῳ Socrates begins to describe the contents of the particular segments. This is interrupted by the definition of εἰκόνες, and resumed, in a different form, at τὸ τοῖνυν ἕτερον in 510 A. μὲν before τῷ ὁρωμένῳ contrasts with σκόπει δὴ αὐτὸν in B, much as τὸ τοῖνυν ἕτερον balances the second μὲν. On σαφηνεία see below 511 C n.

510 A 2 ὅσα πυκνά κτλ. Cf. *Tim.* 46 A ff. πυκνά) (μανά is 'of close texture,' 'close grained' (D. and V.), not exactly 'solid' (as Jowett)).

πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον. Although the productions of imitative art and the like must be held to belong to this category (see App. I to Book VII), there is nothing to shew that Plato was thinking of them when he wrote this sentence.

3 ᾧ τοῦτο ἔοικεν: 'whereof this is an image.' ἔοικεν corresponds to εἰκόνας above.

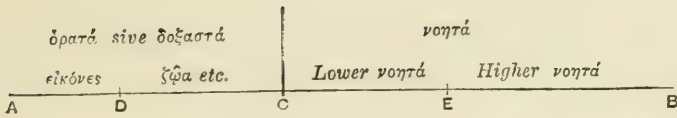


FIG. i. THE LINE.

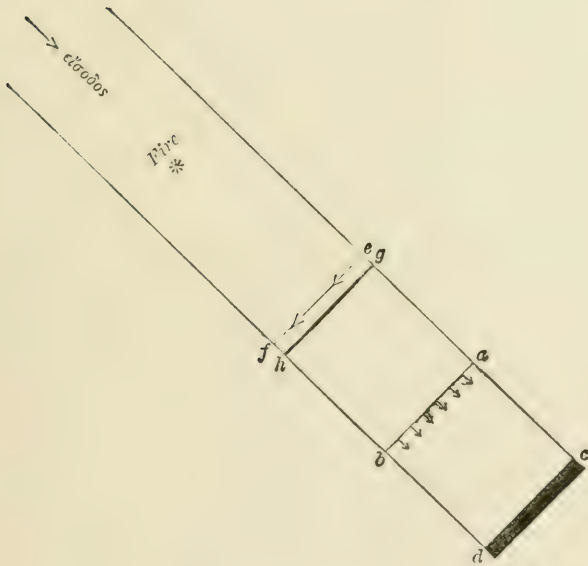


FIG. ii. TO ILLUSTRATE THE CAVE.

*ef.* ὁδός.

*gh.* τεῖχος.

*ab.* Row of Prisoners.

*cd.* Wall on which the Shadows are thrown.

5 σκευαστὸν ὅλον γένος. Τίθημι, ἔφη. Ἡ καὶ ἐθέλοις ἀν αὐτὸ  
 φάναι, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, διηρησθαι ἀληθεία τε καὶ μή, ὥς τὸ δοξαστὸν  
 πρὸς τὸ γνωστὸν, οὕτω τὸ ὁμοιωθὲν πρὸς τὸ ὃ ὁμοιώθη; "Εγὼγ',  
 ἔφη, καὶ μάλα. Σκόπει δὲ αὐ καὶ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ τομὴν ἢ τμητέον. B  
 Πῆ; Ἡ τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ τοῖς τότε μιμηθεῖσιν ὥς εἰκόσιν χρωμένη  
 10 ψυχὴ ζητεῖν ἀναγκάζεται ἐξ ὑποθέσεων οὐκ ἐπ' ἀρχὴν πορευομένη,  
 ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τελευτῇ, τὸ δ' αὐ ἕτερον ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ἀνυπόθετον ἐξ ὑποθέ-

11. ἕτερον Ast: ἕτερον τὸ codd.

5 αὐτό: viz. τὸ ὁρώμενον, with reference to ἐν μὲν τῷ ὁρωμένῳ above.

6 ὥς τὸ δοξαστὸν κτλ. i.e.

AD: DC :: AC: CB.

Hitherto AC has not been called δοξαστὸν, only ὁρατὸν. The new terminology appears again in 511 D (δόξης) and VII 534 A: see also on VII 516 D, 523 C. δοξαστὸν is of course a wider term than ὁρατὸν, for it includes the entire domain of τὰ πολλά, by whatever sense or faculty apprehended (V 479 D ff.). δόξα is, in fact, the intellectual state of the ordinary uneducated man. This further specification of AC is of no small importance for the understanding of the similes of the Line and Cave: see VII 514 A, 517 A *nm.* and App. I to Book VII.

510 B 9 ἢ κτλ. With ἢ cf. *Theaet.* 172 D. τὸ μὲν is CE.

τοῖς τότε μιμηθεῖσιν: i.e. the objects represented by CD, which were 'imitated' or copied in AD. They were originals then, but are only images now: this is the force of the collocation μιμηθεῖσιν—εἰκόσι. Cf. 510 E ἃ πλάττουσιν τε καὶ γράφουσιν, ὧν καὶ σκιαὶ καὶ ἐν ὕδασι εἰκόνες εἰσὶ, τοῖς μὲν ὥς εἰκόσιν αὐ χρώμενοι, 511 A εἰκόσι δὲ χρωμένην αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κάτω ἀπεικασθεῖσι, and for the meaning of μιμηθεῖσιν X 599 A τό τε μιμηθησόμενον καὶ τὸ εἰδῶλον and *Latius* 668 B. I have restored the reading of A, μιμηθεῖσιν, with which Proclus (*in Plat. remp.* I p. 291 Kroll) also agrees. τμηθεῖσιν, which appears to be adopted by all other editors, occurs in all the available MSS except A. But τοῖς τότε τμηθεῖσι would include AD as well as DC, and the illustrations employed in the inferior νοητὸν are drawn solely from DC, as is proved by 510 E (cited above), as well as by the actual facts of the case. The sole objection to μιμηθεῖσι is that the word is generally used only of "artificiosa

imitatio" (Schneider): yet in *Pol.* 293 E, 297 C, *Phil.* 40 C and *Arist. Hist. An.* II 8. 502<sup>b</sup> 9 the 'imitatio' can hardly be called 'artificiosa.' 511 A seems to me sufficient by itself to prove that A is right. Schneider (*Addit.* p. 51) refers to a dissertation by Mommsen published in 1842 as taking the view here advocated.

10 ἐξ ὑποθέσεων. ὑπόθεσις is correctly defined in the Platonic *δροι* (415 B) as ἀρχὴ ἀναπόδεικτος, a starting-point which is not demonstrated, but taken for granted, assumed, postulated. The arithmetician, for example, ὑποτίθεται the odd, the even, etc., i.e. assumes that his definition of odd, even, etc. is correct, and draws conclusions from his ὑπόθεσις of the odd, the even, etc. by means of exclusively deductive reasoning: cf. H. Sidgwick in *J. Ph.* II p. 100. If we attack his ὑπόθεσις, as Lucian for example does (*Hermot.* 74, quoted by Stallbaum), he must, *quā* arithmetician, throw up the sponge, for the ὑποθέσεις of the inferior νοητὸν can be demonstrated (or overthrown) only by Dialectic. Cf. generally *Men.* 86 E ff. Schneider may be right in supposing that Aristotle had the present passage in view when he wrote εὐ γὰρ καὶ Πλάτων ἡπόρει τοῦτο καὶ ἐξήτει, πότερον ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἢ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἐστὶν ἡ ὁδός, ὥσπερ ἐν τῷ σταδίῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀθλοθετῶν ἐπὶ τὸ πέρασ ἢ ἀνάπαλιν (*Eth. Nic.* I 2. 1095<sup>a</sup> 32), though it is perhaps better (with Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1, p. 587 n. 2) to suppose that he is alluding to Plato's oral instruction.

11 τὸ δ' αὐ ἕτερον κτλ. τὸ ἕτερον is EB. The article after ἕτερον (see *cr. n.*) stands self-condemned, although its intrusion is difficult to explain. ὃ, which Schneider proposes, is also difficult, though in harmony with Ficinus (*alterum vero, quod excogitat animus*), for the verb of the relative clause can hardly be omit-



σεως ἰούσα καὶ ἄνευ ὧν περ ἐκείνο εἰκόνων αὐτοῖς εἶδεσι δι' αὐτῶν  
τὴν μέθοδον ποιουμένη. Ταῦτ', ἔφη, ἂ λέγεις, οὐχ ἱκανῶς ἔμαθον.  
C' Ἀλλ' αὖθις, ἦν δ' ἐγώ· ῥῶν<sup>1</sup> γὰρ τούτων προειρημένων μαθήσει.

ted. λόγῳ, once proposed by Hermann, has nothing in its favour. ζητεῖ must be supplied to govern τὸ ἕτερον.

ἀρχὴν ἀνυπόθετον. The only ἀρχὴ ἀνυπόθετος is the Idea of the Good: cf. VII 532 A f. Towards this the Dialectician travels, starting from ὑποθέσεις. He may begin, for example, by 'assuming' the 'just.' In such a case he assumes that his definition of 'just' is correct, i.e. corresponds exactly to the Idea of 'Just.' But whereas the arithmetician treats his ὑποθέσεις as an ultimate truth, and proceeds deductively to a conclusion, making use of sensible images by way of illustration, the dialectician treats his hypothesis as purely provisional, testing, revising, rejecting (VII 533 C n.), and reconstructing, and gradually ascending step by step to the first principle of all (τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχήν), without employing any sensible objects to illustrate his reasoning. The one gives no account of his ὑποθέσεις (οὐδένα λόγον—φανερῶν in C below); the other not only does, but must do so, just because he is a dialectician: cf. VII 533 C ff. He connects his ὑποθέσεις with others, subsuming them under higher and yet higher—better and truer—ὑποθέσεις, until at last he has traversed the whole region of νοητά. Such of his ὑποθέσεις as survive will be improved at each stage in the ascent, and finally, as soon as the Idea of Good is reached, all his surviving ὑποθέσεις will actually have become perfect counterparts of the Ideas which they have hitherto been only assumed to represent. In the meantime the ἀρχὴ τοῦ παντός, which Plato himself described dogmatically δι' εἰκόνος in 507 A—509 C, will have ceased to be a mere ὑπόθεσις: it will have become, in the fullest sense of the term, an ἀρχὴ ἀνυπόθετος: for the highest rung of the ladder is not reached until the entire domain of the knowable has been exhausted, and shewn to be the expression of the Idea of Good. Plato's ideal—it is no more—is a comprehensive and purely intellectual view of the totality of νοητά, in which every department is seen in its connexion with every other, and all in their dependence on the Good, which is in itself ἀνυπό-

θετος and ὑπερούσιος—ἀνυπόθετος because higher than all ὑποθέσεις and itself proved by an exhaustive scrutiny of all νοητά, ὑπερούσιος because higher than, and the cause of, all existence. See also on 511 B and the Appendix to Book VII *On Plato's Dialectic*, together with Jackson *J. of Ph.* x pp. 145 f., where the distinctive peculiarities of the two methods are very clearly explained.

12 ὧν περ ἐκείνο εἰκόνων: i. q. ἄνευ τῶν αἰσπερ ἐκείνο (ζητεῖ) εἰκόνων. I formerly read τῶν περὶ ἐκείνο εἰκόνων (with q), but now think (with Schneider and others) that A is right. The attraction of a relative in the dative case is rare, but not unexampled. Van Cleef (*de attract. in enunt. rel. usu Plat.* p. 45) cites *Gorg.* 509 A, *Prot.* 361 E, *Theaet.* 144 A, *Rep.* VII 531 E (all examples of ἐντυγχάνω, whose proper construction in the sense of 'fall in with' is the dative, not the genitive), and *Ep.* VII 327 A (with προσέτυχον); for examples in other authors see Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 914. If ἄνευ and ἐκείνο are pronounced with emphasis, the meaning, I think, is easily caught. Stallbaum reads ὧν περὶ κτλ. with one Vienna MS, understanding, I suppose, χρῆται.

αὐτοῖς—δι' αὐτῶν. αὐτοῖς (ἰpsis = solis) is further accentuated by δι' αὐτῶν ('through themselves alone'): cf. 511 C. The εἰδη of the dialectician do not employ the adventitious aid of εἰκόνες: see on 511 B. The use of εἶδεσι here must not be held to imply that even the dialectician's conceptions of the Ideas are correct before he has reached the Idea of the Good. Till then, they are only ὑποθέσεις, though the false ὑποθέσεις are weeded out (VII 533 C n.), and the hypothetical character of the survivors is gradually eliminated in the course of the ascent. See on ἀρχὴν ἀνυπόθετον above, and contrast 511 C.

14 ἀλλ' αὖθις κτλ. 'Then have it over again, said I.' The ellipsis has a colloquial effect. Ast's εὐθύς for αὖθις is unlikely: nor does Cobet's <ἐρῶ> after ἐγώ sound right. If Plato had written ἐρῶ, he would, I think, have placed it after αὖθις. μάνθανε, or the like, supplied from ἔμαθον, suits the con-

15 οἶμαι γάρ σε εἰδέναι, ὅτι οἱ περὶ τὰς γεωμετρίας τε καὶ λογισμοὺς  
καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πραγματευόμενοι, ὑποθέμενοι τό τε περιττὸν καὶ τὸ  
ἄρτιον καὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ γωνιῶν τριττὰ εἶδη καὶ ἄλλα τούτων  
ἀδελφὰ καθ' ἑκάστην μέθοδον, ταῦτα μὲν ὡς εἰδότες, ποιησάμενοι  
ὑποθέσεις αὐτά, οὐδέν᾽ ἀλόγον οὔτε αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἄλλοις ἔτι ἀξιούσι  
20 περὶ αὐτῶν διδόναι ὡς παντὶ φανερῶν, ἐκ τούτων δ' ἀρχόμενοι<sup>1</sup> τὰ D  
λοιπὰ ἤδη διεξιόντες τελευτῶσιν ὁμολογουμένως ἐπὶ τοῦτο, οὐ  
ἂν ἐπὶ σκέψιν ὀρμήσωσι. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, τοῦτό γε οἶδα.  
Οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅτι τοῖς ὀρωμένοις εἶδεσι προσχρῶνται καὶ τοὺς λόγους  
περὶ αὐτῶν ποιοῦνται, οὐ περὶ τούτων διανοοῦμενοι, ἀλλ' ἐκείνων  
25 περὶ, οἷς ταῦτα ἔοικε, τοῦ τετραγώνου αὐτοῦ ἔνεκα τοὺς λόγους

text (ῥᾶον γὰρ—μαθῆσαι) best. Similarly in D below, οἶσθα is understood out of Glauco's reply. Cf. also ἀλλ' ὥδε in I 352 E.

510 C 15 οἱ περὶ κτλ. In CE, as will afterwards appear, are included five sciences, which form the προοίμιον (VII 531 D) or προπαιδεῖα (ib. 536 D) to Dialectic, represented by EB. They are the Science of Number, Plane Geometry, Stereometry, Astronomy, and Harmonics: VII 522 C—531 C. In each of these the method, according to Plato, is the same. Certain ὑποθέσεις are taken for granted, and inferences drawn from them by purely deductive reasoning, aided by the use of sensible likenesses or illustrations. See also App. I to Book VII.

18 ὡς εἰδότες. They have no *knowledge* of their ὑποθέσεις, otherwise they would be able to give an account of them: see VII 533 C and 531 E μὴ δυνατόι τινες ὄντες δοῦναι τε καὶ ἀποδέξασθαι λόγον εἶσεσθαι ποτέ τι ὧν φάμεν δεῖν εἰδέναι; Οὐδ' αὖ, ἔφη, τοῦτό γε.

510 D 21 ὁμολογουμένως = "folger-rechterweise" (Cohen *Pl. Ideenl. u. d. Math.* p. 29) refers to the agreement between premises, intermediate steps, and conclusion: cf. VII 533 C, where ὁμολογία is used in the same way. "With perfect unanimity" (D. and V.) is incorrect and pointless.

23 τοῖς ὀρωμένοις εἶδεσι κτλ. They use the 'visible kinds,' i.e. visible squares, visible diagonals, etc., but they are thinking about mathematical squares and diagonals etc. Cf. generally *Euthyd.* 290 B οἱ δ' αὖ γεωμέτραι καὶ οἱ ἀστρονόμοι καὶ οἱ λογιστικοὶ ἡρητικοὶ γάρ εἰσι καὶ οὗτοι· οὐ γὰρ ποιοῦσι τὰ διαγράμματα ἕκαστοι

τούτων ἀλλὰ τὰ ὄντα ἀνευρίσκουσιν, and VII 527 A.

25 ἔοικε. Visible σχήματα are imperfect copies of 'mathematical' σχήματα: cf. VII 526 A and App. I to Book VII.

τοῦ τετραγώνου αὐτοῦ κτλ.: 'for that with a view to which they are discoursing is the square itself and a diagonal itself, not this which they draw' etc. αὐτοῦ ('by itself,' i.e. apart from its embodiment in perceivable squares) is ambiguous, and might (so far as language is concerned) refer either to the Idea of Square (cf. v 476 A ff.) or to the Mathematical Square (cf. VII 525 D, E *nn.*), which—see App. I to Book VII—Plato holds to be *distinct* from the Idea. But the ambiguity is resolved as soon as we are shewn (in 511 C ff.) how to interpret διανοοῦμενοι and διανοία (511 A), and we then see that Plato is here speaking of the *mathematical* square. The singular τοῦ τετραγώνου is generic (cf. ὁ σοφιστής for the whole class of Sophists), for there are many 'mathematical' squares, diagonals etc. (VII 526 A *n.* and App. I to Book VII). It is conceivably for this reason that Plato drops the article with διαμέτρου ('a diagonal itself'), thereby also getting a more precise antithesis to ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτης, or else (if this suggestion is hypercritical) διαμέτρου is also generic. Sidgwick is, I think, mistaken when he says (*J. Ph.* II p. 103) that the language of this passage "in no way supports the interpolation of intermediates (Aristotle's τὰ μεταξύ) between particulars and Ideas": for διανοοῦμενοι involves διάνοια, and since διάνοια is intermediate between νοῦς and δόξα (511 D), we may reasonably suppose that its objects are likewise intermediate

ποιούμενοι καὶ διαμέτρου αὐτῆς, ἀλλ' οὐ ταύτης, ἣν γράφουσιν, καὶ  
 Ε τᾶλλα οὕτως, <sup>1</sup> αὐτὰ μὲν ταῦτα, ἃ πλάττουσιν τε καὶ γράφουσιν,  
 ὧν καὶ σκιαί καὶ ἐν ὕδασι εἰκόνες εἰσὶν, τοῦτοις μὲν ὡς εἰκόσιν αὐ  
 χρώμενοι ζητοῦντές τε αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα ἰδεῖν, ἃ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλως ἴδοι  
 511 τις | ἢ τῇ διανοίᾳ; Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, λέγεις. 30

XXI. Τοῦτο τοίνυν νοητὸν μὲν τὸ εἶδος ἔλεγον, ὑποθέσσει δ'  
 ἀναγκαζομένην ψυχὴν χρῆσθαι περὶ τὴν ζήτησιν αὐτοῦ, οὐκ ἐπ'  
 ἀρχὴν ἰοῦσαν, ὡς οὐ δυναμένην τῶν ὑποθέσεων ἀνωτέρω ἐκβαίνειν,  
 εἰκόσι δὲ χρωμένην αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κάτω ἀπεικασθεῖσιν καὶ 5  
 ἐκείνοις πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ὡς ἐναργέσι δεδοξασμένοις τε καὶ τετιμημένοις.

6. τετιμημένοις A<sup>2</sup>mr: τετμημένοις A<sup>1</sup>Ξ q.

between the higher νοητά and δοξαστά. See App. I to Book VII.

27 πλάττουσιν: with reference to models of geometrical figures, orreries etc., all of which belong to *CD*, and may themselves have shadows and likenesses in *AD*.

28 ὡς εἰκόσιν αὐ χρώμενοι. See 510 B n. The anacoluthon in αὐτὰ μὲν ταῦτα—τούτοις μὲν χρώμενοι is illustrated by Engelhardt *Anac. Pl. Spec.* III p. 8: cf. also VII 520 D.

29 ζητοῦντές τε. Instead of τε, I formerly read δέ (on slight MS authority), with Ast and Stallbaum; but the corruption of δέ to τε is exceedingly improbable here. The antithetical force of the clause ζητοῦντες—ἰδεῖν is weakened by the occurrence of the words ὡς εἰκόσιν αὐ in the μὲν clause. If the objects in question are used as images, the further statement that the real object of investigation is their originals (αὐτὰ ἐκεῖνα) loses its antithetical force, and becomes a sort of adjunct. Hence τε following ζητοῦντες is more appropriate than αὐτὰ δὲ ἐκεῖνα ζητοῦντες ἰδεῖν, which would be the natural way of expressing an antithesis. Cf. *Laus* 927 B ὅξυ μὲν ἀκούουσι βλέπουσι τε ὅξυ (where the order is the same as here), *Phaedr.* 266 c and other examples cited by Hoefel *de part. Pl.* pp. 17 f.

511 A 1 τῇ διανοίᾳ. See on τοῦ τετραγώνου αὐτοῦ 510 D.

2 ἔλεγον. 510 B.

3 ἀναγκαζομένην. For the participle we might expect ἀναγκάζεσθαι. But ἀναγκαζομένην gives a better balance with νοητόν, and the meaning is 'Accordingly I described this class as intelligible indeed, but the soul as compelled' etc.

4 τῶν ὑποθέσεων—ἐκβαίνειν: 'to step out of and above assumptions,' viz. by reaching the ἀρχὴ ἀνυπόθετος: cf. 510 B n.

5 αὐτοῖς τοῖς κτλ. αὐτοῖς is 'the actual things,' 'the originals,' as in αὐτὰ μὲν ταῦτα 510 E: 'employing as images the originals from which images were made' (lit. 'the imaged-from,' "abgebildet" Schneider) 'by the objects below,' i.e. employing as images the originals in *CD*, which were copied by the shadows etc. in *AD*. For ἀπεικασθεῖσι in this sense cf. ἀπεικασθῆναι in *Tim.* 48 c and (with J. and C.) εἰκασθέντος in *Phaedr.* 250 B. Other views of this passage are discussed in App. X.

καὶ ἐκείνοις κτλ.: 'those also, in comparison with those remoter objects, being esteemed and honoured as palpable and clear.' καὶ is 'also' and not 'and,' as some have supposed. ἐκείνοις is *DC*, and ἐκεῖνα *AD*. Plato uses the pronoun ἐκείνοις to indicate that the objects in *CD* are less near to the mind of the mathematician than those in *CE*, which are the immediate object of his study (cf. Sidgwick in *J. Ph.* II p. 98). He could not, even if he had wished to, have written καὶ αὐτοῖς (et ipsis) without sacrificing αὐτοῖς just before. ἐκεῖνα is said because *AD* is remoter still. See also App. X.

6 δεδοξασμένοις means, I believe, 'esteemed,' 'valued' as in Polyb. vi 53. 9 τῶν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ δεδοξασμένων ἀνδρῶν: cf. the regular use of δοξάζειν for 'glorify' in the N. T. No other certain instance of this usage appears to occur in Plato, or even in classical Greek: at all events neither Thuc. III 45. 6 nor Dionys.



Μανθάνω, ἔφη, ὅτι τὸ ὑπὸ <sup>1</sup> ταῖς γεωμετρίαις τε καὶ ταῖς ταύτης **B**  
 ἀδελφαῖς τέχναις λέγεις. Τὸ τοίνυν ἕτερον μάνθανε τμήμα τοῦ  
 νοητοῦ λέγοντά με τοῦτο, οὐ αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος ἄπτεται τῇ τοῦ διαλέ-  
 10 γεσθαι δυνάμει, τὰς ὑποθέσεις ποιούμενος οὐκ ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ τῷ  
 ὄντι ὑποθέσεις, οἷον ἐπιβάσεις τε καὶ ὁρμάς, ἵνα μέχρι τοῦ ἀνυπο-  
 θέτου ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ παντὸς ἀρχὴν ἴων, ἀφάμενος αὐτῆς, πάλιν αὖ

*Thesm.* i. 24 Meineke, cited by L. and S., is a case in point. But the collocation with *τετμημένοις* makes it probable that the usage, though rare, is Platonic; and every other interpretation of the word is beset with serious difficulties, as is shewn in App. X.

**τετμημένοις.** *τετμημένοις* is read by Schneider, with several MSS (see *cr. n.*), and understood as 'cut off' (*abgeschnitten*); but, as J. and C. observe, this does not suit *δεδοξασμένοις*, and it is doubtful if the *objects* can be said to be 'cut,' although the line is: see on *τοῖς τότε μνηθεῖσιν* 510 B.

**511 B 7 ταύτης** in spite of *γεωμετρίαις* because Geometry is itself one art: cf. VII 533 C *γεωμετρίας τε καὶ τὰς ταύτης ἐπομένας*. The plural *γεωμετρίαις* does not mean the 'various branches of geometry' (as D. and V. suppose), but geometrical investigations: cf. *λογισμούς* for 'Arithmetic' in 510 C.

**9 αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος κτλ.:** 'the argument grasps by itself, through the power of dialectic.' *λόγος* is not the faculty of reason ("Vernunft" Schleiermacher), which is *νοῦς*, or even 'thought' ("Gedanke" Schneider), but rather "the impersonal reason, or drift of the argument" (Bosanquet), the instrument by which *νοῦς* works (Krohn *Pl. St.* p. 140). *ὁ λόγος* is of course personified, as it constantly is in this sense.

**10 δυνάμει** should not be translated 'faculty,' but simply 'power' (cf. 508 EN.): the argument, unaided by *εἰκόνες* (*αὐτὸς* 'by itself,' cf. *αὐτοῖς εἶδеси* 510 B n.), grasps its object by the inherent power of dialectical argumentation (*διαλέγεσθαι*), and nothing else. In spite of Grimmelt (*de reip. unil.* etc. p. 52) it is certainly an error to identify *ὁ λόγος* with *νοῦς*. Why does Dialectic dispense with all sensible images or illustrations? Plato (it should be remembered) holds that the intrusion of any element of sense-perception, however small, impedes the exercise of thought: see *Phaed.* 79 c ff. The *ὑπο-*

*θέσεις* of the dialectician may be and often are generalisations from *αἰσθητά*, but a generalisation, regarded in itself, is wholly *νοητόν*. These *ὑποθέσεις* it is the province of Dialectic to test in every possible way, to demolish where necessary (VII 533 C n.), to correct by one another, to classify according to their mutual coherence and interdependence, until by an exhaustive scrutiny of all *νοητά* we grasp the unifying principle of all existence—the Idea of the Good. Cf. VII 517 C n. and see on *τοῦ ἀνυποθέτου* below and the Appendix to Book VII *On Plato's Dialectic*.

**τῷ ὄντι** indicates that we are to take the word in its literal etymological signification, 'literally hypotheses or underpositions, stepping-stones as it were and starting-points.' For this use of *τῷ ὄντι* and kindred expressions see I 343 C, V 474 A nn. and W. G. Headlam *On editing Aeschylus* pp. 138 ff. With *ἐπιβάσεις* cf. *Symp.* 211 C ὥσπερ ἐπαναβαθμοῖς χρώμενον.

**11 τοῦ ἀνυποθέτου.** See on *ἀρχὴν ἀνυπόθετον* 510 B. Plato makes no attempt in the *Republic* to classify Ideas in such an ascending scale as he here suggests, though it is probable from 509 A that Knowledge and Truth would rank near to the Good. Nor is there any dialogue in which an exhaustive classification is even attempted. Such hints as Plato gives us throughout his writings are enumerated in Stumpf *das Verhältniss* etc. pp. 50, 56, 76, and in Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1, pp. 704—707: cf. also Fouillée *La Philosophie de Platon* II pp. 99—104. We must suppose that each higher Idea will excel all the lower both in range and in excellence. These two characteristics are, from Plato's point of view, the same. The wider an Idea is in range and extension, the greater will be the sum of existences of which it is the cause. But the Idea of Good is the cause of all existence, so that each higher Idea will be better than all below it, because it contains more of

ἐχόμενος τῶν ἐκείνης ἐχομένων, οὕτως ἐπὶ τελευτὴν καταβαίνει  
**C** αἰσθητῶ παντάπασιν οὐδενὶ προσχρώμενος, ἄλλ' εἶδεν αὐτοῖς  
 δι' αὐτῶν εἰς αὐτά, καὶ τελευτᾷ εἰς εἶδη. Μανθάνω, ἔφη, ἱκανῶς 15  
 μὲν οὐ· δοκεῖς γάρ μοι συχνὸν ἔργον λέγειν· ὅτι μέντοι βούλει  
 διορίζειν σαφέστερον εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἐπιστήμης  
 τοῦ ὄντος τε καὶ νοητοῦ θεωρούμενον ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν καλου-  
 μένων, αἷς αἱ ὑποθέσεις ἀρχαὶ καὶ διανοία μὲν ἀναγκάζονται ἀλλὰ

16. οὐ Α<sup>2</sup>Ξ γ: οὖν Α<sup>1</sup>.

Good. Beyond this it is perhaps safer not to go. A systematic attempt to correlate all intelligibles among themselves and in their connexion with the Good would have been premature in Plato's day, and is premature still. The permanent value of Plato's conception lies in the ideal which it sets before every succeeding generation of investigators.

12 **πάλιν αὖ κτλ.** The dialectician's progress involves both an ascent and a descent—an ascent ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρχήν, and a descent ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ τὴν τελευτήν (cf. Aristotle quoted on 510 B). By the time that he reaches the Idea of the Good, all his surviving ὑποθέσεις have become exact counterparts of the Ideas which are their objective correlates; the others have all of them been demolished (VII 533 C n.). The conclusions (τελευταί) of dialectic are therefore impregnable; ψευδὴς ἐπιστήμη is a contradiction in terms (V 477 E n.). For more on this subject see the Appendix to Book VII *On Plato's Dialectic*.

511 C 14 εἶδεν—εἶδη. On αὐτοῖς δι' αὐτῶν see 510 B n. εἶδεν may now be taken in its full force; for after the Idea of Good has been reached, the dialectician's conception of each εἶδος is accurate and complete; see last note. I formerly read αὐτοῖς δι' αὐτῶν, rejecting εἰς αὐτά as superfluous on account of καὶ τελευτᾷ εἰς εἶδη. But αὐτῶν is certainly wrong (cf. 510 B), and εἰς αὐτά, which may well be taken loosely with καταβαίνει or a participle supplied from it, merely states that the conclusions of dialectic are likewise εἶδη: whereas καὶ τελευτᾷ εἰς εἶδη seems to lay emphasis on the fact that dialectic never descends below εἶδη to particulars ("und bei Begriffen endigt" Schneider). We may translate 'and with Ideas end.' Plato means to emphasize the fact that the Dialectician *quā* Dia-

lectician does not draw conclusions as to particulars: if he did, he could scarcely be said αἰσθητῶ παντάπασιν οὐδενὶ προσχρώσθαι. See the Appendix to Book VII *On Plato's Dialectic*.

16 **ὅτι μέντοι κτλ.** There is no anacoluthon as Engelhardt (*Anac. Pl. Spec.* III p. 9) supposes, but ὅτι depends on μανθάνω. With σαφέστερον cf. V 478 C and 509 D above. σαφής, originally 'clear,' often = 'true' in Greek. Plato's comparison between Light and Truth in 507 C ff. gave a new and profound significance to the equation. The present passage should be compared with *Phil.* 57 B ff., where Dialectic is said to excel mathematical and all other sciences in respect of 'the clearness' (τὸ σαφές καὶ τὰκριβὲς καὶ τὰληθέστατον) of its object. In general, the higher a science is, the greater (according to Plato) is the amount of truth or knowability which its subject-matter contains. Plato's theory on this subject is the source of Aristotle's doctrine of ἀπλῶς γνῶριμα or γνωριμώτερα φύσει, for which see Stewart on *Eth. Nic.* I 4. 1095<sup>b</sup> 2.

18 **τὸ—καλουμένων.** καλουμένων implies that τέχναι ('Arts') sometimes bore the specific meaning of 'mathematical sciences' as early as the time of Plato. This use of the word may have been introduced by some of the Sophists, perhaps Hippias: cf. *Prot.* 318 E, where Protagoras says οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι λωβῶνται τοὺς ἄνους· τὰς γὰρ τέχνας αὐτοὺς πεφευγότας ἄκοντας πάλιν αὐτὸν ἄγοντες ἐμβάλλουσιν εἰς τέχνας, λογισμοὺς τε καὶ ἀστρονομίαν καὶ γεωμετρίαν καὶ μουσικὴν (the medieval *quadrivium*) διδάσκοντες—καὶ ἅμα εἰς τὸν Ἰππίαν ἀπέβλεψεν. If we can understand μουσικὴν as 'theory of Music,' Hippias' *quadrivium* is identical with Plato's, except that Plato would like to add Stereometry. Cf. also *Theaet.*

20 μὴ αἰσθήσῃσιν αὐτὰ θεᾶσθαι οἱ θεώμενοι, διὰ δὲ ἡ τὸ μὴ ἐπ' ἀρχὴν D  
 ἀνελθόντες σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐξ ὑποθέσεων, νοῦν οὐκ ἴσχειν περὶ αὐτὰ  
 δοκοῦσί σοι, καίτοι νοητῶν ὄντων μετὰ ἀρχῆς. διάνοιαν δὲ καλεῖν  
 μοι δοκεῖς τὴν τῶν γεωμετρικῶν τε καὶ τὴν τῶν τοιούτων ἔξιν, ἀλλ'  
 οὐ νοῦν, ὥς μεταξύ τι δόξης τε καὶ νοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν οὔσαν. Ἰκανώ-  
 25 τατα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀπεδέξω. καὶ μοι ἐπὶ τοῖς τέτταρσι τμήμασι  
 τέτταρα ταῦτα παθήματα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ γιγνόμενα λαβέ, νόησιν μὲν  
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἀνωτάτῳ, ἡ διάνοιαν δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ, τῷ τρίτῳ δὲ πίστιν E  
 ἀπόδος καὶ τῷ τελευταίῳ εἰκασίαν, καὶ τάξον αὐτὰ ἀνὰ λόγον,

145 A, B and see Tannery *L'Éducation Platonicienne* in *Rev. Philos.* x p. 523, the Appendix to Book VII *On the propaedeutic studies of the Republic* and my article in *Cl. Rev.* xv p. 220, where I have tried to shew that our use of the word 'Arts' in 'Bachelor of Arts' etc. is an inheritance from the Platonic Academy.

19 καί—θεώμενοι. The relative sentence passes into a main clause, as in II 357 B, where see note.

20 αὐτά: viz. the subject-matter of the so-called 'Arts': cf. VII 518 B.

511 D 22 καίτοι—ἀρχῆς: 'although they are intelligibles with a first principle.' The mathematician does not ascend to an ἀρχή, and therefore does not exercise—*for ἴσχειν* in its original half-inchoative sense cf. IX 585 B and Kühner-Blass *Gr. I* 2, p. 434 n.—*νοῦς* on his subject, but nevertheless his subject is *νοητόν* (as we have been told before 510 B, 511 A, C) and has an ἀρχή, viz. his *ὑποθέσεις* (as *αἱ ὑποθέσεις ἀρχαί* above). καίτοι is not found elsewhere in Plato for *καίπερ* with a participle (Hoefer *de part. Pl.* p. 28) but occurs in Simonides ap. *Prot.* 339 C, in *Axiach.* 364 B and *Lysias* 31. 34. To write *καίπερ* (with Kugler *de part. rei* etc. p. 18) would be rash. For other views on this difficult clause see App. XI.

καλεῖν μοι δοκεῖς. See 510 D n.

24 ὥς—οὔσαν. διάνοια is the most general word for a state (ἔξις) of mind or mode of thought in Greek; and the limitation here introduced is entirely Plato's own. Plato apparently attempts to fortify his innovation by etymology, hinting that the word διάνοια is by derivation that which is between (διὰ μέσον) νοῦς and δόξα. So also J. and C. Cf. εἰκασία (with allusion to εἰκόνες) in E. On δόξης see 510 A n.

26 νόησιν is used in its strict sense of νοῦς in actual exercise, not merely the faculty of νοῦς: cf. 508 E n. The exercise of νοῦς is correctly spoken of as a πάθημα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ γιγνόμενον, but the faculty itself could hardly be thus described.

511 E 27 πίστιν κτλ. If we strictly limit DC to ὁρατά, πίστις must be understood as the state of mind which believes only in visible, palpable (ἐναργῆ) things (τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς ζῶα καὶ πᾶν τὸ φυτευτὸν καὶ τὸ σκευαστὸν ὅλον γένος 510 A): 'seeing,' as we still say, 'is believing.' But Plato has already spoken of AC as δοξαστὸν (510 A n.); so that πίστις should not be confined to the objects of sight. It is in fact a subdivision of δόξα, superior in point of 'clearness' (σαφήνεια) to εἰκασία. We may regard it as the normal condition of the average uneducated mind. εἰκασία is the state of mind in which εἰκόνες are held to be true. Here again, if εἰκόνες are strictly limited to images of ὁρατά (cf. 509 E, 510 A), εἰκασία must be similarly confined in its scope, and loses all metaphysical interest and importance: see VII 517 A n. But since the εἰκόνες are a lower grade of δοξαστά (510 A n.), εἰκασία should be understood as a lower variety of δόξα (as in VII 534 A), viz. the state of mind which accepts as true that which is a copy of a copy (τρίτον πρὸς ἀλήθειαν). In this sense εἰκασία (with a play on εἰκόνες) is a new coinage of Plato's. The translation 'conjecture' is misleading, for conjecture implies conscious doubt or hesitation, and doubt is foreign to εἰκασία in Plato's sense. Plato may however have intended to suggest that such a state of mind is in reality no better than conjecture. See also x 598 A n. and Bosanquet *Companion* pp. 261 f. with Nettleship *Lect. and Rem.* II pp. 242—246.



ὥσπερ ἐφ' οἷς ἔστιν ἀληθείας μετέχειν, οὕτω ταῦτα σαφηνείας ἡγησάμενος μετέχειν. Μανθάνω, ἔφη, καὶ ξυγχωρῶ καὶ τάττω ὡς 30 λέγεις.

τέλος πολιτείας Σ'.

29 ὥσπερ ἐφ' οἷς κτλ. : "attributing to them such a degree of clearness as their objects have of truth" J. and C. Liebhold's ἐφ' ὅσον for ἐφ' οἷς is an unhappy suggestion: cf. VII 534 A. A corrector in *g* changed the first μετέχειν to μετέχει, which, in deference to Schneider's arguments, I formerly printed. But the text is quite sound. Stated categorically, the

clause would run ὥσπερ ἐφ' οἷς ἔστιν ἀληθείας μετέχει, οὕτω ταῦτα σαφηνείας μετέχει. Under the government of ἡγησάμενος, the first as well as the second μετέχει becomes μετέχειν; for the accusative with infinitive may be employed even in the subordinate clauses of Indirect. See on 492 c. The jingle μετέχειν—μετέχειν is inoffensive: cf. X 614 A, 621 B.

## APPENDICES TO BOOK VI.

### I.

VI 488 D. ὅπως δὲ κυβερνήσει εἰάν τε τινες βούλωνται εἰάν τε μή, μήτε τέχνην τοῦτου μήτε μελέτην οἰόμενοι δυνατόν εἶναι λαβεῖν ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβερνητικὴν.

Schneider's translation of this sentence is as follows:—"wie aber zu steuern sei, es mögen nun einige wollen oder nicht, davon glauben sie nicht dass es eine Kunst und Uebung gebe, mit der man dann eben die Steuermannskunst habe." The view which I have given in the notes is in general harmony with this interpretation; but I think that the word μελέτη denotes 'study' rather than actual 'practice' ("Uebung" or "exercitatio" Schneider): see the notes.

The strength of Schneider's explanation lies in its conformity with the whole course of Plato's argument both here and in the passages which I have cited from the *Politicus*. In particular, the exact parallel between εἰάν τε τινες βούλωνται εἰάν τε μή and εἰάν τε ἐκόντας εἰάν τε ἄκοντας (in *Pol.* 293 B) appears to me the strongest possible confirmation of the general soundness of his view. No interpretation that I know of, Schneider's alone excepted, assigns its proper force to εἰάν τε τινες βούλωνται (cf. εἰάν τε ἐκόντας, *Pol.* l.c.) as well as to εἰάν τε μή. The true pilot cares just as little whether people wish him to steer as whether they do not: his art has nothing whatever to do with the sentiments with which his passengers regard his rule. Schneider's interpretation is also supported by the emphatic μήτε τέχνην—μήτε μελέτην: the false pilot will not allow that you can learn 'either art or theory' of how to steer, because according to him there is absolutely nothing technical or theoretical about steering. The only 'art of steering' which he will admit is the art of collaborating with himself in order to get command of the ship (ναυτικὸν μὲν καλοῦντας καὶ κυβερνητικὸν καὶ ἐπιστάμενον τὰ κατὰ ναῦν ὅς ἂν ξυλλαμβάνειν δεινὸς ἢ ὅπως ἄρξουσιν κτλ.). It must, however, be admitted that ἅμα καὶ τὴν κυβερνητικὴν is not altogether easy on Schneider's view. The reader naturally expects τὴν κυβερνητικὴν to be different from the τέχνη and μελέτη: for on a first examination of the passage, Plato seems to be speaking of the impossibility of acquiring at the same time two different arts: whereas Schneider holds that the two arts are the same, τὴν κυβερνητικὴν being only Plato's way of expressing the τέχνη and μελέτη τοῦτου ὅπως κυβερνήσει.

Is it possible to devise any explanation which, while agreeing in the main with Schneider's, will escape the apparent difficulty to which I have just drawn attention?

We note that κυβερνητικὴν has already been implicitly defined by the sailors as the art of helping them to get command (κυβερνητικὸν κτλ.

above). Why then should we not suppose that the sailors 'think it impossible to acquire an art of how to steer (*ὅπως κυβερνήσει*) along with *κυβερνητική*' in *their* sense of the term, i.e. (practically) along with the art of making themselves masters of the ship? This interpretation, as far as concerns the language, seems to me possible enough; but it implies that the sailors do think it possible to learn the art of how to steer independently and by itself: whereas they have already said that such an art cannot be taught at all (*φάσκοντας μηδὲ διδακτὸν εἶναι* 488 B). For this among other reasons I think that this solution should not be entertained.

I have endeavoured in the notes to justify Schneider's explanation of *ἄμα καί*, and here it need only be added that one source of embarrassment is the tendency which we feel to give to *ἄμα* more of a strictly temporal signification than necessarily belongs to it in that idiomatic phrase.

An entirely different view of the sentence is taken by Ast and others. According to Ast, Plato is here distinguishing between two arts, viz. (1) scientific pilotage (the knowledge of astronomy etc.), and (2) the "ars imperandi—ut quae scientia et ars ipsum doceant, a multitudine ipsi subdita fieri curet." *τὴν κυβερνητικὴν* is (1), and *τέχνην τούτου* (2). On this view Plato asserts that the crew in general consider it impossible to acquire both the art of steering (*τὴν κυβερνητικὴν*) and that of steering whether people wish it or no (*ὅπως κυβερνήσει τέχνην τούτου*), i.e. in other words, enforcing and maintaining authority. Both arts—so Ast interprets—are united, according to Plato, in the true pilot.

This explanation Stallbaum apparently accepts, conjecturing only *τῇ κυβερνητικῇ* for *τὴν κυβερνητικὴν*. I do not deny that it can be elicited from Plato's language, if we take this sentence by itself: but it is open to serious objection on the score of meaning, as has been pointed out by H. Sidgwick (*J. Ph.* v pp. 274—276), Richards (*Cl. Rev.* viii p. 23), and Shorey (*A. J. Ph.* xvi p. 234)<sup>1</sup>. It represents the sailors as admitting that there is a *true* art of steering, which under certain circumstances it is possible to acquire. But this is precisely what they deny (see 488 B *πρὸς δὲ τούτοις φάσκοντας μηδὲ διδακτὸν εἶναι*), nor could they possibly admit it, so long as they 'have not so much as a notion that the true Pilot should study the year and the seasons' etc. (488 D). Their solitary notion of an art of steering is how to get the helm into their hands (488 C *πάντα ποιοῦντας ὅπως ἂν σφίσιν τὸ πηδάλιον ἐπιτρέψῃ* and C, D *ναυτικὸν μὲν καλοῦντας καὶ κυβερνητικὸν —ὅς ἂν ξυλλαμβάνειν δεινὸς ᾖ κτλ.*). Moreover, even if they were to allow that there is an art of steering, they would certainly not allow that others possessed it rather than themselves: cf. *Pol.* 302 A, B. Nor, again, does Plato ever admit that the art of enforcing one's authority has anything whatever to do with the art of steering. In the *Politicus*, he is careful to point out that they are entirely distinct: see the passages referred to in the note.

<sup>1</sup> For another special discussion of the passage see Richter in *Fleckeisen's Jahrbuch*, 1867, p. 145.



Jowett and Campbell's explanation is somewhat different. They do not suppose that Plato himself means to attribute to the true pilot both knowledge and power to enforce his authority; but apparently agree with Ast that the false pilot admits the existence of a scientific κυβερνητική, which can be acquired by itself, but cannot be combined with the art of getting possession of the helm. This view is open to all except the last of the objections already noted.

Sidgwick and Richards both agree with Grote (*Plato* III p. 80) that Plato does not regard scientific κυβερνητική as involving the power to enforce one's authority as well as knowledge of steering. According to Richards, we should read ἀδύνατον instead of δυνατόν. "The crew deem it by no means as impossible as it really is that, while a man acquires κυβερνητική, he should at the same time acquire this other art" (viz. ὅπως κυβερνήσει, εἰάν τέ τινες βούλωνται εἰάν τε μή). This view is attractive in some ways, but the corruption of ἀδύνατον to δυνατόν is not a very probable one, and it would still seem to be implied that the crew admit the existence of a true art of steering, which is, under certain circumstances, capable of being learnt. If, with Sidgwick, we read οἰομένῳ, in agreement with αὐτῷ, this particular difficulty disappears. I formerly accepted Sidgwick's proposal, but there is force in Richards' criticism that "the sentence would be most clumsy in form, nor is it to the point what the true steersman thinks; Plato is describing the state of mind of the crew." δέ after ὅπως is also a difficulty.

On the whole, I am now inclined to think that Schneider's interpretation has the most numerous and important arguments in its favour, and for this reason I have adopted it in the notes.

## II.

VI 492 E. οὐ γάρ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐπιχειρεῖν πολλὴ ἄνοια. οὔτε γὰρ γίγνεται οὔτε γέγονεν οὐδὲ οὖν μὴ γένηται ἄλλοιον ἢ θος πρὸς ἀρετὴν παρὰ τὴν τούτων παιδείαν πεπαιδευμένον, ἀνθρώπειον, ᾧ ἐταίρε' θείον μέντοι κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν ἐξαιρῶμεν λόγον.

I agree in the main with Schneider's view of this passage, which he translates—more freely than usual—as follows: "Denn keine Erziehung, o Freund, vermag oder vermochte oder wird auch vermögen der Erziehung dieser gegenüber ein Gemüth zur Tugend umzulenken, nämlich ein menschliches; das göttliche freilich müssen wir wie es im Sprichwort heisst, ausnehmen von unserer Rede." J. and C. (with Ast) connect πρὸς ἀρετὴν with πεπαιδευμένον, comparing *Prot.* 342 D Λακεδαιμόνιοι πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν—ἄριστα πεπαιδευνται and *Gorg.* 471 D εἴ πρὸς τὴν ῥητορικὴν πεπαιδεῦσθαι, but the adverbs make all the difference. Without an adverb Plato writes εἰς ἀρετὴν παιδεύειν (e.g. *Gorg.* 519 E). An entirely different explanation is given by Stallbaum and others. Stallbaum translates as follows: "neque enim idoles iuxta istorum erudita disciplinam neque fit neque facta est, nec vero unquam fiet *ad virtutem* (virtutis habita ratione) *aliusmodi* (ἄλλοιον) humana quidem" etc. But (1) Plato is professedly giving a reason (οὔτε γάρ

κτλ.) why it is the height of folly to attempt to teach a young man what is opposed to public opinion, and Stallbaum's translation gives no such reason: (2) παρά cannot mean 'iuxta' 'according to,' but only 'opposed to.' Stallbaum's view, which is as old as Ficinus, has been widely accepted, but no one has yet explained how παρά can be used for κατά.

The adherents of this erroneous view have also in many cases suspected the word ἀλλοῖον. Even if we adopt Schneider's explanation, ἀλλοῖον seems at first sight strange: should not Plato have written ἄμεινον, which Vermehren (*Pl. Stud.* p. 95) considers more natural? I think not, for Plato means to suggest that public opinion will not tolerate any kind of dissent, whether better or worse than itself, except the θεῖον ἦθος, which is a special example of the ἀλλοῖον ἦθος πρὸς ἀρετήν. Instead of ἀλλοῖον the following proposals have been made, all of them (except the last) on the mistaken assumption that παρά means κατά: (1) οὐκ ἀλλοῖον ('not alien to' Nägelsbach), (2) <ἄλλο ἢ> ἀλλοῖον ('other than alien to,' Hermann, who also suggests ἄλλο ἢ ὄνειδος for ἀλλοῖον ἦθος), (3) ἀξιόλογον (Vermehren), (4) ἀληθινόν (Richards). The last of these critics 'strongly suspects' that Plato also wrote κατά and not παρά.

### III.

VI 498 D, E. οὐ γὰρ πώποτε εἶδον γενόμενον τὸ νῦν λεγόμενον, ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τοιαῦτ' ἅττα ῥήματα ἐξεπύτηδες ἀλλήλοις ὁμοιωμένα, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, ὥσπερ νῦν, συμπεσόντα· ἄνδρα δὲ ἀρετῇ παρισωμέον καὶ ὁμοιωμένον μέχρι τοῦ δυνατοῦ τελέως ἔργῳ τε καὶ λόγῳ, δυναστεύοντα ἐν πόλει ἑτέρα τοιαύτῃ, οὐ πώποτε ἑωράκασιν κτλ.

The view which I take of this passage is new in some of its details, but Reinhardt had already pointed out that Plato is referring to Isocrates (*de Isocr. aem.* p. 39), and Dümmler has made it probable that the reference is specifically to the *Panegyricus* (probably published about 380 B.C.). The same general view is adopted by the French editors of Book VI (Espinass and Maillet), and was also held by Schneider, as appears from his translation "denn sie haben das jetzt aufgestellte niemals in der Wirklichkeit gesehen, sondern viel eher etwa solche Worte, sorgfältig mit einander in Gleichklang gebracht, nicht zufällig, wie diese, zusammengesetzt; einen Mann aber, der sich mit der Tugend in Einstimmung und Gleichklang gebracht so vollkommen wie möglich in Werk und Wort—haben sie niemals gesehen" etc. See also Hirmer *Entstehung u. Kompos. d. pl. Pol.* pp. 664, 665. Schneider appears to understand τοιαῦτ' ἅττα ῥήματα as referring only to what follows (ἐξεπύτηδες—συμπεσόντα), and the same view is apparently taken by Dümmler (*Chr. Beitr.* p. 14). That they refer more naturally to what precedes will hardly be denied, and γενόμενον—λεγόμενον is as good an example of παρομοίωσις as one could wish. Reinhardt (l.c.) supposes that τοιαῦτ' ἅττα ῥήματα means proposals for political reform, resembling Plato's ideal State, and on this ground holds

that it is the *Areopagiticus*, and not the *Panegyricus*, of which Plato is thinking. But Plato would hardly have compared any of Isocrates' political speeches to his own *Republic*, and the following words shew that the contrast is intended to be between mere vapouring rhetoricians and true Men. Nor is it likely that the *Republic* alludes to a work published so late as 354, the approximate date of the *Areopagiticus* (Christ *Litteraturgesch.* p. 297). The interpretation which I have given of τοιαῦτ' ἅτα ῥήματα appears to me exactly to suit ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτομάτου, ὥσπερ νῦν, συμπεσόντα. It is perfectly true, as Plato says, that the figure of παρομοίωσις is never deliberately aimed at by him; or, if it is, he has the good manners to conceal his art. Isocrates' ῥήματα, on the other hand, are correctly described as ἐξεπίτηδες ἀλλήλοις ὁμοιωμένα.

Davies and Vaughan completely miss the meaning of the passage when they translate "they have met with proposals somewhat resembling ours, but forced expressly into appearing of a piece with one another, instead of falling spontaneously into agreement, as in the present case." Jowett errs in much the same way, except that he seems to have suspected an allusion to the sophistical rhetoricians in ῥήματα—ὁμοιωμένα. The view adopted in J. and C.'s note is practically identical with that of D. and V.

## IV.

VI 500 A. ἥ καὶ ἐὰν οὕτω θεῶνται, ἀλλοίαν τ' οὐ φήσεις αὐτοὺς δόξαν λήψεσθαι καὶ ἄλλα ἀποκρινεῖσθαι;

The reading of the best MSS ἥ καὶ—ἀλλοίαν τοι κτλ. is retained by Schneider and (with *v*'s change of τοι to τε) by Stallbaum and Hermann. On this view ἀλλοίαν δόξαν λήψεσθαι must be understood as denoting a *change* of opinion from the ἀλλοίαν δόξαν of 499E. But it is extremely awkward to suppose that the ἀλλοία δόξα is different in the two cases; nor can men be said to *change* an opinion which it is doubtful if they ever held. These difficulties have led Hermann to read ἀλλ' οἶαν τοι (with Stephanus and some inferior MSS) in 499E, understanding λογιζόμενος before οἶαν τοι—surely a strange ellipse, and otherwise an insufficient remedy. ἀλλ' οἶαν τοι in 499E was also adopted by Ast, with other changes much too extensive to need refutation, though supported in part by the reading of inferior MSS. There should be no doubt that ἀλλοίαν τοι in the earlier passage is sound. In 500A Jowett proposes to read ἥ καί, joining καί and οὕτω, and placing a full stop after ἀποκρινεῖσθαι. A similar view was held by Ast. But καί could hardly be taken with οὕτω, and ἥ καί would strike every reader as the usual particle of interrogation. ἥ γάρ (interrogative), which Vermehren conjectures (*Pl. Stud.* p. 98), is highly improbable. I formerly read ἥ οὐκ, and altered τοι to τε. ἥ οὐκ is favoured also by Campbell, but the authority for the negative—*q* and Flor. U—is extremely slight, and Baiter's emendation accounts more easily for the reading of the oldest MSS. The retention of καί 'even' is also an improvement: if a negative had been used, we should have expected rather οὐδέ than οὐκ.



## V.

VI 501 A, B. Ἐπειτα, οἶμαι, ἀπεργαζόμενοι πυκνὰ ἂν ἐκατέρωσε ἀποβλέποιεν πρὸς τε τὸ φύσει δίκαιον καὶ καλὸν καὶ σῶφρον καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνο αὖ, δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμποιοῖεν, ξυμμιγνύντες τε καὶ κεραννύντες ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων τὸ ἀνδρείκελον κτλ.

My view of this passage agrees closely with that of Schneider (see his translation pp. 169, 303) except that I think it is better to translate ἀνδρείκελον by the 'colour and likeness of true Manhood,' rather than by "die Farbe des Menschen," so as to bring out the double signification of the word (see on γράφειν νόμους 501 A). Schneider formerly denied that ἀνδρείκελον meant anything beyond "imago hominis," but he retracts this view in his *Additamenta* (p. 49) and Translation.

Schneider's text is followed also by Baiter. The majority of editors prefer καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνο αἶ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμποιοῖεν ξυμμιγνύντες κτλ. (see *cr. n.*). In that case we must emend and write either ἐμποιοῖέν τε (Schleiermacher) or καὶ ἐμποιοῖεν (Ast), or ἀποβλέποντες instead of ἀποβλέποιεν (Stallbaum), or something else to the same purpose. Hermann and J. and C. ignore the difficulty altogether. But even with such an emended text, the sense is faulty; for the legislator who starts with a *tabula rasa* need not trouble about τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις δίκαιον etc. His constitution is not a compromise between for example Athens and the World of Ideas, but something as near the latter as the limitations of earthly existence will allow—in other words such a polity as is described in the *Republic*. The Philosopher-king is not the man to paint an imperfect picture, though he knows that it will be but a picture after all.

Burnet prints ἔπειτα—πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείν' αὖ τὸ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐμποιοῖεν, κτλ. This emendation appears to me to deprive ἐκατέρωσε of all meaning and point.

## VI

VI 503 C. Εὐμαθεῖς καὶ μνήμονες καὶ ἀγχίνοι καὶ ὀξεῖς καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τούτοις ἔπεται οἷσθ' οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν ἅμα φύεσθαι καὶ νεανικοὶ τε καὶ μεγαλοπρέπεια. It is also clear that οἷοι κοσμίως—ζήν represents σωφροσύνη (485 E). ἀγχίνοι and ὀξεῖς certainly refer to intellectual qualities, as appears from their combination with εὐμαθεῖς καὶ μνήμονες, and with ὅσα ἄλλα τούτοις ἔπεται: cf. also *Theaet.* 144 A. νεανικοὶ 'spirited' has af-

Such is the reading of A and Π: and none of the other mss have any variant worth discussing.

Of the qualities named, the following appear in the description of the philosophic character (485 C—487 A): εὐμάθεια, μνήμη, μεγαλοπρέπεια. It is also clear that οἷοι κοσμίως—ζήν represents σωφροσύνη (485 E). ἀγχίνοι and ὀξεῖς certainly refer to intellectual qualities, as appears from their combination with εὐμαθεῖς καὶ μνήμονες, and with ὅσα ἄλλα τούτοις ἔπεται: cf. also *Theaet.* 144 A. νεανικοὶ 'spirited' has af-

finities with ἀνδρείοι (486 B—487 A), but Vermehren (*Pl. Stud.* pp. 98—103) is mistaken in holding that the two notions are identical.

According to Schneider, who retains the reading of the MSS, εὐμαθείς—μεγαλοπρεπείς τὰς διανοίας forms the predicate, the subject being οἶοι—ζῆν. This interpretation gives the right sense, but is otherwise forced and unnatural in the last degree. Moreover, if οἶοι is the subject, we can scarcely dissociate οἱ τοιοῦτοι from it, and even on Schneider's view οἱ τοιοῦτοι refers to εὐμαθείς—διανοίας.

Stallbaum prints a comma after φύεσθαι, and understands Plato to mean that a combination of the intellectual virtues enumerated in εὐμαθείς—όξεῖς is itself rare, as well as the union of spirit and sobriety. Such a view, even if grammatically possible, is certainly awkward; and we have every reason to suppose that Plato did not consider the union of kindred intellectual qualities as in any way exceptional. It is the union of certain intellectual and moral virtues with certain other moral virtues which he considers rare: cf. *Theaet.* 144 A, B, the whole of which passage is important for the understanding of Plato here.

Others, such as Vermehren l.c. and J. and C., suppose that οἶοι—ζῆν is a consequence of νεανικοί—μεγαλοπρεπείς. This is however (as Shorey points out *A. J. Ph.* xvi p. 236) opposed to every statement made by Plato on the subject. The opposition between θυμοειδές, νεανικόν, ἀνδρείον (by which is meant, in this particular contrast, the active side of Courage) and πᾶον, κόσμιον, σῶφρον etc., is regarded by him as the fundamental antithesis of human character: see for example II 375 C, III 399 C, 410 D, *Pol.* 306 C ff., 307 C, 309 E, 311 B, *Tim.* 18 A and *Laws* 731 B. We have no right to hide this fact by explaining away νεανικόν. The word means 'full of youthful vigour,' 'spirited,' and nothing more. νεανικόν is of course a constituent factor in ἀνδρείον, but it is not identical with it, nor do any of the passages which Vermehren cites (*Theaet.* 168 C, *Rep.* 425 C, 491 E, 563 E, *Lys.* 204 E, *Alc.* 104 A) prove any such identity. Still less does the word mean "generous" (J. and C.), or "kräftig, mannhaft, und sittlich tüchtig" (Vermehren).

We may therefore be certain that νεανικοί—μεγαλοπρεπείς is opposed to οἶοι—ζῆν. The MS reading will admit of this only if we construe φύεσθαι with οἶοι, and suppose that καὶ νεανικοί—διανοίας is added parenthetically as a sort of afterthought. This was Schleiermacher's view, and it is also one of J. and C.'s alternatives. It is certainly right in sense, but the construction is intolerably ambiguous and awkward (cf. Susemihl, *Gen. Entw.* II p. 191 n.).

Various solutions are possible. I formerly (with Heindorf on *Theaet.* 144 A) transposed καί, reading φύεσθαι νεανικοί—καὶ οἶοι κτλ. Heindorf's remedy is however not quite satisfactory, because it lays all the stress upon the difficulty of finding the two opposite kinds of moral qualities united with intellectual sagacity, whereas—as appears from the next sentence—the relevant point is that intellectual vivacity and acumen are seldom found along with one of the two phases of moral character, viz. sobriety and steadfastness. For this reason I now venture on the transposition printed in the text. It is worthy of note that in two places where the scribe of A omitted a passage of some length,

without the excuse of homoioteleuton, the number of letters is 41 and 39. (See *cr. m.* on 504 D, x 601 A and *Introd.* § 5). Here it is 40. καὶ νεανικοί—διανοίας may of course be an interpolation, but it is more likely to be an omitted line or lines wrongly replaced.

## VII.

VI 507 B. καὶ αὐτὸ δὴ καλὸν καὶ αὐτὸ ἀγαθόν, καὶ οὕτω περὶ πάντων αὖ τότε ὡς πολλὰ ἐτίθεμεν, πάλιν αὖ καὶ ἰδέαν μίαν ἐκάστον, ὡς μιᾶς οὐσης, τιθέντες, ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον προσαγορεύμεν.

The difficulties of this sentence have hardly received sufficient attention at the hands of editors.

If κατ' ἰδέαν—the reading of all the mss—is genuine, what is the grammatical object of τιθέντες?

Two possibilities suggest themselves. One is to understand ἔν or the like, as parallel to αὐτὸ καλόν and αὐτὸ ἀγαθόν. This view is apparently adopted by Schneider, who translates “Und dann ein schönes selbst und ein gutes selbst und so bei allem, was wir dort als vieles setzten, wiederum *eins* nach der angenommenen Einheit des Begriffs eines jeden setzend nennen wir jedes das, was ist.” Stallbaum seems to have taken a similar view, although his note is not quite explicit. But it is so difficult to supply ἔν as an object to τιθέντες that we must, I think, reject this interpretation altogether. The second and more plausible alternative is—with Prantl, and the English editors and translators—to regard the object of τιθέντες as identical with that of ἐτίθεμεν. But κατ' ἰδέαν μίαν τιθέντες is far from clear. τιθέντες ought clearly to be understood in the same sense as ἐτίθεμεν, and the whole phrase should express the antithesis of ὡς πολλὰ ἐτίθεμεν. We are hardly justified in translating τιθέναι κατ' ἰδέαν μίαν as ‘reduce to a single form’ (D. and V.) or ‘bring under a single idea’ (Jowett), although the phrase might possibly here mean ‘regard as belonging to one Idea.’ If κατ' ἰδέαν is sound, the least unsatisfactory course is perhaps to print a colon after ἐτίθεμεν, and explain thus: ‘reversing our procedure, we view them as falling under a single Idea of each,...and call each that-which-is’: i.e. for example δίκαιον, σῶφρον etc., each of which we took as πολλά, we now regard as belonging to or falling under one Idea of δίκαιον, one of σῶφρον etc. But neither this interpretation nor any other which I can devise (such as ‘regard according to’ or ‘in the light of’ one Idea of each) furnishes a thoroughly clear and simple sense, or a satisfactory antithesis to ὡς πολλὰ ἐτίθεμεν. The only suitable contrast is that between the one Idea itself and the πολλά. For this reason I have ventured to replace κατ' by καί. The occurrence of τὰς δ' αὖ ἰδέας in the next sentence is also, so far as it goes, in favour of the proposed correction.

If we read καί for κατά, we ought certainly (with Bosanquet) to take ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον as a secondary predicate after προσαγορεύμεν. The translation “we call each ‘that-which-is’” (Schneider and others) is grammatically possible and even necessary, I think, if κατά is retained; but it will scarcely be denied that ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον, taken by itself, is



most easily and naturally understood as the generalised form of the idiom ὃ ἔστιν καλόν, ὃ ἔστιν ἀγαθόν etc. If so, ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον is an additional reason for reading καί instead of κατά. We postulate 'one Idea of each' and call it 'what each is.' The balance between ιδέαν μίαν ἕκαστου and ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον could not be more precise.

In order to provide an object for τιθέντες, I formerly read ἕκαστον, instead of ἕκαστου, but the correction now suggested appears to me better and more likely to be right.

## VIII.

VI 507 D, E. Τὴν δὲ τῆς ὀψεως καὶ τοῦ ὁρατοῦ οὐκ ἔννοεῖς ὅτι προσδεῖται; Πῶς; Ἐνούσης που ἐν ὀμμασιν ὀψεως καὶ ἐπιχειροῦντος τοῦ ἔχοντος χρῆσθαι αὐτῇ, παρούσης δὲ χροᾶς ἐν αὐτοῖς, ἐὰν μὴ παραγένηται γένος τρίτον ἰδίᾳ ἐπ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο πεφυκός, οἶσθα, ὅτι ἢ τε ὀψις οὐδὲν ὀψεται τὰ τε χρώματα ἔσται ἀόρατα.

The mss have no variant of any consequence.

Schneider boldly understands αὐτοῖς as τοῖς ὀμμασιν, referring to *Tim.* 67 c ff., where it is virtually said that Colour, in an act of Sight, ἐμπίπτει εἰς τὴν ὀψιν. But a careful study of the analysis of Sight in the *Timaeus* will shew that Schneider's view is not supported by that dialogue. If ἐν αὐτοῖς = ἐν τοῖς ὀμμασιν, it is clear from the rest of the sentence that Plato thinks Colour may be present in the eyes even where there is no light. But in the *Timaeus* Colour does *not* ἐμπίπτειν εἰς τὴν ὀψιν when light is absent: see 45 c with Archer-Hind ad loc. The fact is that both in the *Timaeus* and in the *Republic* Colour is regarded as inherent in things and not in the eyes: see *Tim.* 67 c χροᾶς ἐκαλέσαμεν, φλόγα τῶν σωμάτων ἕκαστων ἀπορρέουσιν and *Rep.* 508 c ὧν ἂν τὰς χροᾶς τὸ ἡμερινὸν φῶς ἐπέχῃ.

By Schmelzer and the Oxford editors, αὐτοῖς is interpreted as τοῖς ὁρατοῖς "from τοῦ ὁρατοῦ supra." Plato certainly allows himself great latitude in matters of this kind, but not, I think, where the result would be that he must inevitably be misunderstood; and even an intelligent reader might here be forgiven if he referred αὐτοῖς to τοῖς ὀμμασιν.

Various corrections have been proposed. ἐν αὐ τοῖς <ὁρατοῖς> is Richards' conjecture; but Plato is careful throughout this whole discussion to use ὁρατόν only in the singular, as a general term for the visible: cf. 508 c, 509 d (bis). For 'things seen' he uses ὁρώμενα 507 c, 508 a, 508 c, 510 d. On this account ἐν αὐ τοῖς <ὁρωμένοις> or (better) ἐν αὐτοῖς <τοῖς ὁρωμένοις> appears to me preferable, if the passage is to be emended on these lines.

In *Cl. Rev.* XIII p. 99 I ventured to submit another emendation. It will be observed that in the latter part of the sentence Plato treats the colours themselves as the objects of vision (τὰ τε χρώματα ἔσται ἀόρατα), without alluding to the visible objects in which the colours inhere. Cf. also *Tim.* 67 c ff., and Arist. *de An.* II 7. 418<sup>a</sup> 26 ff. Hence I proposed to read παρούσης δὲ χροᾶς, ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐὰν μὴ παραγένηται κτλ., i.e. 'unless they' (viz. ἢ ὀψις and χροᾶ s. τὰ χρώματα) 'are re-

inforced by *one* genus—making three in all—specially adapted by Nature for this very purpose, you are aware that Sight will see nothing and the colours will be invisible.’ The order of words recalls ὃ ἐὰν μὴ παραγένηται τρίτον above, and the position of ἐν may perhaps be defended as calling special attention to this *one* thing without which an act of sight is altogether impossible, and as inviting Glauco’s question τίνας δὴ—τούτων; Morgenstern retained ἐν αὐτοῖς and connected it with the following clause, but ἐν does not go well with παραγένηται, and the emphasis on ἐν αὐτοῖς is excessive.

Other suggestions are ἐφ’ ἣ ἔστι for ἐν αὐτοῖς (Biehl *Die Id. d. Guten* p. 52), [ἐν] αὐτοῖς (Stallbaum) and ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς (Ast).

If we might venture to read παρούσης δὲ χροᾶς, ἐὰν (or ἤν) αὐτοῖς μὴ παραγένηται κτλ., all difficulty would disappear. Meantime, as none of the remedies hitherto suggested is convincing, I have thought it safest to retain the MS reading, understanding αὐτοῖς perforce as τοῖς ὁρωμένοις. The interesting analysis of Sight in *Theaet.* 156 D ff. is unfortunately of no use for emending the present passage.

## IX.

VI 508 D, E. τοῦτο τοίνυν τὸ τὴν ἀλήθειαν παρέχον τοῖς γινωσκομένοις καὶ τῷ γινώσκοντι τὴν δύναμιν ἀποδιδὼν τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέαν φάθι εἶναι, αἰτίαν δὲ ἐπιστήμης οὖσαν καὶ ἀληθείας ὡς γινωσκομένης μὲν διανοοῦ, οὕτω δὲ καλῶν ἀμφοτέρων οἶτων, γνώσεως τε καὶ ἀληθείας, ἄλλο καὶ κάλλιον ἔτι τούτων ἡγούμενος αὐτὸ ὁρθῶς ἡγήσει.

So A reads. The only important variant is διὰ νοῦ (Ξ v and several other MSS) for διανοοῦ.

Jowett and Campbell, following Schneider and Hermann, retain the text of A, and translate as follows: “This then, which imparts truth to the things that are known and gives to the knower the power of knowing, is what I would have you call the idea of good: and this you will deem to be the cause of knowledge and of truth so far as the latter is known: but fair as are both these, knowledge and truth, you will be right in thinking that it is something fairer than these.” μὲν is explained as belonging strictly to αἰτίαν and “opposed to the following δέ: the idea of good is indeed (μὲν) the cause of knowledge and truth, but (δέ) it is other and fairer than they.” Schneider’s explanation and translation differs hardly at all from that of the Oxford editors.

The above rendering is open to grave objections both on the score of grammar and of sense. διανοεῖσθαι can hardly be used with a participle (οὖσαν) without ὡς: and ὡς γινωσκομένης surely cannot mean ‘so far as known.’ It is also, to say the least, extremely difficult to explain the position of μὲν. διὰ τὸν ἐγγεγοῖντα μὲν ἔρωτα, which Schneider (*Addit.* p. 51) cites from X 607 E, is a very remote parallel. Nor is there any point, so far as I can discover, in saying that the Idea of the Good is the cause of truth *so far as truth is known*. The Idea of the Good is the cause of all Truth, known and unknown. And

there is no echo of any such limitation in the analogous description of Light.

For these and other reasons, Schneider's explanation is, in my opinion, untenable. Nor can I devise any other reasonable solution without altering the text. Of emendations there is, as usual, no lack.

The smallest change is to read διὰ νοῦ, with  $\Xi$  etc. and the editors down to Bekker. But the construction remains extraordinarily obscure. Few will agree with Schmelzer in construing ἡγούμενος δὲ (τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ιδέαν) αἰτίαν ἐπιστήμης—νοῦ, ἡγούμενος δὲ οὕτω καλῶν κτλ. Other proposals are (1) to omit μέν (Stephanus, who also suggests that a clause may be lost), (2) δι' αὐτοῦ (viz. τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ) for διανοοῦ (Nägelsbach), (3) to omit αἰτίαν—διανοοῦ or ὡς—διανοοῦ, in the latter case reading γ' for δ' after αἰτίαν (Ast), (4) to transpose and read φάθι εἶναι, ὡς γινωσκομένην μὲν διὰ νοῦ, αἰτίαν δ' ἐπιστήμης οὔσαν καὶ ἀληθείας (van Heusde), (5) to cancel ὡς—ἡγήσει as a gloss (Stallbaum), (6) to read δι' for δέ after αἰτίαν and διὰ νοῦ for διανοοῦ (Richter *Fleck. Jb.* 1867 p. 143). Of these suggestions (1) is inadequate; (2) and (6) only make matters worse; (3) and (5) fail to provide a parallel to ὁράται ὑπ' αὐτῆς ταύτης (sc. τῆς ὥψους) in 508B, and are also in themselves too drastic. Van Heusde's solution, which (in common with Baiter) I formerly adopted, gives a good sense, if ὡς be taken principally with the δέ clause ('as being the cause of Knowledge and Truth, although it is itself known by means of Reason'). But it is impossible to assign any probable motive for so serious a dislocation of the text of the MSS. The usual devices of homoioteleuton and the accidental omission of a line in the archetype fail us here. See *Introd.* § 5.

The explanation given in the notes is, I think, satisfactory in point of sense, and assumes no corruption except that of γινωσκομένην to γινωσκομένης—a natural error after ἀληθείας. I now regard it as much more probable than Van Heusde's solution (see his *Init. Phil. Pl.* ed. 1842 p. 388 n.).

## X.

VI 511 A. εἰκόσι δὲ χρωμένην αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν κάτω ἀπεικασθεῖσιν καὶ ἐκείνοις πρὸς ἐκεῖνα ὡς ἐναργέσι δεδοξασμένοις τε καὶ τετιμημένοις.

The difficulties of this sentence are familiar to all students of Plato. After much consideration, I believe the text to be sound, and the meaning to be as explained in the notes.

In *℥. Ph.* x p. 76 Bywater objects to taking ἀπεικασθεῖσιν as 'copied' or 'imitated,' urging that it must refer to the actual copies themselves. In order to obtain this meaning, he would read ὑποκάτω for ὑπὸ τῶν κάτω, and explain ὑποκάτω ἀπεικασθεῖσιν as the 'sensible copies, and not the (intelligible) originals,' i.e. as *CD* and not *CE*. But (1) on this view αὐτοῖς loses its force, and (2) αὐτὰ μὲν ταῦτα ἀπλάττουσιν τε καὶ γράφουσιν, ὧν καὶ σκιαὶ καὶ ἐν ὕδασι εἰκόνες εἰσίν, τούτοις μὲν ὡς εἰκόσιν αὐτῶν χρώμενοι in 510 E and τοῖς τότε μιμηθεῖσιν in 510 B (where see note) prove that ἀπεικασθεῖσιν means not 'copies' but 'copied.'



It is true that this sense of ἀπεικασθέντα is extremely rare, but *Tim.* 48 c furnishes a close parallel, and εἰκασθέντος in *Phaedr.* 250 B (quoted by J. and C.) certainly means 'copied.' In this passage ὑπὸ τῶν κάτω, and ἀπ- in ἀπεικασθεῖσι (combined with the play on εἰκόσι), as well as the precise parallel in 510 E, would make it impossible for a Greek to mistake Plato's meaning. Stallbaum's explanation ("formae rerum adspectabilium intelligibiles, sive abstractae ab ipsis rebus et una mentis cogitatione conceptae, quae a rebus inferioribus, i.e. concretis, tanquam similitudine expressae sunt") is in my judgment wholly wrong: see below. Liebhold's conjecture ἀπό for ὑπό would make the higher segment a copy of the lower! His further proposal, to read αὐταῖς (viz. ταῖς ὑποθέσεσιν) ὁμοίως τοῖς κτλ. plunges everything into hopeless confusion. The explanation which I have given of this part of the sentence agrees with that of Schneider and the Oxford editors.

καὶ ἐκείνοις is also undeniably difficult; but κακέῃ (proposed by Bywater l.c.) is hardly less so; and we are certainly not justified in transposing αὐτοῖς and ἐκείνοις, as Richards proposes to do. Should we perhaps punctuate ἀπεικασθεῖσι καὶ ἐκείνοις, πρὸς ἐκείνα κτλ., and understand καὶ ἐκείνοις as only 'et illis,' 'illis quoque' as in *Symp.* 212 A καὶ εἴπερ τῷ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπῳ, ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἐκείνῳ? The objects in *CD* are 'also' copied by those in *AD*, exactly as the νοητόν is by *CD* (510 A).

If δεδοξασμένοις is not 'valued,' it can only mean 'opined,' and we must translate either (1) 'being opined and honoured as palpable,' or else (2) 'being opined as palpable' ("für wirklich gehalten" Schneider), 'and honoured accordingly.' If we adopt the second alternative, ὡς ἐναργέσι belongs only to δεδοξασμένοις: but τε καὶ strongly suggests that ὡς ἐναργέσι was meant to be taken also with the second participle. The first alternative remedies this defect, but is hardly less unsatisfactory than the second. For ὡς ἐναργέσι must then mean one thing with δεδοξασμένοις, and another with τετιμημένοις—'opined as palpable,' i.e. 'opined to be palpable' and 'honoured as palpable,' i.e. 'honoured because they are palpable.' Or is δεδοξασμένοις used absolutely, in the sense of 'the objects of opinion'? If so, this particular difficulty disappears, and Plato means that the contents of *CD* are the 'objects of opinion' (and not of some inferior ζῆσις) because they are ἐναργῆ, and honoured for the same reason. The sentence would then prepare us for the distinction to be presently drawn between δόξα and εἰκασία (511 E). This interpretation is perhaps the least vulnerable, if δεδοξασμένοις can mean no more than 'opined,' but it is too subtle and obscure.

A wholly different explanation is given by Stallbaum, and adopted by D. and V. Stallbaum understands ἐκείνα as the objects contained in *CE*, compared with which, those in *DC* are 'vulgarly esteemed distinct and valued accordingly.' On this view ὡς would hint that the objects in *DC* are not in reality, compared with those in *CE*, ἐναργῆ: and the same insinuation would be still further emphasized by δεδοξασμένοις ('opined' as opposed to 'known'). This interpretation is possible so far as the Greek is concerned, except that ἐκείνα can hardly mean anything but *AD*. Nevertheless, even if we allow that ἐκείνα could refer

to *CE*, an allusion to the popular prejudice in favour of materialism would be out of place in a scientific classification of τὰ ὄντα in their order of 'clearness.' And Plato has already shewn a tendency to introduce the shadow segment at each stage "in order to make it quite clear at each step how the whole classification coheres" (Bosanquet): hence τοῖς τότε μιμηθείσιν (510 B) and ὃν καὶ σκιαὶ καὶ ἐν ὕδασι εἰκόνες εἰσὶν (510 E). Finally, the whole description in τοῦτο—ἀπεικασθείσιν passes first from *CE* to *DC*, and then from *DC* to *AD* (ὑπὸ τῶν κάτω), and a return to *CE* in the last clause of the sentence, such as Stallbaum supposes, would be artistically unpleasing.

## XI.

VI 511 C, D. ὅτι μέντοι βούλει διορίζειν σαφέστερον εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἐπιστήμης τοῦ ὄντος τε καὶ νοητοῦ θεωρούμενον ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν καλουμένων, αἷς αἱ ὑποθέσεις ἀρχαὶ καὶ διανοία μὲν ἀναγκάζονται ἀλλὰ μὴ αἰσθήσεσιν αὐτὰ θεᾶσθαι οἱ θεώμενοι, διὰ δὲ τὸ μὴ ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ἀνελθόντες σκοπεῖν ἀλλ' ἐξ ὑποθέσεων, νοῦν οὐκ ἔσχειν περὶ αὐτὰ δοκοῦσί σοι, καίτοι νοητῶν ὄντων μετ' ἀρχῆς.

The ordinary view of the last clause of this sentence appears to be "obwohl es in Verbindung mit dem Anfange denkbare ist" (Schneider: cf. Jowett's "although when a first principle is added to them they are cognizable by the higher reason"). Some of the difficulties which this translation involves are pointed out by Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 141). The most serious of them is that it makes Plato imply that the objects of mathematical study as pursued by mathematicians are not νοητά, whereas he has repeatedly said that they are (see note ad loc.). It may be urged on the other hand that we ought not to take the words too strictly, and that νοῦν οὐκ ἔσχειν περὶ αὐτὰ δοκοῦσί σοι prepares us for taking νοητῶν in a narrower sense than it has hitherto had. But νοῦν οὐκ ἔσχειν is a different thing from the assertion that the objects are not νοητά, for νοῦς is expressly limited by Plato to the higher intellectual method throughout the whole of this passage, διάνοια being used for the lower, as the next sentence carefully explains. In a passage expressly occupied with defining terms, Plato is not, I think, likely to have contradicted himself within a single sentence, by first saying that μαθηματικά (as ordinarily studied) are νοητά and afterwards implying that they are not. μετ' ἀρχῆς is also far from clear on the ordinary view, for (1) the use of the preposition is obscure, unless something like λαμβανόμενων is understood, and (2) it is not easy to interpret ἀρχῆς of the ἀρχή κατ' ἐξοχὴν, i.e. the Good, just after we have been told that μαθηματικά possess ἀρχαί of their own (αἷς αἱ ὑποθέσεις ἀρχαί). It may be said that ἀρχὴν in ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ἀνελθόντες is the Good. So no doubt it is, from Plato's point of view; but we should translate this also 'a beginning,' for the contrast is between the dialectician who ascends (ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ἀνελθόντες) to an ἀρχή and the mathematician who does not, but nevertheless has one (without ascending) in his ὑπόθεσις.

On these grounds I am unable to accept what seems to be the current interpretation. Campbell appears to take νοητὰ μετ' ἀρχῆς as a single phrase denoting a special sort of νοητά ("while not absolute νοητά, they are νοητὰ μετ' ἀρχῆς" Vol. II p. 16). This is certainly better than Jowett's view, but linguistically it is a little harsh, and in point of fact the higher νοητά (except of course the Good itself) are also νοητὰ μετ' ἀρχῆς, for μετ' ἀρχῆς cannot be construed 'with a *hypothetical* ἀρχή.' The interpretation which is given in the notes agrees with that of Prantl, and (if I understand him rightly) Krohn. It is, in my opinion, the only natural meaning of the Greek, and what Plato, if Plato wrote the words, intended to say.

The explanation of this clause is a matter of some importance because, if Schneider's translation is right, it would appear that μαθηματικά can, under certain circumstances, be apprehended by the higher noetic process, and on this an argument might conceivably be founded for identifying them with Ideas. In App. I to Book VII I have tried to shew that Plato himself distinguishes no less clearly between the contents of the two higher segments of the line than Aristotle assures us that he did. In reality however the present sentence does not affect the question either way.

The use of καίτοι is so strange that some may be inclined to suspect interpolation. It is noticeable that καίτοι was often thus used by Plotinus (e.g. x 9. 490 init.). The clause could easily be spared, and may be spurious; but the evidence is not sufficient to justify its exclusion from the text.



## Z.

I. Μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ, εἶπον, ἀπέικασον τοιοῦτόν τι πάθει τὴν 514  
ἡμετέραν φύσιν παιδείας τε περί καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας. ἰδὲ γὰρ

**514 A—517 A** *The following comparison represents our nature in respect of education and the absence thereof. Let us imagine a number of prisoners confined in a subterranean cave, and unable to see anything except shadows of images and other such objects, cast by the light of a fire. Such men will believe that shadows of manufactured things are the only truth. If they are released, and led up step by step towards the light, they will turn and flee back into the cave; but if we compel them to emerge, they will gradually grow accustomed to the brightness, and be able to gaze upon the Sun and understand his sovereignty in the domain of visible things. Pity for their former friends will then begin to mingle with joy at their own escape. Should they redescend into their former place, the darkness will at first affect their vision, and expose them to the laughter of the others, who will, it may be, lay hands upon their deliverer and slay him.*

**514 A ff.** The simile of the Cave presents us with a picture of the life of the uneducated man (τὴν ἡμετέραν φύσιν παιδείας τε περί καὶ ἀπαιδευσίας 514 A: cf. also 515 A). From this point of view it should be compared with *Theaet.* 172 C—177 C, and (in spite of the different situation) with *Phaed.* 109 A—E, where the equation is:—Depths of Ocean: Hollows of Earth=Hollows of Earth: The true Earth. Plato bids us connect the Cave with the Line (517 A), and does so himself (l.c., and 532 C). We have seen that the lower segment of the line (AC) is spoken of sometimes as ὁρατόν, sometimes as δοξαστόν (VI 510 B n.).

Plato does not even now distinguish between the two terms; and since the ἀπαίδευτος is concerned with τὸ δοξαστόν in general rather than with τὸ ὁρατόν exclusively, we shall best apprehend Plato's meaning if we interpret the simile by the following proportion:—Cave : ὁρατόν s. δοξαστόν = δοξαστόν s. ὁρατόν : νοητόν. See on 517 A and App. I.

2 ἰδὲ γὰρ κτλ. Empedocles spoke of the terrestrial region as a cave (ἡλύθομεν τόδ' ὑπ' ἄντρον ὑπόστεγον 31 ed. Karsten), and similar expressions occur in the Orphic verses e.g. ταῦτα πατὴρ ποίησε κατὰ σπέος ἡρωειδῆς (ap. Procl. in *Tim.* 95 D): see Rohde *Psyche* II p. 178 n. and Dieterich *Nekyia* p. 159 n. There is however nothing to shew that Plato borrowed the underlying idea, much less the details, of his simile from any previous writer: for the metaphorical application of ἀνω, ὑψόθεν and kindred words in connexion with true παιδεία is a favourite usage of Plato's (cf. *Theaet.* 175 B, *Soph.* 216 C, *Phaed.* 109 A ff.), and the simile might easily have been elaborated from such a metaphor. For a strikingly eloquent imitation see Cic. *de nat. deor.* II 95 (translated from Aristotle: see *Frag.* 14. 1476<sup>a</sup> 34 ff.). With the life of the cave-dwellers Bosanquet aptly compares the account of uncivilized humanity in Aesch. *Prom.* 447—453. A kindred though not identical figure is employed in Fitzgerald's Omar Khayyám LXVIII: "We are no other than a moving row Of magic Shadow-shapes that come and go Round with the Sun-illuminated Lantern held In Midnight by the Master of the Show."

ἀνθρώπους οἶον ἐν καταγείῳ οἰκήσει σπηλαιώδει ἀναπεπταμένην  
 πρὸς τὸ φῶς τὴν εἴσοδον ἔχουσῃ, μακράν, παρ' ἅπαν τὸ σπήλαιον,  
 ἐν ταύτῃ ἐκ παίδων ὄντας ἐν δεσμοῖς καὶ τὰ σκέλη καὶ τοὺς αὐχένας, 5  
 B ὥστε μένειν τε αὐτοῦ εἰς τε<sup>1</sup> τὸ πρόσθεν μόνον ὄραν, κύκλῳ δὲ τὰς  
 κεφαλὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσμοῦ ἀδυνάτους περιάγειν, φῶς δὲ αὐτοῖς πυρὸς  
 ἄνωθεν καὶ πόρρωθεν καόμενον ὅπισθεν αὐτῶν, μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦ  
 πυρὸς καὶ τῶν δεσμωτῶν ἐπάνω ὁδόν, παρ' ἣν ἰδὲ τειχίου παρῳκο-  
 δομημένον, ὥσπερ τοῖς θαυματοποιοῖς πρὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρόκειται 10

6. αὐτοῦ Hirschig: αὐτοὺς codd.

τὸ A<sup>2</sup>g: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

3 ἀναπεπταμένην κτλ. Herwerden suspects corruption, on the ground that the cave is dark, except for the light of the fire. But unless the *entrance* to the cave is open to the light of day, how are the prisoners ever to emerge, as they ultimately do (515 E)? The *εἴσοδος* is long (μακρά) and steep (515 E), so that the daylight cannot reach the cave in any case. Prantl is right, I think, in understanding μακράν of *length* and not width, although Schneider and the English translators apparently hold the other view. See next note.

4 παρ' ἅπαν τὸ σπήλαιον should (I believe) be taken separately from μακράν. The words define the *width* of the entrance, which is 'along the whole of,' i.e. 'as wide as,' the cave. The reason will appear later: see on ὅρα τοῖνυν 514 B. The translation "extending along the entire length of the cavern" (D. and V.) seems to render μακράν altogether otiose. See Fig. II on p. 65.

6 μένειν τε αὐτοῦ. See *cr. n.* Hirschig's emendation, which Cobet approves and Hermann and others adopt, I now think right. μένειν is not, I believe, used absolutely in the sense of μένειν αὐτοῦ, which is the meaning required here. It might be possible to understand μένειν as equivalent to μένειν ἀκινήτους, in view of *Crat.* 426 E and *Phaedr.* 261 D, but 'remain motionless' is not quite suitable in point of sense. Still less does the possible rendering 'remain by themselves' fit the situation. On the other hand μένειν τε αὐτοῦ 'remain where they are,' 'remain in one place' (cf. I 327 C, II 371 C), corresponds exactly to ἐν δεσμοῖς τὰ σκέλη, just as εἰς τε τὸ πρόσθεν μόνον ὄραν echoes ἐν δεσμοῖς τοὺς αὐχένας. The τε—te after καὶ—καὶ suggests that Plato intended this correspondence. There is nothing to be said for Herwer-

den's proposal to insert ἀκινήτους.

514 B 7 ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσμοῦ κτλ. "Puerile interpretamentum" says Herwerden, quite superfluously. Hirschig's ἀδυνατοῦντας for ἀδυνάτους is no improvement. The word, like ὄντας, depends of course on ἰδέ. For καόμενον, Hirschig, with Cobet's approval, conjectures καομένου, and so Baiter also reads: but καομένου leaves αὐτοῖς out in the cold. "Vide ne φῶς πυρὸς ita in unam notionem coalescant, ut alterius attributum simul etiam alteri conveniat" Hermann. This explanation is correct: cf. 517 B.

9 ἐπάνω ὁδόν. ἐπάνωδον (Badham), which means 'ascensum,' is out of place here. ἐπάνω means only that the road is at a higher elevation than the prisoners (so also Schneider): it should not be taken with ὁδόν in the sense of a 'raised way' (Jowett). There is no reason why the ὁδός should be raised above the level of the ground, and it is unnecessarily harsh to construe the adverb with the noun. The fact that verbal nouns occasionally take an adverb in Plato (see on IV 434 C) does not justify Jowett's construction in this passage.

10 ὥσπερ τοῖς θαυματοποιοῖς κτλ. As in a Punch and Judy show. Cf. [Arist.] *de Mundo* 6. 398<sup>b</sup> 16 ff. οἱ νευροσπάσται μίαν μήρινθον ἐπισπασάμενοι ποιοῦσι καὶ αὐχένα κινεῖσθαι καὶ χεῖρα τοῦ ζῴου καὶ ὦμον καὶ ὀφθαλμὸν κτλ. (Blümner, *Privatalterth.* p. 503 n. 5, where other references are given). I agree with the Oxford editors in holding that τῶν ἀνθρώπων denotes the performers, and not, as Schneider and others translate, the spectators. οἱ ἄνθρωποι could not, without further specification, stand for the spectators, and no further specification is given. But Jowett and Campbell are, I think, in error when they distinguish between the θαυματοποιοὶ and the ἀν-

τὰ παραδράγματα, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὰ θαύματα δεικνύουσιν. Ὅρῳ, ἔφη.  
 "Ορα τοίνυν παρὰ τοῦτο τὸ τειχίον φέροντας ἀνθρώπους σκεύη τε  
 παντοδαπὰ ὑπερέχοντα τοῦ τειχίου καὶ ἀνδριάντας | καὶ ἄλλα ξῶα 515  
 λίθινά τε καὶ ξύλινα καὶ παντοῖα εἰργασμένα, οἷον εἰκός, τοὺς μὲν  
 φθεγγομένους, τοὺς δὲ σιγῶντας τῶν παραφερόντων. Ἀποπον, ἔφη,  
 λέγεις εἰκόνα καὶ δεσμώτας ἀτόπους. Ὅμοιους ἡμῖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ.  
 5 τοὺς γὰρ τοιοῦτους πρῶτον μὲν ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ ἀλλήλων οἶει ἂν  
 τι ἑωρακέναι ἄλλο πλὴν τὰς σκιὰς τὰς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς εἰς τὸ καταν-  
 τικρὺ αὐτῶν τοῦ σπηλαίου προσπιπτούσας; Πῶς γάρ, ἔφη, εἰ  
 ἀκινήτους γε τὰς κεφαλὰς ἔχειν ἡναγκασμένοι<sup>1</sup> εἶεν διὰ βίου; Τί B  
 δέ; τῶν παραφερομένων οὐ ταῦτόν τοῦτο; Τί μήν; Εἰ οὖν  
 10 διαλέγεσθαι οἰοί τ' εἶεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ ταῦτα ἡγεί ἂν τὰ

10. ταῦτα Ξγ: ταῦτα A.

ἄνθρωποι, and suppose that the θαυμα-  
 τοποιός is "not the actual exhibitor or  
 puller of the strings, but the master of  
 the show." The ἄνθρωποι and the θαυμα-  
 τοποιοί are the same, and Plato might, if  
 he had been so minded, have written  
 ὥσπερ τοῖς θαυματοποιοῖς πρὸ ἑαυτῶν κτλ.  
 The substitution of τῶν ἀνθρώπων for  
 ἑαυτῶν puts the matter in a more ob-  
 jective way, and has also a contemptuous  
 effect.

12 ὅρα τοίνυν κτλ. τοίνυν is 'also'  
 (I 339 D n.). The low wall which crosses  
 the εἰσόδος at a point between the pri-  
 soners and the fire intercepts the shadows  
 of the παραφέροντες: but the σκεύη which  
 they carry, presumably on their heads,  
 overtop the wall, and are reflected on the  
 wall of the cave in front of the prisoners.  
 See Fig. ii on p. 65. Plato adopts various  
 devices in order to suggest a due propor-  
 tion between the objects inside and out-  
 side the cave in point of reality. Thus  
 (1) the typical examples ἀνδριάντες etc.  
 are themselves images of the natural  
 objects of the superior ὁρατόν: (2) the  
 originals of the Cave are all (except the  
 prisoners themselves 515 A) σκευαστά,  
 whereas those of the superior ὁρατόν are  
 —primarily speaking—ῥευστά (for the  
 significance of this see 532 C n.): (3) the  
 contents of the Cave, both originals and  
 shadows, may be regarded as less lumi-  
 nous and true than the ὁρατά outside, be-  
 cause they derive their light and truth,  
 not from the Sun, but from an artificial  
 Fire (see also on 517 C). The interpre-  
 tation of the simile is to be sought in the

δοξαστόν generally as well as in the ὁρατόν  
 in particular (see on 517 A), but we need  
 not suppose that every detail is signifi-  
 cant. Comparisons have been made  
 between the παραφέροντες and (in the  
 ὁρατόν) δαίμονες (Campbell II p. 16, com-  
 paring *Tim.* 43), or (in the δοξαστόν)  
 Sophists etc. (Shorey, *Idea of Good* etc.  
 p. 238). The latter analogy is the more  
 fruitful, but neither of them is altogether  
 free from difficulty, and Plato may have  
 intended the παραφέροντες only as part  
 of the machinery of his similitude. If  
 the Cave is to represent the world of τὰ  
 πολλά, it must have a semblance of life  
 and motion; and without the παραφέρον-  
 tes the shadows would be motionless and  
 dead.

515 A 2 οἷον εἰκός should be taken  
 with what follows: cf. IV 419 A n.

3 φθεγγομένους merely prepares the  
 way for 515 B εἰ καὶ ἡχώ κτλ., and beyond  
 this, it has, I think, no meaning. It cer-  
 tainly does not "prepare for the science  
 of harmonics" (as J. and C. hold): see  
 532 B n. and App. I.

τῶν παραφερόντων (bracketed by Baiter)  
 is natural enough, παρὰ τοῦτο τὸ τειχίον  
 φέροντας being too distant to cause diffi-  
 culty.

515 B 8 τί δέ; τῶν παραφερομέ-  
 νων κτλ. After τοῦτο supply οἶει ἂν  
 ἑωρακέναι αὐτούς. I have placed a mark  
 of interrogation after τί δέ, in order that  
 τῶν παραφερομένων may have its proper  
 emphasis: cf. V 470 A n.

10 οὐ ταῦτα κτλ.: 'do you not sup-  
 pose they would believe that they were



παρίοντα αὐτοὺς νομίζειν ὀνομάζειν, ὅπερ ὀρῶεν; Ἀνάγκη. Τί δ'; εἰ καὶ ἡχῶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἐκ τοῦ κατασκευῶν ἔχοι, ὅποτε τις τῶν παρίοντων φθέγγεται, οἷοι ἂν ἄλλο τι αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι τὸ φθεγγόμενον ἢ τὴν παριοῦσαν σκιάν; Μὰ Δι' οὐκ ἔγωγ', ἔφ. C Παυτάπασι δὴ, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, οἱ τοιοῦτοι οὐκ ἂν ἄλλο τι νομίζοιεν τὸ 15 ἀληθὲς ἢ τὰς τῶν σκευαστῶν σκιάς. Πολλὴ ἀνάγκη, ἔφη. Σκόπει δὴ, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, αὐτῶν λύσιν τε καὶ ἴασιν τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τῆς ἀφρεσύνης, οἷα τις ἂν εἴη, εἰ φύσει τοιάδε ξυμβαίνοι αὐτοῖς· ὅποτε τις λυθείη καὶ ἀναγκάζοιτο ἐξαίφνης ἀνίστασθαι τε καὶ περιάγειν τὸν

11. παρίοντα Flor. T: παρόντα AΞq. τοιάδε q praebebat εἴη φύσει τοιάδε, εἰ.

18. εἰ A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: om. A<sup>1</sup>. Pro εἴη, εἰ φύσει

naming these particular passing objects which they saw?' They have never seen anything of the *real* παρίοντα (or παραφερόμενα): therefore (οὖν) they suppose themselves to be naming, i.e. using the name of, not (as is in point of fact the case) the *real* παρίοντα, but only *these* παρίοντα which they see. For example, they call the shadow of a table 'a table,' and in so doing they are, without knowing it, naming, not, as they suppose, the shadow, but the substance. J. and C. remark that "παρίοντα is rather confusing as it might signify either the shadows" (cf. 516 C) "or the realities" (cf. 515 D). True: but ταῦτα τὰ παρίοντα, ἀπερ ὀρῶεν can signify *only* the shadows. The corruption παρόντα for παρίοντα (see *cr. n.*) is easy, and occurs in some MSS at 516 C (where παρίοντα again = παριοῦσαι σκιάς). Plato means (to interpret the allegory) that what the ἀπαίδευτος calls a substance is only a shadow. For other views of this sentence see App. IV.

12. εἰ καὶ ἡχῶ κτλ. The voices heard by the ἀπαίδευτος are as shadowy as the forms he sees: βλέποντες ἔβλεπον μάτην,<sup>1</sup> κλύοντες οὐκ ἤκουον, ἀλλ' ὀνειράτων<sup>1</sup> ἀλγικιοι μορφαῖσι τὸν μακρὸν βίον<sup>1</sup> ἐφυρον εἰκῇ πάντα (Aesch P. V. 447—450).

515 C 15 νομίζοιεν κτλ. νόμος, not φύσις, is the watchword of ἀπαίδευσις.

16 σκευαστῶν is said by J. and C. to be "diminutive images of ordinary artificial objects," but the word does not convey this meaning. For the purposes of this simile σκευαστά are reckoned as less real than φυτευτά: see on ὅρα τοῖνυν κτλ. 514 B and φαντάσματα θεῖα 532 C. Plato takes no account of the fact that the prisoners also see shadows of themselves (515 A).

17 λύσιν κτλ. According to 532 B (where see note), λύσιν—τῶν ἄλλων εἰδῶλα (516 A) symbolizes Plato's προπαυδεῖα or inferior νοητόν.

18. εἰ φύσει τοιάδε κτλ. φύσει has been variously interpreted as follows. (1) 'φύσει est revera' (Ast, Stallbaum): (2) 'si res et natura ferret,' 'in the course of nature' (Schneider, J. and C., D. and V.): (3) 'φύσει, no one knows how' (Nettleship *Lect. and Rem.* II p. 260). None of these explanations is either linguistically easy or altogether suitable in point of meaning. It should be remembered that the condition of the prisoners, shut out as they are from light and truth amid the darkness of the Cave, is 'unnatural' (παρὰ φύσιν) in the Platonic sense of the word (see IV 443 B n.). Their release is therefore a return to their true nature, and may for this reason be described as 'natural.' This, I think, is what Plato means to suggest by φύσει. It is true, as we are presently told (515 E βίᾱ), that force has to be employed in order to drag the prisoners on high; but their deliverance is none the less 'natural' in Plato's way of thinking. Schleiermacher and Herwerden wish to read οἷα τις ἂν εἴη φύσει, εἰ τοιάδε κτλ. The fact that εἰ was omitted by A<sup>1</sup>, and is absent from five other MSS, may appear to favour this conjecture. We might suppose that εἰ fell out by ὁμοιοτέλευτον after φύσει, disappeared altogether from several MSS, and was wrongly replaced in A. (The evidence of Π is unfortunately wanting here.) But on this view it is difficult to see what φύσει adds to οἷα τις ἂν εἴη, and for this and other reasons I prefer the solution which I have given.

20 αὐχένα καὶ βαδίζειν καὶ πρὸς τὸ φῶς ἀναβλέπειν, πάντα δὲ ταῦτα  
ποιῶν ἀλγοῖ τε καὶ διὰ τὰς μαρμαρυγὰς ἀδυνατοῖ καθορᾶν ἐκεῖνα,  
ὧν ἴ τότε τὰς σκιὰς ἑώρα, τί ἂν οἶε αὐτὸν εἰπεῖν, εἴ τις αὐτῷ λέγοι, D  
ὅτι τότε μὲν ἑώρα φλυαρίας, νῦν δὲ μᾶλλον τι ἐγγυτέρω τοῦ ὄντος  
καὶ πρὸς μᾶλλον ὄντα τετραμμένος ὀρθότερον βλέπει, καὶ δὴ καὶ  
25 ἕκαστον τῶν παριόντων δεικνὺς αὐτῷ ἀναγκάζει ἐρωτῶν ἀποκρί-  
νεσθαι ὅ τι ἔστιν; οὐκ οἶε αὐτὸν ἀπορεῖν τε ἂν καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι τὰ  
τότε ὁρώμενα ἀληθέστερα ἢ τὰ νῦν δεικνύμενα; Πολύ γ', ἔφη.

II. Οὐκοῦν κἂν εἰ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς ἀναγκάζει ἵ αὐτὸν βλέ- E  
πειν, ἀλγεῖν τε ἂν τὰ ὄμματα καὶ φεύγειν ἀποστρεφόμενον πρὸς  
30 ἐκεῖνα, ἃ δύναται καθορᾶν, καὶ νομίζειν ταῦτα τῷ ὄντι σαφέστερα  
τῶν δεικνυμένων; Οὕτως, ἔφη. Εἰ δέ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐντεῦθεν ἔλκοι  
τις αὐτὸν βίᾳ διὰ τραχείας τῆς ἀναβάσεως καὶ ἀνάντους καὶ μὴ  
ἀνείη πρὶν ἐξελκύσειεν εἰς τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς, ἅρα οὐχὶ ὀδυνᾶσθαι  
τε ἂν καὶ ἀγανάκτεῖν ἐλκόμενον, καὶ ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τὸ φῶς | ἔλθοι, 516  
αὐγῆς ἂν ἔχοντα τὰ ὄμματα μεστὰ ὀρᾶν οὐδ' ἂν ἐν δύνασθαι τῶν  
νῦν λεγομένων ἀληθῶν; Οὐ γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη, ἐξαίφνης γε. Συνηθείας  
δὴ, οἶμαι, δέοιτ' ἂν, εἰ μέλλοι τὰ ἄνω ὄψεσθαι, καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὰς

23. τι A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: om. A<sup>1</sup> γ.  
ἕκαστων nisi fallor A<sup>1</sup>.

24. καὶ δὴ καὶ Ξ γ: καὶ δὴ A.  
33. ἀνείη A<sup>1</sup>: ἀνίη A<sup>2</sup>ΠΞ: ἀνίοι γ.

25. ἕκαστον A<sup>2</sup>Ξ γ:

20 τὸ φῶς is the light of the fire  
(514 B): contrast αὐτὸ τὸ φῶς 515 D.

ἀναβλέπειν. ἀνα- is appropriate, for  
the fire is ἀνωθεν (514 B). Education  
always points upward in Plato (514 A n.).

515 D 23 ἐγγυτέρω. It is needless  
to add <ὧν>, as I formerly did (with  
Richards, who compares I 330 E). The  
copula is easily supplied, especially with  
τετραμμένος following.

24 ὀρθότερον and not ὀρθότερα (as  
seems to be generally believed, even by  
J. and C.) is the reading of A. The  
adverb ('more truly sees') can alone be  
justified. For the meaning see VI 490 B n.

βλέπει. The indicative βλέπει (which  
I formerly read, with γ, Flor. U,  
Bekker and others) would be more usual,  
"in an indirect quotation depending on  
an optative which refers to the future"  
(Goodwin *MT*. p. 61). But the rule which  
excludes the optative in such cases is not  
absolute, as appears from Dem. 16. 5  
(cited by Goodwin l.c.), and ἔχει in VIII  
544 A is in principle the same as βλέπει  
here. For the collocation of indicative  
(ἐώρα) with optative Schneider quotes  
*Phaed.* 96 B and 95 D.

καὶ δὴ κτλ. ἀπορεῖν is almost a tech-  
nical term of Socrates' dialectic (cf. Xen.  
*Mem.* III 10. 7 and *Theaet.* 149 A ff.),  
but Plato has in mind the effect of his  
own προπαίδεια, as appears from 532 B, C.

515 E 29 φεύγειν ἀποστρεφόμενον  
κτλ. As when a bewildered disputant  
takes refuge again in the fallacious posi-  
tion from which he has been dislodged:  
see I 334 B n. For δύναται Richards  
would read δύναιτο, comparing ἄπερ  
ὀρῶν in 515 B. δύναται treats the  
simile as a reality, exactly like ἀμβλυ-  
ώττει in 516 E: compare also 538 A n.,  
and (for the construction) *Phaed.* 67 E οὐ  
πολλὴν ἂν ἀλογία εἴη, εἰ μὴ ἄσμενοι ἐκέλευ-  
σαιεν, οἱ ἀφικομένοις ἐλπίς ἐστίν οὐ διὰ  
βίου ἥρων τυχεῖν.

31 ἔλκοι κτλ. Cf. *Theaet.* 175 B ὅταν  
δὲ γέ τινι αὐτός, ὃ φιλεῖ, ἐλκύσῃ ἄνω κτλ.  
The alliteration of ἀν- (ἀναβάσεως, ἀνάν-  
τους, ἀνείη, ἀγανάκτειν) should be noticed:  
see on 514 A. With αὐγῆς ἂν ἔχοντα κτλ.  
we may compare *Theaet.* 175 D βλέπων  
μετέωρος ἀνωθεν ὑπὸ ἀληθείας ἀδημονῶν τε  
καὶ ἀπορῶν καὶ βαρβαρίζων κτλ.

516 A 4 πρῶτον μὲν κτλ. πρῶτον  
μὲν—εἰδῶτα (the lower ὁρατόν of the line)

σκιὰς ἂν ῥᾶστα καθορῶ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι τά τε τῶν 5  
 ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων εἶδωλα, ὕστερον δὲ αὐτά· ἐκ δὲ  
 τούτων τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανὸν νύκτωρ ἂν ῥῶν  
 B θεάσαιτο, προσβλέπων τὸ τῶν ἄστρον τε καὶ σελήνης<sup>1</sup> φῶς, ἢ μεθ'  
 ἡμέραν τὸν ἥλιόν τε καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου. Πῶς δ' οὐ; Τελευταῖον  
 δὴ, οἶμαι, τὸν ἥλιον, οὐκ ἐν ὕδασιν οὐδ' ἐν ἀλλοτρίᾳ ἔδρᾳ φαντάσ- 10  
 ματα αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν καθ' αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ χώρα δύναιτ' ἂν  
 κατιδεῖν καὶ θεάσασθαι οἷός ἐστιν. Ἀναγκαῖον, ἔφη. Καὶ μετὰ  
 ταῦτ' ἂν ἤδη συλλογίζοιτο περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ τὰς τε ὥρας  
 παρέχων καὶ ἐνιαυτοὺς καὶ παντὰ ἐπιτροπεύων τὰ ἐν τῷ ὁρωμένῳ  
 C τόπῳ καὶ ἐκείνων, ὧν<sup>1</sup> σφεῖς ἑώρων, τρόπον τινὰ πάντων αἴτιος. 15  
 Δῆλον, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐπὶ ταῦτα ἂν μετ' ἐκείνα ἔλθοι. Τί οὖν; ἀναμι-  
 μνησκόμενον αὐτὸν τῆς πρώτης οἰκήσεως καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖ συφίας καὶ  
 τῶν τότε ξυνδεσμωτῶν οὐκ ἂν οἶε αὐτὸν μὲν εὐδαιμονίζειν τῆς  
 μεταβολῆς, τοὺς δὲ ἐλεεῖν; Καὶ μάλα. Τιμαὶ δὲ καὶ ἔπαινοι εἰ  
 τινες αὐτοῖς ἦσαν τότε παρ' ἀλλήλων καὶ γέρα τῷ ὀξύτατα καθορ- 20  
 ῶντι τὰ παριόντα καὶ μνημονεύοντι μάλιστα, ὅσα τε πρότερα  
 D αὐτῶν καὶ<sup>1</sup> ὕστερα εἰώθει καὶ ἵμα πορεύεσθαι, καὶ ἐκ τούτων δὴ  
 δυνατώτατα ἀπομαντευομένῳ τὸ μέλλον ἥξειν, δοκεῖς ἂν αὐτὸν  
 ἐπιθυμητικῶς αὐτῶν ἔχειν καὶ ζηλοῦν τοὺς παρ' ἐκείνοις τιμωμένους

13. οὗτος II: αὐτός A.

symbolizes the higher stages of Plato's προπαιδεία, and ὕστερον δὲ αὐτά—οἷός ἐστιν (the higher ὁρατόν) corresponds to the higher νοητόν. See 532 B, C *passim*. αὐτά, τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ—νύκτωρ and τὸν ἥλιον represent an ascending scale of Ideas up to the Good: cf. note on τοῦ ἀνυποθέτου VI 511 B. It may be doubted whether in point of fact the released prisoner would not be able to look on the heavens by night sooner than upon 'objects themselves' (αὐτά) by day. But the simile holds good in so far as the eye mounts ever higher: and the moon and stars are nearest to the sun (ἡλιοειδῆ), says Proclus *in remp.* I p. 294. 6 Kroll), which is the ultimate goal.

516 B 13 συλλογίζοιτο κτλ. should be interpreted by VI 509 B (the Good as the cause of Being). οὗτος is preferred by Stallbaum and others to αὐτός (see *cr. n.*), in which J. and C. find "a solemn emphasis." There is no difficulty about the repetition (αὐτοῦ—αὐτός), but αὐτός

'ipse' is less suitable here than the deictic οὗτος: cf. αὕτη in 517 C and VI 462 E *passim*.

516 C 20 τῷ ὀξύτατα καθορῶντι κτλ. "Induction conceived as inference from particulars to particulars, its test being prediction (not explanation), and its method being association of images or unanalysed likenesses, by contiguity in co-existence or succession" Bosanquet. Plato is thinking chiefly of the empirical politician and political adviser, who foretells the future from the present and the past (cf. Thuc. I 22), but limits his intellectual horizon by his own experience, and knows nothing of the real determining causes of events. The vast majority of Athenian statesmen belonged in Plato's opinion to this category: see on V 473 C and VI 488 B.

22 αὐτῶν does not of course depend on πρότερα (as D. and V. translate), but is a partitive genitive after ὅσα.



25 τε καὶ ἐνδυναστεύοντας, ἥ τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἂν πεπονθέναι καὶ σφύδρα βούλεσθαι ἐπάρουρον ἐόντα θητευέμεν ἄλλω, ἀνδρὶ παρ' ἀκλήρῳ, καὶ ὅτιοῦν ἂν πεπονθέναι μᾶλλον ἢ 'κεῖνά τε δοξάζειν καὶ ἐκείνως ζῆν; Οὕτως, ἔφη, ἔγωγε οἶμαι, πᾶν μᾶλλον **E** πεπονθέναι ἂν δέξασθαι ἢ ζῆν ἐκείνως. Καὶ τότε δὴ ἐννόησον, ἦν  
30 δ' ἐγώ. εἰ πάλιν ὁ τοιοῦτος καταβὰς εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν θᾶκον καθίζοιτο, ἄρ' οὐ σκότους <ἂν> ἀνάπλεως σχοίῃ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξαίφνης ἔκων ἐκ τοῦ ἡλίου; Καὶ μάλα γ', ἔφη. Τὰς δὲ δὴ σκιάς ἐκείνας πάλιν εἰ δέοι αὐτὸν γνωματεύοντα διαμιλλᾶσθαι τοῖς αἰεὶ δεσμώταις ἐκείνοις, ἐν ᾧ ἀμβλυώττει, πρὶν | καταστῆναι τὰ ὄμματα, οὗτος δ' **517** ὁ χρόνος μὴ πάνυ ὀλίγος εἴη τῆς συνηθείας, ἄρ' οὐ γέλῳτ' ἂν παράσχοι, καὶ λέγοιτο ἂν περὶ αὐτοῦ, ὡς ἀναβὰς ἄνω διεφθαρμένος ἦκει τὰ ὄμματα, καὶ ὅτι οὐκ ἄξιον οὐδὲ πειραῖσθαι ἄνω ἰέναι; καὶ τὸν

30. ὁ τοιοῦτος II: ὅτι οὗτος A.

31. <ἂν> Baiter: om. codd.

**516 D** 25 τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου κτλ. I formerly proposed to omit πεπονθέναι, but a precise parallel is furnished by *Symph.* 198 C ἀτεχνῶς τὸ τοῦ Ὀμήρου ἐπεπόνθη. ἂν makes πεπονθέναι equivalent to the future perfect—a more vigorous form of expression than the future (or aorist with ἂν) would be. The quotation (which is from *Od.* XI 489, cf. supra III 386 C) “has a curious felicity, being the words of Achilles in expressing his detestation of the world of shades (lit. shadows) in comparison with the world of human life” (Bosanquet). It is better, I think, to connect ἄλλω with θητευέμεν (Ameis on *Od.* l.c.) than with παρά (as Schneider does).

27 καὶ ὅτιοῦν κτλ. ἂν (which Richards would alter to δῆ) is as suitable here as before, since ἂν πεπονθέναι depends in both cases directly on δοκεῖς. The confusion of ἂν and δῆ is not so frequent as some have thought: see on V 450 C.

28 δοξάζειν = ‘opine’ is technical: for the cave is an allegory of τὸ δοξαστὸν (514 A n.).

**516 E** 31 ἂν. See *cr. n.* and IV 437 B n. Stallbaum proposes ἂν πλέως, but Baiter's solution (which Cobet and Herwerden also recommend) is easier and better. ἀνάπλεως suggests contamination: see Ruhnken on *Tim. Lex.* s. v.

σχοίῃ as usual is inchoative or ingressive (‘get’): cf. 520 D and 527 B.

33 γνωματεύοντα: ‘discriminating,’ ‘distinguishing,’ ‘judging,’ as explained

by the Scholiast (διακρίνοντα, διαγιγνώσκοντα ἀκριβῶς), Suidas and Timaeus (if with Ruhnken we read γνωματεύοντα for γνωμονεύοντα). A similar explanation appears in the margin of A (γρ κρίνοντα γρ γιγνώσκοντ' ἀκριβῆ). The word is derived of course from γνῶμα (‘means of judging,’ ‘test’), for which see Jebb on *Soph. Tr.* 593. γνωματεύω occurs only here in good Greek, but became more frequent afterwards (for instances see Ruhnken in *Tim. Lex.* s. v.). Here, as J. and C. remark, it seems to be “used with some degree of contempt” (like τευτάζω in 521 E).

34 ἀμβλυώττει. For the mood see 515 E n. ἀμβλυώττοι occurs in *q* and *Flor.* U, and is read by Bekker and others. Herwerden adds ἔτι after ἀμβλυώττει, comparing 517 D, but the text is sound.

**517 A** 1 οὗτος δ' ὁ χρόνος κτλ. is still under the influence of εἰ. With ἄρ' οὐ γέλῳτ' ἂν κτλ. cf. *Phaedr.* 249 D ἐξιστάμενος δὲ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων σπουδασμάτων, καὶ πρὸς τῷ θεῷ γιγνόμενος, νουθετεῖται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ὡς παρακινῶν, ἐνθουσιάζων δὲ λήθε τοὺς πολλοὺς, *Theaet.* 172 C, 174 C—175 B, *Soph.* 216 D and infra 517 D.

4 οὐκ ἄξιον κτλ. The prisoners are almost relieved to find themselves able to suppress their higher promptings and sink back into indolence and self-complacency.

καὶ τὸν ἐπιχειροῦντα κτλ. is a mani-

ἐπιχειροῦντα λύειν τε καὶ ἀνάγειν, εἴ πως ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ δύναιντο 5  
λαβεῖν καὶ ἀποκτινύναι, ἀποκτείνειαν ἄν; Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη.

III. Ταύτην τοίνυν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, τὴν εἰκόνα, ὦ φίλε Γλαῦκων,  
B προσαπτέον ἅπασαν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν<sup>1</sup> λεγομένοις, τὴν μὲν δι'  
ὄψεως φαινομένην ἔδραν τῇ τοῦ δεσποτηρίου οἰκῇσει ἀφομοιοῦντα,  
τὸ δὲ τοῦ πυρὸς ἐν αὐτῇ φῶς τῇ τοῦ ἡλίου δυνάμει· τὴν δὲ ἄνω 10

6. καὶ ἀποκτινύναι, ἀποκτείνειαν ἄν nos: καὶ ἀποκτείνειν, ἀποκτινύναι ἄν AII et  
(nisi quod ἀποκτινύναι scribit) q: καὶ ἀποκτινύνειν, ἀποκτινύναι ἄν Ξ. 10. αὐτῇ  
A<sup>2</sup>Π: fortasse ἐαυτῇ A<sup>1</sup>.

fest and touching allusion to the death of Socrates, whose fate was the most conspicuous example in Greek history of the principle here laid down. See Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1, pp. 223—227 and cf. VI 496 C, D *iii*. Read in the light of another and even more momentous sacrifice, the sentence assumes a kind of prophetic import, like the famous passage about the λόγος θεῖος in the *Phaedo* (85 C, D). -See Geddes's *Phaedo of Plato* pp. 280—283. The text is difficult to determine. If we retain λαβεῖν καὶ ἀποκτείνειν, ἀποκτινύναι ἄν, we must either (a) regard ἄρ' οὐ—λέγουτ' ἄν as equivalent to ἄρ' οὐκ οἶσι γέλωτ' ἄν αὐτὸν παρασχεῖν καὶ λέγεσθαι ἄν, and take λέγεσθαι ἄν as equivalent to ἐκείνους ἄν εἰπεῖν, carrying on ἐκείνους as subject to ἀποκτινύναι ἄν (Schneider), or (b) supply οὐκ οἶσι, although these words do not occur after 516 C (J. and C.). The second solution is preferable to the first, but either is a *tour de force*. No satisfactory explanation of the infinitive ἀποκτινύναι ἄν appears to be possible, and the immediate juxtaposition of the two forms of the infinitive is also in itself suspicious. A few inferior MSS read ἀποκτείνειν for the ἀποκτείνειν and αὐ for the ἄν of A: but otherwise there is no important variant. The emendations proposed are (1) λαβεῖν, καὶ ἀποκτείνειαν (Ast), (2) λαβεῖν, καὶ ἀποκτείνουσιαν ἄν (Stallbaum), (3) λαβεῖν, καὶ ἀποκτινύνουσιαν (Cobet), (4) λαβεῖν, καὶ ἀποκτείνειαν ἄν (Baier). The correction in the text appears to me not only easier, but more in harmony with Plato's fullness of expression. I suppose that the error arose thus. A scribe accidentally omitted ἀποκτινύναι, and the infinitive was wrongly replaced after, instead of before, ἀποκτείνειαν. This would give λαβεῖν καὶ ἀποκτείνειαν, ἀποκτινύναι ἄν, from which the change is inevitable to the text of A.

517 A—518 B *The simile of the Cave should be connected with the Line. The Cave is the visible world, the fire is the Sun, and the prisoners' journey towards the light resembles the ascent of the soul into the intelligible sphere, in which the Idea of Good reigns supreme. We need not wonder that the philosopher is unwilling to leave the light of thought for the darkness of practical affairs, or that he is dazed and confused when he does.*

7 ταύτην κτλ. If we interpret the lower section of the line as ὁρατὸν and nothing more, the following comparisons are involved:—(1) Fire=Sun: (2) Shadows of ἀνδριάντες and other σκευαστά cast by Fire=Shadows etc. of φυτεῖντά and σκευαστά cast by the Sun: (3) ἀνδριάντες and other σκευαστά in the Cave=φυτεῖντά and σκευαστά in the ὁρατὸν: (4) the ascent from the Cave into the ὁρατὸν=the ascent from the ὁρατὸν into the νοητὸν. The second comparison is of little or no importance, for the ἀπαίδευτος, of whose condition the Cave is an allegory, does not contemplate exclusively or even principally natural shadows of φυτεῖντά and σκευαστά (cf. VI 511 E *n*). Nor do the other comparisons exhaust the significance of the Cave as an allegory of ἀπαίδευσις. In order fully to apprehend its meaning, we must regard the lower section of the line as δοξαστὸν in the sense of V 475 E ff. Plato himself does so: see VI 510 A *n*. The shadows and originals within the cave will then symbolise δόξαι which are respectively twice and once removed from the truth which they seek to portray (see on 517 D), and the ascent from the Cave into the ὁρατὸν will represent the soul's ascent from the δοξαστὸν into the νοητὸν—from the πολλά (in the widest sense) to the ἐν. Cf. 514 B and 532 B, C *iii*.

- ἀνάβασιν καὶ θεάν τῶν ἄνω τὴν εἰς τὸν νοητὸν τόπον τῆς ψυχῆς  
 ἀνοδὸν τιθεὶς οὐχ ἁμαρτήσῃ τῆς γ' ἐμῆς ἐλπίδος, ἐπειδὴ ταύτης  
 ἐπιθυμεῖς ἀκούειν· θεὸς δέ που οἶδεν, εἰ ἀληθῆς οὔσα τυγχάνει.  
 τὰ δ' οὖν ἐμοὶ φαινόμενα οὕτω φαίνεται, ἐν τῷ γνωστῷ τελευταία.  
 15 ἡ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέα καὶ μόγις ὁράσθαι, ὁφθείσα δὲ<sup>1</sup> συλλογιστέα C  
 εἶναι ὡς ἄρα πᾶσι πάντων αὕτη ὀρθῶν τε καὶ καλῶν αἰτία, ἐν  
 τε ὀρατῷ φῶς καὶ τὸν τοῦτου κύριον τεκοῦσα ἐν τε νοητῷ αὕτη  
 κυρία ἀλήθειαν καὶ νοῦν παρασχομένη, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ ταύτην ἰδεῖν  
 τὸν μέλλοντα ἐμφρόνως πράξειν ἢ ἰδίᾳ ἢ δημοσίᾳ. Ξυνοίομαι,  
 20 ἔφη, καὶ ἐγώ, ὃν γε δὴ τρόπον δύναμαι. Ἴθι τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ  
 τόδε ξυνοιήθητι καὶ μὴ θαυμάσης, ὅτι οἱ ἐνταῦθα ἐλθόντες οὐκ  
 ἐθέλουσιν τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράττειν, ἀλλ' ἄνω αἰεὶ ἐπείγονται  
<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν αἱ ψυχαὶ διατρίβειν· εἰκὸς γάρ που οὕτως, εἴπερ αὖ κατὰ D  
 τὴν προειρημένην εἰκόνα τοῦτ' ἔχει. Εἰκὸς μέντοι, ἔφη. Τί δέ;  
 25 τόδε οἶε τι θαυμαστόν, εἰ ἀπὸ θείων, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, θεωρίων ἐπὶ τὰ  
 ἀνθρώπειά τις ἐλθὼν κακὰ ἀσχημοσεῖ τε καὶ φαίνεται σφόδρα  
 γελοῖος ἔτι ἀμβλυώττων καὶ πρὶν ἰκανῶς συνήθης γενέσθαι τῷ  
 παρόντι σκότῳ ἀναγκαζόμενος ἐν δικαστηρίοις ἢ ἄλλοθι που ἀγω-  
 νίζεσθαι περὶ τῶν τοῦ δικαίου σκιῶν ἢ ἀγαλμάτων ὧν αἱ σκιαί,  
 30 καὶ διαμιλλᾶσθαι περὶ τούτου, ὅπη ποτὲ<sup>1</sup> ὑπολαμβάνεται ταῦτα E

17. αὐτῇ q: αὕτη AΞ: αὕτῃ (sic) II.

517 B 12 ἐλπίδος: 'surmise': cf. II 383 B n. The diffidence of tone recalls VI 506 E: cf. infr. 523 A.

14 φαίνεται. For the construction cf. I 334 B n.

τελευταία as well as μόγις should be taken predicatively with ὁράσθαι. The sentiment is as in VI 505 A (ὅτι—ἴσμεν), where see note.

517 C 17 τεκοῦσα κτλ. τεκοῦσα reminds us that the Sun is the ἐκγονος of the Good (VI 506 E). On ἀλήθειαν καὶ νοῦν see VI 508 D n. ὅτι δεῖ depends on φαίνεται, not (as D. and V. translate) on συλλογιστέα. Cf. VI 505 A, 506 A nn. Plato's guardians are not to rest satisfied with the ἐκῶν or ἐκγονος of the Good; they must see the Good itself, and infer (not by intuition, but) by means of *reasoning* (συλλογιστέα) that it is the cause of all. See the notes on VI 511 B (αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος and τοῦ ἀνυποθέτου).

517 D 26 ἀσχημονεῖ κτλ. Cf. *Theaet.* 174 B, C ὅταν ἐν δικαστηρίῳ ἢ

που ἄλλοθι ἀναγκασθῇ περὶ τῶν παρὰ πόδας—διαλέγεσθαι, γέλωτα παρέχει—ἢ ἀσχημοσύνη δεινῇ—γελοῖος φαίνεται. The whole of the description of the φιλόσοφος in the *Theaetetus* should be carefully compared with this passage.

27 ἔτι ἀμβλυώττων is logically subordinate to ἀναγκαζόμενος.

29 τῶν τοῦ δικαίου κτλ. treats the Cave as an allegory of δοξαστά (see on VI 510 A, VII 517 A). The expression 'shadows of the just' is vague (cf. σκιαμαχοῦντων in 520 C), and ἡ ἀγαλμάτων ὧν αἱ σκιαί introduces more precision. We may regard ἀγαλμάτων as symbolising the enacted laws of a city, and their shadows as the "representation or misrepresentation of the existing laws (themselves only 'images' of justice) by a rhetorician or pleader" (Nettleship *Hell.* p. 141 n. 1). Compare (with Shorey *Idea of Good* etc. p. 287) *Soph.* 234 C and *Pol.* 303 C.

30 ὅπη ποτὲ—ἰδόντων. For the real



ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτὴν δικαιοσύνην μὴ πώποτε ἰδόντων; Οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν  
 518 θαυμαστόν, ἔφη. Ἄλλ' εἰ νοῦν γε ἔχοι τις, | ἦν δ' ἐγώ, μεμνητ'  
 ἄν, ὅτι διτταὶ καὶ ἀπὸ διττῶν γίνονται ἐπιταράξεις ὄμμασιν, ἕκ τε  
 φωτὸς εἰς σκότος μελισταμένων καὶ ἐκ σκότους εἰς φῶς. ταῦτά δὲ  
 ταῦτα νομίσας γίνεσθαι καὶ περὶ ψυχὴν, ὅποτε ἴδοι θορυβουμένην  
 τινὰ καὶ ἀδυνατούσαν τι καθορᾶν, οὐκ ἂν ἀλογίστως γελῶ, ἀλλ' 5  
 ἐπισκοποῖ ἂν, πότερον ἐκ φανότερου βίου ἤκουσα ὑπὸ ἀηθείας  
 Β ἐσκότῳται, ἢ ἐξ ἀμαθίας πλείονος εἰς φανότερον ἰούσα ὑπὸ  
 λαμπροτέρου μαρμαρυγῆς ἐμπέπλησται, καὶ οὕτω δὴ τὴν μὲν  
 εὐδαιμονίσειεν ἂν τοῦ πάθους τε καὶ βίου, τὴν δὲ ἐλεήσειεν, καὶ  
 εἰ γελᾶν ἐπ' αὐτῇ βούλοιοτο, ἦττον ἂν καταγέλαστος ὁ γέλως αὐτῷ 10  
 εἶη ἢ ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ ἄνωθεν ἐκ φωτὸς ἡκούσῃ. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη, μετρίως  
 λέγεις.

IV. Δεῖ δὴ, εἶπον, ἡμᾶς τοιόνδε νομίσαι περὶ αὐτῶν, εἰ ταῦτ'  
 ἀληθῆ· τὴν παιδείαν οὐχ οἶαν τινὲς ἐπαγγελλόμενοί φασιν εἶναι.

9. εὐδαιμονίσειεν *q*: εὐδαιμονήσειεν ΑΠΞ.

point at issue is not the law, but the judges' interpretation thereof. Plato is doubtless thinking of Socrates and his judges throughout the whole of this passage.

518 A 7 φανότερον ('greater brightness,' 'more light') and λαμπροτέρου are neuter. The omission of articles elevates the style. Richards would delete ὑπὸ λαμπροτέρου, but the words balance ὑπὸ ἀηθείας exactly as ἐσκότῳται balances μαρμαρυγῆς ἐμπέπλησται ('has been dazzled'). Any stronger antithesis than ὑπὸ ἀηθείας would give a false meaning, for the blindness is not caused by σκότος, but only by ἀηθεία: ξυνεπιζόμενοι γὰρ μυρίῳ βέλτιον ὤψεσθε τῶν ἐκεῖ κτλ. (520 C).

518 B 10 εἰ γελᾶν κτλ. Cf. *Theaet.* 175 B, D. There is more of pity than of malice in Plato's philosophic smile.

518 B—521 B *It follows that Education is not a way of putting knowledge into empty souls, but a revolution of the Reason or organ of Knowledge, whose gaze must be directed upon Being and the brightest part thereof, which is the Good. The entire soul turns round along with Reason in this revolution. Other virtues are secondary and adventitious, but Reason never loses its power, and works well or woe, according as it is or is not converted by means of Education. The best natures*

*in our city, after they have ascended to the Good, must rejoin the prisoners whom they have left. To force them thus to redescend, may seem unjust; but Law seeks to make the whole city prosperous rather than a single class. And indeed it is also just that they should thus repay their country for having reared and educated them. They will themselves admit the force of our demands, and take their turn in the work of government, not eagerly, but as a necessity. We have seen that a well governed city is impossible unless a life better than that of ruling is open to its rulers, and the life of true philosophy is better.*

518 B ff. Nothing that Plato has bequeathed to us is more valuable than his theory of education as developed in this part of the *Republic*, and there is probably nothing in the whole range of educational literature, ancient or modern, which takes so far-reaching and profound a view of the aim and scope of education, or is so well fitted to inspire the teacher with indomitable courage and inextinguishable hope. See on 518 C and App. II.

13 αὐτῶν: 'the subject before us': cf. VI 511 C, and αὐτό in I 339 E n.

14 ἐπαγγελλόμενοι κτλ. ἐπαγγέλ-  
 λεσθαι of sophistic 'professions' is almost technical: cf. e.g. *Prot.* 319 A, *Gorg.* 447 C and *Isocr. Soph.* I. τινὲς from its

- 15 τοιαύτην καὶ εἶναι. φασὶ δὲ πού οὐκ ἐνούσης<sup>1</sup> ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐπι- C  
στήμης σφεῖς ἐντιθέσθαι, οἷον τυφλοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄψιν ἐντιθέντες.  
Φασὶ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη. Ὁ δέ γε νῦν λόγος, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, σημαίνει ταύτην  
τὴν ἐνούσαν ἐκάστου δύναμιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τὸ ὄργανον, ᾧ κατα-  
μανθάνει ἕκαστος, οἷον εἰ ὄμμα μὴ δυνατὸν ἦν ἄλλως ἢ ξὺν ὄλῳ  
20 τῷ σώματι στρέφειν πρὸς τὸ φανὸν ἐκ τοῦ σκοτώδους, οὕτω ξὺν  
ὄλῳ τῇ ψυχῇ ἐκ τοῦ γιγνομένου περιεκτέον εἶναι, ἕως ἂν εἰς τὸ οὖν

position is emphatic, and makes us half-suspect some allusion to a particular Sophist: cf. Aristotle's use of *τινὲς* (Bonitz *Ind. Arist.* p. 598). Similar sophistic ἐπαγγέλματα are ridiculed, though on different grounds, by Isocrates *Soph.* 2 ff.: see also *Prot.* 318 E ff. and *Euthyd.* 273 D ff. (ἀρετὴν, ἔφη sc. ὁ Εὐθύδημος, — οἴομεθα οἶω τ' εἶναι παραδοῦναι κάλλιστ' ἀνθρώπων καὶ τάχιστα), and cf. Newman *Politics of Aristotle* I p. 387. It should be mentioned that the double εἶναι has been suspected by Richards, who would omit the first; but Plato himself is not averse to such repetitions: cf. μετέχειν — μετέχειν in VI 511 E and X 621 B n.

518 c 16 ἐντιθέσθαι. Cf. Theognis 429—438 (εἰ δ' ἦν ποιητὸν τε καὶ ἐνθετον ἀνδρὶ νοήμα 435). The grossly material and mechanical view of education which Plato here attacks has some affinity with what is sometimes called 'cram.' ἐντιθέσθαι was used of a nurse feeding children (I 345 B n.); but such an allusion, though not in itself inappropriate, is scarcely intended here. Cf. also *Symp.* 175 D, E.

17 ὁ δέ γε νῦν λόγος κτλ. Sophists profess to put ἐπιστήμη into the soul; but Plato's argument indicates that the power or faculty of ἐπιστήμη (ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν), and its organ νοῦς are *already* present in the soul of each individual, just as ὄψις and ὄμμα are *already* possessed by the prisoners in the cave. νοῦς is in fact the θεῖον τι ἐν ἡμῖν, according to Plato, through whose indwelling man is most truly man by being like to God (VI 501 B, IX 589 D nn.). The doctrine that μάθesis is ἀνάμνησις implies what is fundamentally the same view: see *Meno* 81 A ff. and *Phaed.* 72 E—76 D, especially 73 A ἐρωτῶμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι, ἐάν τις καλῶς ἐρωτᾷ, αὐτοὶ λέγουσιν πάντα ἣ ἔχει· καίτοι εἰ μὴ ἐτύγχανεν αὐτοῖς ἐπιστήμη ἐνούσα καὶ ὁρθὸς λόγος, οὐκ ἂν οἶοι τ' ἦσαν τοῦτο ποιῆσεν. We may even go further and say that Plato's conception of the divine element in man is the ultimate basis of

all his proofs of Immortality. In its deeper bearings, therefore, the view of education here presented is incomparably grander and more profound than the usual connotation of the word either in ancient or in modern times. We educate our pupils not only for time, but for eternity, and therefore πείρας οὐδὲν ἀνέχομεν, ἕως ἂν ἡ πείσωμεν καὶ τοῦτον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους, ἢ προὔργον τι ποιήσωμεν εἰς ἐκείνον τὸν βίον, ὅταν αὐθις γενόμενοι τοῖς τοιοῦτοις ἐντύχωμεν λόγοις (VI 498 D). See also X 618 C ff. and *Phaed.* 107 D f. οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἔχοντα εἰς Αἴδου ἢ ψυχὴ ἔρχεται πλὴν τῆς παιδείας τε καὶ τροφῆς κτλ. Michael Angelo used to say that every block of marble contained a statue, and that the sculptor brings it to light by cutting away the encumbrances by which the 'human face divine' is concealed. In like manner, according to Plato, it is the business of the teacher to prune the soul of his pupil of those unnatural excrescences and incrustations which hide its true nature (519 A, B n.), until the human *soul* divine (VI 501 B n.) stands out in all its pristine grace and purity. It should carefully be noted that in Plato's theory of education the entire soul is involved (ξὺν ὄλῳ τῇ ψυχῇ). The Platonic περιγωγὴ, although, or rather, perhaps, because, it applies primarily and immediately to the intellect, effects a moral no less than an intellectual revolution. The moral discipline of Books II—IV, so far from being overthrown, is strengthened and consolidated by being intellectualised. Cf. also 519 A B n.

18 ἐκάστου. ἐκάστῳ was read by Iamblichus (*Protrept.* 16) for ἐκάστου: but cf. 527 D n.

19 ξὺν. See on IV 424 D. Here, as in *Gorg.* 513 A and *Laws* 678 C, it implies an intimate, almost organic, connexion ('in conjunction with'). Lina (*de praeceptis* *usu Plat.* p. 33) is mistaken in holding that ξὺν introduces a mere "Anhängsel" in this passage.

καὶ τοῦ ὄντος τὸ φανότατον δυνατὴ γένηται ἀνασχεῖσθαι θεωμένη.  
**D** τοῦτο δ' εἶναι φαμεν ἡ τὰγαθόν· ἡ γάρ; Ναί. Τούτου τοίνυν,  
 ἣν δ' ἐγώ, αὐτοῦ τέχνη ἂν εἴη τῆς περιαγωγῆς, τίνα τρόπον ὡς  
 ῥᾶστα τε καὶ ἀνυσιμώτατα μεταστραφήσεται, οὐ τοῦ ἐμποιεῖσθαι <sup>25</sup>  
 αὐτῷ τὸ ὄραν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἔχοντι μὲν αὐτό, οὐκ ὀρθῶς δὲ τετραμμένῳ  
 οὐδὲ βλέποντι οἱ ἔδει, τοῦτο διαμηχανήσασθαι. Ἔοικεν γάρ, ἔφη.  
 Αἱ μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλαι ἀρεταὶ καλούμεναι ψυχῆς κινδυνεύουσιν  
 ἐγγύς τι εἶναι τῶν τοῦ σώματος· τῷ ὄντι γὰρ οὐκ ἐνοῦσαι πρότερον  
**E** ὕστερον ἡ ἐμποιεῖσθαι ἔθεσι καὶ ἀσκήσεσιν· ἡ δὲ τοῦ φρονῆσαι <sup>30</sup>

27. διαμηχανήσασθαι Π et nisi fallor A<sup>1</sup>: δεῖ μηχανήσασθαι A<sup>2</sup>.

**518 D 23** τούτου τοίνυν κτλ. "Construe: (ἡ παιδεία) εἴη ἂν τέχνη τῆς περιαγωγῆς (i.e. τοῦ περιάγειν, quod praecedat) τούτου αὐτοῦ (τοῦ ὄργανου τῆς ψυχῆς, ᾧ καταμανθάνει ἕκαστος)—οὐ (τέχνη) τοῦ ἐμποιεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ ὄραν—ἀλλὰ (τοῦ) μηχανήσασθαι τοῦτο (ὥστε βλέπειν οἱ ἔδει)" Ast. This interpretation is, I believe, correct. Plato began by asserting that Education is not what certain Sophists declare it to be—the putting of sight, as it were, into blind eyes. For there is already in every man's soul an eye or ὄργανον, which sees or learns already; what is required is to turn this ὄργανον round. Hence he concludes (τοίνυν) Education is not (as the Sophists say) an art of putting sight into the soul's eye (τοῦ ἐμποιεῖσθαι αὐτῷ τὸ ὄραν refers to τυφλοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ὄψιν ἐντιθέντες), but an art of turning round just this very eye or ὄργανον which is present in every soul from the first. The prevailing view since Schneider regards τούτου αὐτοῦ as anticipating and explained by, not as depending on, τῆς περιαγωγῆς. This yields a tolerable sense, but makes it difficult to supply the subject of μεταστραφήσεται, and αὐτῷ is also awkward. On Ast's view τίνα—μεταστραφήσεται explains τούτου αὐτοῦ τῆς περιαγωγῆς, and the subject of μεταστραφήσεται as well as the antecedent of αὐτῷ is at once seen to be τὸ ὄργανον ᾧ καταμανθάνει ἕκαστος, for it is identical with the antecedent of τούτου αὐτοῦ.

**25** τοῦ ἐμποιεῖσθαι κτλ. The genitive has been wrongly taken as one of the rare examples in good Greek of an independent final infinitive (Weiske quoted in *A. J. Ph.* iv p. 418), a construction for which see Jannaris *Historical Greek Grammar* pp. 483, 578. It depends on

τέχνη: see last note. For διαμηχανήσασθαι Ast (with some inferior MSS) reads δὴ μηχανήσασθαι: but cf. (with Schneider) *Laus* 746 C τοῦτ' αὐτὸ διαμηχανᾶσθαι ὅπως ἂν γίνηται.

**28** αἱ μὲν τοίνυν κτλ. ἄλλαι is anticipative) (ἡ δὲ τοῦ φρονῆσαι below. καλούμεναι (as Bosanquet points out) should be taken with ψυχῆς (lit. 'which are called soul's' i.e. 'which are commonly said to belong to the soul'). Plato does not mean to deny that they are virtues, but they do not belong to soul essentially and from the first. Krohn (*Pl. St.* pp. 185 ff.), who, with the editors generally, takes καλούμεναι as 'sogenannten,' affirms that Plato here discards the virtues of Book IV; but he is merely contrasting these and other virtues or excellencies with νόησις.

**29** ἐγγύς τι εἶναι. Campbell conjectures ἐγγύς τι τείνειν. I once thought of ἐγγύς τι τείναι, taking the aorist as an explicit reference to the ethical virtues already discussed; but the text is doubtless sound: cf. v 472 C and VIII 544 D (μεταξύ τι τούτων πού εἰσιν).

**518 E 30** ἔθεσι καὶ ἀσκήσεσιν. Aristotle *Nic. Eth.* II 1 is in effect a commentary on this text: note in particular ἡ δ' ἠθικὴ (ἀρετὴ) ἐξ ἔθους περιγίγνεται (1103<sup>a</sup> 17)—οὐδεμία τῶν ἠθικῶν ἀρετῶν φύσει ἡμῖν ἐγγίγνεται (ibid. 19)—τὰς δ' ἀρετὰς λαμβάνομεν ἐνεργήσαντες πρότερον (1103<sup>a</sup> 31).

**ἡ δὲ τοῦ φρονῆσαι κτλ.** The ἀρετὴ of φρονῆσαι (=νόησις or the exercise of νοῦς) is not merely καλούμενη ψυχῆς, but does in reality belong to (for τυγχάνει οὔσα cf. I 337 B n.)—is an essential attribute of—something more divine (than that to which the other virtues belong),



παντὸς μᾶλλον θειοτέρου τινὸς τυγχάνει, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐσα, ὃ τὴν  
 μὲν δύναμιν οὐδέποτε ἀπόλλυσιν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς περιαγωγῆς χρήσιμόν  
 τε καὶ ὠφέλιμον καὶ ἄχρηστον αὖ | καὶ βλαβερόν γίγνεται. ἥ 519  
 οὐπω ἐννεόηκας τῶν λεγομένων πονηρῶν μὲν, σοφῶν δέ, ὡς δριμύ  
 μὲν βλέπει τὸ ψυχάριον καὶ ὀξέως διορᾷ ταῦτα ἐφ' ἃ τέτραπται,  
 ὡς οὐ φαύλην ἔχον τὴν ὄψιν, κακία δ' ἠναγκασμένον ὑπηρετεῖν,  
 5 ὥστε ὅσῳ ἂν ὀξύτερον βλέπῃ, τοσούτῳ πλείω κακὰ ἐργαζόμενον;  
 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Τοῦτο μέντοι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὸ τῆς τοιαύτης  
 φύσεως εἰ ἐκ παιδὸς ἐνθὺς κοπτόμενον περιεκόπη τὰς τῆς γενέσεως

viz. νοῦς. The meaning of φρόνησις has changed since IV 433 B (see on IV 428 B) in conformity with the intellectualism of Books VI and VII.

31 παντὸς μᾶλλον has been suspected, and Madvig proposes ὑφάσματος or πλάσματος μᾶλλον, Richards ὄργανον μᾶλλον: but the text is indubitably sound. The phrase, like πάντων μάλιστα, means 'most assuredly,' and has nothing to do with the comparative θειοτέρου, but emphasises the whole assertion exactly as in *Crit.* 49 B and *Prot.* 344 B.

τὴν μὲν δύναμιν κτλ. Plato means that νοῦς can never lose its power or function, which is νόησις. οὐδέποτε should not be limited to this life. The Peripatetic doctrine of "das unsterbliche Attribut der denkenden Function" is here foreshadowed, as Krohn observes (*Pl. St.* p. 160). See also on 518 C.

32 ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς περιαγωγῆς is equivalent to ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς περιαγωγῆς τε καὶ μὴ ('according as it is or is not turned round'). See on VI 498 A.

519 A 2 δριμύ μὲν κτλ. δριμύ is 'shrewdly,' 'astutely,' like a quick-sighted lawyer: cf. (with J. and C.) *Theaet.* 175 D τὸν συμκρὸν ἐκείνου τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ δριμύν καὶ δικανικόν. For ταῦτα Cobet needlessly proposes τά: cf. 519 B n. Instead of ὥστε (which three MSS omit) Ast conjectured καί, and E. S. Thompson (*Camb. Phil. Soc. Proceed.* XXI p. 13) ὥς τε: but the clause ὅσῳ—ἐργαζόμενον is a logical inference from οὐ φαύλην—ὑπηρετεῖν and should not therefore be introduced by καί, still less by ὥς τε. I formerly printed ἐργάζεται (Ξ and the three MSS already referred to reading ἐργάζεται), but the finite verb is not likely to have been corrupted into a participle, and exactly the same ungrammatical assimilation appears with ὥστε in *Andoc.* 4. 20, *Isaeus* 9. 16

and *Isocr. Paneg.* 64, 65 (quoted by Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 1015 n. 3). The instances cited by Schneider (*Addit.* p. 52) viz. *Tim.* 56 B, [*Eryx.*] 404 A and *Thuc.* I 25 are not strictly parallel to this.

519 A, B 7 τὰς τῆς γενέσεως κτλ.: 'as it were the leaden weights, which are of the family of Becoming, and which, through indulgences in eating and through pleasures and gluttonous desires connected with such like indulgences, adhere to it' (i.e. to such a nature, τὸ τῆς τοιαύτης φύσεως) 'and turn the soul's vision round below.' The eye of the soul ought to be turned round ἐκ τοῦ γιγνομένου (518 C): and it is our duty to shake the soul clear of τὰς τῆς γενέσεως ξυγγενεῖς μολυβδίδας. For γενέσεως see on VI 485 B, and cf. μεταστροφῆς ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἐπ' ἀληθειάν τε καὶ οὐσίαν *infra* 525 C and 525 B, 526 E, 534 A al. With ξυγγενεῖς cf. VIII 554 D where τὰς τοῦ κηφήνος ξυγγενεῖς ἐπιθυμίας = τὰς κηφηνώδεις ἐπιθυμίας. The μολυβδίδες are the accumulated products of sensual indulgence and desire: see X 611 C ff., especially ἃ νῦν αὐτῇ, ἅτε γῆν ἐστιν μένη, γεηρά καὶ πετρῶδη πολλὰ καὶ ἄγρια περιπέφυκεν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων λεγομένων ἐστιάσεων 611 E—612 A, and *Phaed.* 81 c together with *Eph.* VII 326 B. Cf. also Clement *Strom.* IV 4 p. 1228 C Migne ὥσπερ μολυβδίδας τὰς ἐπιθυμίας. These μολυβδίδες are akin to the world of γένεσις because they are σωματοειδῆ, γεώδη, γεηρά (Plato II. cc.), of the earth earthy. They become incorporate with the soul (προσφευεῖς γιγνώμεναι, cf. προσπεφυκέναι X 611 D), making it, as Plato does not hesitate to say, σωματοειδῆ, δοξάζουσιν ταῦτα ἀληθῆ εἶναι, ἅπερ ἂν καὶ τὸ σῶμα φῇ (*Phaed.* 83 D, cf. ib. 82 E, 83 C). Milton is platonizing when he tells how the soul "grows clotted by con-

- B** ξυγγενεῖς ὥσπερ μολυβδίδας, <sup>1</sup> αἱ δὴ ἐδωδαῖς τε καὶ τοιούτων ἡδοναῖς τε καὶ λιχνείαις προσφνεῖς γιγνόμεναι περικάτω στρέφουσι τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ὄψιν· ὧν εἰ ἀπαλλαγὴν περιστρέφετο εἰς 10 τὰ ἀληθῆ, καὶ ἐκεῖνα ἂν τὸ αὐτὸ τοῦτο τῶν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων ὀξύτατα ἑώρα, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐφ' ἃ νῦν τέτραπται. Εἰκὸς γε, ἔφη. Τί δέ; τόδε οὐκ εἰκὸς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ ἀνάγκη ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων, μήτε τοὺς ἀπαιδεύτους καὶ ἀληθείας ἀπείρους ἱκανῶς ἂν ποτε
- C** πόλιν ἐπιτροπεῦσαι, <sup>1</sup> μήτε τοὺς ἐν παιδείᾳ ἑωμένους διατρίβειν 15 διὰ τέλους, τοὺς μὲν ὅτι σκοπὸν ἐν τῷ βίῳ οὐκ ἔχουσιν ἓνα, οὐ στοχαζομένους δεῖ ὑπαντα πράττειν, ἃ ἂν πράττωσιν ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ, τοὺς δὲ ὅτι ἐκόντες εἶναι οὐ πράξουσιν, ἡγούμενοι ἐν μακάρων νήσοις ζῶντες ἔτι ἀπωκίσθαι; Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη. Ἡμέτερον δὴ ἔργον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τῶν οἰκιστῶν, τάς τε βελτίστας φύσεις 20 ἀναγκάσαι ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς τὸ μάθημα, ὃ ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν ἔφαμεν εἶναι μέγιστον, ἰδεῖν τε τὸ ἀγαθὸν <sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀναβῆναι ἐκείνην τὴν ἀνάβασιν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀναβάντες ἱκανῶς ἴδωσι, μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτοῖς ὃ νῦν ἐπιτρέπεται. Τὸ ποῖον δὴ; Τὸ αὐτοῦ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καταμένειν καὶ μὴ ἐθέλειν πάλιν καταβαίνειν παρ' ἐκείνους τοὺς 25 δεσμώτας μηδὲ μετέχειν τῶν παρ' ἐκείνοις πόνων τε καὶ τιμῶν, εἴτε

tagion, Imbodies and imbrutes, till she quite lose The divine property of her first being" (*Comus* 464 ff.). Through the weight of these encumbrances the eye of the soul is turned down (cf. IX 586 A κάτω ἀεὶ βλέποντες καὶ κεκυφότες εἰς γῆν καὶ εἰς τραπέζας κτλ.), nor can the soul look upwards until they are knocked away (περιεκόπη: cf. περικρουσθεῖσα in X 611 E). We may again compare the lines of Milton "Mammon, the least erected spirit that fell From Heaven; for e'en in Heaven his looks and thoughts Were always downward bent" (*Par. Lost* I 679 ff.). For περικάτω cf. Photius περικάτω τραπήσεται· ἀντὶ τοῦ περιτραπήσεται κάτω. The περι- balances περι- in περιστρέφετο just below. Instead of ἐδωδαῖς, Jackson suggests ἐδωδῆς, comparing III 389 E τῶν περὶ πότους καὶ ἀφροδίσια καὶ περὶ ἐδωδᾶς ἡδονῶν. The proposal is attractive and may be right; but I think there is hardly sufficient reason for departing from the MSS. See also on περικάτω and the whole of this difficult and highly important sentence, App. V.

519 B 10 ὧν εἰ ἀπαλλαγὴν κτλ. For

the anacoluthon cf. *Laws* 810 D, E (Engelhardt *Anac. Pl. Spec.* III p. 37). Cobet gratuitously adds τὰ before ἐφ' ἃ. Cf. 519 A n. With the sentiment cf. VI 491 C, D nn., 494 C ff. nn. Plato may well be thinking of Alcibiades again. The present passage is a conspicuous proof of the almost boundless influence which Plato ascribed to education, when applied to gifted natures.

519 C 16 σκοπὸν—ἓνα κτλ. The εἰς σκοπὸς of Plato's guardians is the Idea of Good, which is therefore clearly not only a metaphysical but also an ethical concept—the goal of conduct as well as the ultimate cause of knowledge and existence. Cf. 540 A and App. III.

18 ἐκόντες εἶναι. I 336 E n.

20 τῶν οἰκιστῶν= 'the founders' is in explanatory apposition with ἡμέτερον.

21 ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν. VI 505 A.

22 ἰδεῖν τε κτλ. depends on ἀναγκάσαι and explains ἀφικέσθαι—μέγιστον (J. and C.). τε balances καὶ before ἀναβῆναι. This explanation is better than to regard τε as 'and' (with Schneider and D. and V.).

φαυλότεραι εἴτε σπουδαιότεραι. Ἐπειτ', ἔφη, ἀδικήσομεν αὐτούς, καὶ ποιήσομεν χεῖρον ζῆν, δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς ὃν ἄμεινον;

V. Ἐπελάθου, ἡν δ' ἐγώ, πάλιν, ὦ φίλε, ὅτι νόμῳ οὐ τοῦτο E  
30 μέλει, ὅπως ἔν τι γένος ἐν πόλει διαφερόντως εὖ πράξει, ἀλλ' ἐν  
ὅλῃ τῇ πόλει τοῦτο μηχανᾶται ἐγγενέσθαι, ξυναρμόττων τοὺς  
πολίτας πειθοῖ τε καὶ ἀνάγκῃ, ποιῶν μεταδιδόναι ἀλλήλοις τῆς  
ὠφελείας, ἣν ἂν ἕκαστοι τὸ κοινὸν | δυνατοὶ ὦσιν ὠφελεῖν, καὶ 520  
αὐτὸς ἐμποιῶν τοιούτους ἄνδρας ἐν τῇ πόλει, οὐχ ἵνα ἀφῇ τρέ-  
πεσθαι ὅπῃ ἕκαστος βούλεται, ἀλλ' ἵνα καταχρῆται αὐτὸς αὐτοῖς  
ἐπὶ τὸν ξύνδεσμον τῆς πόλεως. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη· ἐπελαθόμην γάρ.  
5 Σκέψαι τοίνυν, εἶπον, ὦ Γλαῦκων, ὅτι οὐδ' ἀδικήσομεν τοὺς παρ'  
ἡμῖν φιλοσόφους γιγνομένους, ἀλλὰ δίκαια πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐροῦμεν  
προσαναγκάζοντες τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τε καὶ φυλάττειν.  
ἐροῦμεν γάρ, ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἑν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι τοιοῦτοι γιγνόμενοι B  
εἰκότως οὐ μετέχουσι τῶν ἐν αὐταῖς πόνων· αὐτόματοι γὰρ ἐμ-  
10 φύονται ἀκούσης τῆς ἐν ἐκάστη πολιτείας, δίκην δ' ἔχει τό γε  
αὐτοφύες, μηδεὶν τροφήν ὀφείλον, μηδ' ἐκτίνειν τῷ προθυμείσθαι  
τὰ τροφεῖα· ὑμᾶς δ' ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν τε αὐτοῖς τῇ τε ἄλλῃ πόλει ὥσπερ  
ἐν σμῖνῃσιν ἡγεμόνας τε καὶ βασιλέας ἐγεννήσαμεν, ἄμεινόν τε καὶ

11. τῷ II: τῷ A.

27 *ἔπειτα* and *εἶτα* are used like our 'what!' in indignant or quasi-indignant questions. Cf. *Gorg.* 466 c, *Ap.* 28 B and elsewhere, with Blaydes on *Ar. Av.* 911.

519 D, E 29 *ἐπελάθου* κτλ. *πάλιν* does not mean that Glauco has forgotten twice, but only that he remembered before. The emphasis falls on *ἐπελάθου* rather than on *πάλιν*. Plato is thinking of V 466 A, where Glauco says *μέμνημαι* when challenged on this point. To this explanation, which he gives as an alternative, Schneider inclines to prefer the view which sees in *πάλιν* a reference directly to IV 419 Aff. But the interlocutor there is Adimantus, not Glauco, and even Adimantus in IV could not strictly be said to forget what Socrates for the first time expressly asserts (IV 420 B οὐ μὴν πρὸς τοῦτο—ἡ πόλις) in reply to Adimantus' difficulties.

*νόμῳ* is the reading of all the best MSS, and was restored by Schneider for *νομοθέτῃ*. Law is personified throughout the whole sentence: cf. (with Schneider) *Tim.* 24 B. *νομοθέτῃ* gives a good sense,

but is weaker than *νόμῳ*: Law, we feel, is free from selfishness and partiality, but a legislator need not be.

520 A 4 *ἐπὶ τὸν ξύνδεσμον* is not 'so as to be the bond of the State' (as J. and C. suggest), but 'for binding the city together,' with reference to *ξυναρμόττων τοὺς πολίτας*. Cf. *Laws* 921 C.

5 *τοίνυν* = 'further' (I 339 D n.). Socrates has not yet replied to Glauco's indignant *ἀδικήσομεν αὐτούς*; but proceeds to do so now.

*οὐδ' ἀδικήσομεν*: (besides what I have just said) we shall not be wronging them either. *οὐδέ* is used in the same way in *Euthyphr.* 12 A and *Laws* 673 C. *δέ* in *οὐδέ* cannot mean 'in spite of what you say' (as J. and C. imagine).

520 B 12 *ὥσπερ ἐν σμῖνῃσιν* κτλ. is probably a Socratic comparison: cf. Xen. *Cyr.* V 1. 24 (quoted by Ast) *βασιλεὺς μὲν γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖς σὺ πεφυκέναι οὐδὲν ἥττον ἢ ὃ ἐν τῷ σμῖνῃ φερόμενος τῶν μελιττῶν ἡγεμών*. See also Pöhlmann *Gesch. d. ant. Komm.* p. 134 n.



**С** τελεώτερον ἐκείνων πεπαιδευμένους <sup>1</sup> καὶ μᾶλλον δυνατοὺς ἀμφοτέρων μετέχειν. καταβατέον οὖν ἐν μέρει ἐκάστω εἰς τὴν τῶν <sup>15</sup> ἄλλων ξυνοίκησιν καὶ συνειστέον τὰ σκοτεινὰ θεάσασθαι· ξυνεπιζόμενοι γὰρ μυρίῳ βέλτιον ὄψεσθε τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ γνώσεσθε ἕκαστα τὰ εἶδωλα ἅττα ἐστὶ καὶ ὧν, διὰ τὸ τάληθῇ ἑωρακέναι καλῶν τε καὶ δικαίων καὶ ἀγαθῶν πέρι. καὶ οὕτω ὕπαρ ἡμῖν καὶ ὑμῖν ἡ πόλις οἰκήσεται, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὄναρ, ὥς νῦν αἱ πολλαὶ ὑπὸ σκιαμα- <sup>20</sup>

**Д** χούντων τε πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ στασιαζόντων <sup>1</sup> περὶ τοῦ ἄρχειν οἰκοῦνται, ὥς μεγάλου τινὸς ἀγαθοῦ ὄντος. τὸ δέ που ἀληθὲς ὧδ' ἔχει· ἐν πόλει ἧ ἥκιστα πρόθυμοι ἄρχειν οἱ μέλλοντες ἄρξειν, ταύτην ἄριστα καὶ ἀστασιαστότατα ἀνάγκη οἰκείσθαι, τὴν δ' ἐναντίους ἄρχοντας σχοῦσαν ἐναντίως. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. <sup>25</sup>

Ἀπειθήσουσιν οὖν ἡμῖν, οἶει, οἱ τρόφιμοι ταῦτ' ἀκούοντες καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλησουσιν ξυμπονεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἕκαστοι ἐν μέρει, τὸν δὲ πολλὸν χρόνον μετ' ἀλλήλων οἰκεῖν ἐν τῷ καθαρῷ; Ἀδύνατον, ἔφη·

**520 C 14 ἀμφοτέρων:** "et publicorum negotiorum et philosophiae" Stallbaum. Cf. *Gorg.* 485 A ἀλλ', οἶμαι, τὸ ὀρθοτάτον ἐστὶν ἀμφοτέρων μετασχεῖν. Is the θεωρητικός or the πρακτικός βλος the better? It is clear that the subject was often debated in Plato's time: see the fragments of Euripides' *Antiope* in Pl. *Gorg.* 484 E ff. and Arist. *Eth. Nic.* I 3, 1095<sup>b</sup> 17 ff., x 7, 1177<sup>a</sup> 12 ff. If we contrast them with each other, Plato would reply, the θεωρητικός easily wins the prize, but under the existing conditions of human nature the best life is a combination of both. The practical statesman must derive his inspiration from θεωρία, and experience of affairs is an advantage as well as a duty to the thinker. Cf. VI 496 D—497 A III.

**16 ξυνεπιζόμενοι κτλ.** Cf. 518 A n.

**18 εἶδωλα.** 517 D n. The word is here used quite generally of all the idols of Plato's cave. "We have risen to a point of view from which the σκευαστά and the σκιάι are included under one notion as εἶδωλα" (J. and C.).

**19 ὕπαρ κτλ.** Cf. V 476 C. The Homeric line οὐκ ὄναρ, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐσθλόν, ὃ τοι τετελεσμένον ἔσται (*Od.* 19, 547) is in Plato's mind, though ὕπαρ and ὄναρ are here adverbial accusatives (cf. Cobet *V. L.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 523 ff.).

**20 σκιαμαχούντων:** 'fighting about shadows.' See 517 D n. and cf. IX 586 C n. Dreamland is also shadowland.

**520 D 23 ἐν πόλει ἧ κτλ.** On ἧ for ἐν

ἧ see note on ἐν ἅπασιν οἷς ἐστι III 402 A. Van Cleef (*de attr. in enunt. rel. usu Plat.* p. 46) explains the construction as equivalent to ἐν ἧ πόλει, comparing *Men.* 96 C, which is however (like *Tim.* 45 D) only an example of inverse attraction.

**24 ταύτην:** an anacoluthon, as in VI 510 E. For the sentiment see I 347 D n.

**25 σχοῦσαν = 'which gets':** a gnomic aorist participle. See Goodwin *MT.* p. 55. Richards conjectures ἔχουσιν, and ἰσχοῦσαν (which appears in the margin of A) has slight MS authority; but the inchoative sense (516 E n.) is better suited to οἱ μέλλοντες ἄρξειν.

**27 ἕκαστοι.** The plural implies relays of governors relieving one another from time to time: cf. ἐκάστοις in 540 B.

**28 μετ' ἀλλήλων κτλ.** "Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife." ἐν τῷ καθαρῷ means 'in the undefiled.' The phrase is half-mystical, as καθαρὸν constantly is in Plato. It is natural to think of the myth of the *Phaedo* (109 B ff. αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν γῆν καθαρὰν ἐν καθαρῷ κείσθαι τῷ οὐρανῷ), but we should not translate "sub divo" (Ast), nor even "auf der reinen Höhe" (Schneider). Either version is too precise, and ἐν καθαρῷ does not mean *sub divo* even in Homer. The Ideas in Plato are τὰ καθαρὰ: see *Phaed.* 79 D ἐκείσε οἴχεται εἰς τὸ καθαρὸν τε καὶ αἰὲν καὶ ἀθάνατον καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχον.

δίκαια<sup>1</sup> γὰρ δὴ δίκαιοις ἐπιτάξομεν. παντὸς μὴν μᾶλλον ὥς ἐπ'<sup>E</sup>  
 30 ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῶν ἕκαστος εἰσι τὸ ἄρχειν, τοῦναντίον τῶν νῦν ἐν  
 ἐκάστη πόλει ἀρχόντων. Οὕτω γὰρ ἔχει, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ὃ ἐταῖρε·  
 εἰ μὲν βίον ἐξευρήσεις ἀμείνω τοῦ ἄρχειν τοῖς | μέλλουσιν ἄρξειν, 521  
 ἔστι σοι δυνατὴ γενέσθαι πόλις εὖ οἰκουμένη· ἐν μόνη γὰρ αὐτῇ  
 ἄρξουσιν οἱ τῷ ὄντι πλούσιοι, οὐ χρυσίου, ἀλλ' οὐδεὶ τὸν εὐ-  
 5 δαίμονα πλουτεῖν, ζωῆς ἀγαθῆς τε καὶ ἔμφρονος· εἰ δὲ πτωχοὶ καὶ  
 πεινῶντες ἀγαθῶν ἰδίων ἐπὶ τὰ δημόσια ἴασιν ἐντεῦθεν οἰόμενοι  
 τὰγαθὸν δεῖν ἀρπάζειν, οὐκ ἔστι· περιμάχητον γὰρ τὸ ἄρχειν  
 γιγνόμενον, οἰκείος ὢν καὶ ἔνδον ὁ τοιοῦτος πόλεμος αὐτοὺς τε  
 ἀπόλλυσι καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πόλιν. Ἀληθέστατα, ἔφη. Ἐχεις οὖν,  
 ἣν δ' ἐγώ, βίον ἄλλον τινὰ πολιτικῶν ἀρχῶν καταφρονούντα B  
 10 ἢ τὸν τῆς ἀληθινῆς φιλοσοφίας; Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία, ἢ δ' ὅς.  
 Ἀλλὰ μέντοι δεῖ γε μὴ ἐραστὰς τοῦ ἄρχειν ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτό·  
 εἰ δὲ μή, οἳ γε ἀντερασταὶ μαχοῦνται. Πῶς δ' οὔ; Τίνας οὖν  
 ἄλλους ἀναγκάσεις ἰέναι ἐπὶ φυλακὴν τῆς πόλεως, ἢ οἱ περὶ  
 τούτων τε φρονιμώτατοι, δι' ὧν ἄριστα πόλις οἰκεῖται, ἔχουσὶ τε  
 15 τιμὰς ἄλλας καὶ βίον ἀμείνω τοῦ πολιτικοῦ; Οὐδένας ἄλλους,  
 ἔφη.

12. μαχοῦνται A<sup>2</sup>Π: μάχονται A<sup>1</sup>.

13. οἱ Π: οἱ A.

520 E 29 παντὸς μὴν κτλ. The πόλις ἀνδρῶν ἀγαθῶν has now been found. That Plato intended to recal the prophecy of I 347 D is clear from the verbal echoes between the two passages. On the absence of the preposition before τὸ ἄρχειν see VIII 553 B n.

521 A 3 οὐ χρυσίου κτλ. Cf. VIII 547 B φύσει ὄντε πλουσίω τὰς ψυχὰς and *Phaedr.* ad fin. πλούσιον δὲ νομίζοιμι τὸν σοφόν.

4 πτωχοὶ κτλ.: 'men who are poor and an-hungered for lack of goods of their own.' So Schneider and Bosanquet rightly explain the passage. πεινῶν is used almost in its original etymological sense (πεινᾶ from πέν-ης, πέν-ομαι): cf. Xen. *Cyr.* VII 5. 50 and VIII 3. 39 ὦ μακάριε σὺ τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ὅτι ἐκ πένητος πλούσιος γεγένησαι· πολλὴ γὰρ οἶομαι σε καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἦδιον πλουτεῖν, ὅτι πεινήσας χρημάτων πεπλούτηκας. The contrast with πλούσιοι, and the presence of πτωχοί, make it easy to catch the meaning. The translation 'hunger after private advantages' (D. and V., Jowett) is

in my opinion incorrect.

6 τὰγαθόν 'their good' (Bosanquet), hardly 'the chief good' (Jowett). Not possessing any ἴδια ἀγαθὰ in the shape of virtue, they are fain to make up for it at the expense of the State.

περιμάχητον κτλ. For the construction cf. (with J. and C.) *Phaedr.* 69 b.

521 B 11 τοῦ ἄρχειν is personified and ἰέναι ἐπ' αὐτό should be translated 'woo her.' Cf. VI 489 D n.

13 οἱ κτλ. The copula is rarely omitted in a relative clause except in statements of proportion like *Gorg.* 465 c. An example occurs in II 370 E: see also Kühner-Blass *Gr. Gr.* II 1, p. 41. We ought not to revert to the old reading οἷπερ for οἱ περὶ (with q and E. S. Thompson, *Cambr. Phil. Soc. Proc.* XXI p. 14, who also suggests οἷπερ περὶ), even if—which is far from clear—ὅσπερ can, as Thompson says, dispense with the copula more easily than ὅς.

521 C—523 A We have next to consider how we can lead our guardians up into the light. The studies which we re-

C VI. <sup>1</sup> Βούλει οὖν τοῦτ' ἤδη σκοπῶμεν, τίνα τρόπον οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐγγενήσονται, καὶ πῶς τις ἀνάξει αὐτοὺς εἰς φῶς, ὥσπερ ἐξ "Αἰδου λέγονται δὴ τινες εἰς θεοὺς ἀνελθεῖν; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ βούλομαι; ἔφη. Τοῦτο δὴ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ ὁστράκου ἀν εἴη περιστροφή, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς 20 περιαγωγή ἐκ νυκτερινῆς τινος ἡμέρας εἰς ἀληθινήν, τοῦ ὄντος

17. σκοπῶμεν A<sup>2</sup>Π: σκοποῖμεν A<sup>1</sup>.

quire are such as will tend to draw the soul from Becoming to Being, and are at the same time of some practical utility in war. Our earlier training in gymnastic and music will not serve the purpose; nor yet will the mechanical arts. What do you say to Number and Calculation, which enter into every art and science? Their importance in strategy is obvious, and we shall find that they do emphatically, if rightly used, lead the soul towards Intelligence and Being.

521 c ff. For Plato's theory of the higher education see Appendix II on 'The Propædæutic Studies of the Republic' and Appendix III on 'Dialectic.'

19 λέγονται δὴ τινες κτλ. With εἰς θεοὺς ἀνελθεῖν cf. Plut. *de ser. num. vind.* 566 A ἔλεγε δὲ ταύτην τὸν Διόνυσον εἰς θεοὺς ἀνελθεῖν. If Plato's words are to be taken in their full significance, we can hardly (with J. and C.) suppose that the allusion is to Heracles, Pollux etc., for Heracles' descent to Hades was an incident which happened long before his ascent to Heaven; and Pollux's life among the gods was intermittent. Cf. Schneider in his translation p. 304 n. 187. Schneider himself suggests that Plato is thinking of legends about e.g. Aesculapius' deliverance from Hades, after Zeus had smitten him (cf. III 408 c and Roscher's *Lexicon d. Mythologie* I p. 620), and others have thought of Briareos and the ἐκατόγχοιροι: see II. I 402—405 and cf. Hes. *Theog.* 617—721. Mr Walter Headlam has pointed out to me that Semele was also raised from Hades to Heaven, citing Paus. II 31. 2 and ib. 37. 5: cf. also Plut. l.c. Διόνυσον εἰς θεοὺς ἀνελθεῖν καὶ τὴν Σεμέλην ἀνάγειν ὕπερον. These examples are certainly more to the point. It is worthy of remark that Justin Martyr in a remarkable passage of his *Apologia pro Christianis* speaks of the ascent of Aesclepius and others into Heaven as Pagan parallels to the Christian doctrine of the Ascension: Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν—σαναρωθέντα καὶ ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἀναστάντα ἀνελθόντα

εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν, οὐ παρὰ τοὺς παρ' ὑμῖν λεγόμενους υἱοὺς τῷ Διὶ καινόν τι φέρομεν. πῶσους γὰρ υἱοὺς φάσκουσι τοῦ Διὸς οἱ παρ' ὑμῖν τιμῶμενοι συγγραφεῖς ἐπίστασθε, Ἑρμῆν μὲν λόγον τὸν ἐρμηνευτικὸν καὶ πάντων διδάσκαλον· Ἀσκληπιὸν δὲ καὶ θεραπευτὴν γενόμενον, κεραυνωθέντα, ἀνελθόντα εἰς οὐρανόν· Διόνυσον δὲ διασπαρχθέντα κτλ. (l.c. I 21: cf. also *Dialogus cum Tryphone* 69). I was once half inclined to suspect that the clause ὥσπερ ἐξ Αἰδου—ἀνελθεῖν (although it appears in all MSS) might be an early satirical adscript by some Pagan scribe on the doctrine of our Lord's descent into Hell, and subsequent resurrection and ascent into Heaven. τινες might well be a specific allusion (518 B n.), and there is more than a suspicion of satire in δὴ. But I have no longer any doubt that the text is sound.

20 ὁστράκου—περιστροφή. On the different interpretations given by the ancients of this proverb see App. VI. The proverb is derived from the game of ὁστράκινδα, the authorities for which are cited by Grasberger *Erziehung u. Unterricht* I pp. 57—60. The players were divided into two parties, separated by a line. A shell, black on one side, and white on the other, was thrown on the ground by one of the boys, who shouted ὅδε ἡμέρα or ὅδε ἡ ἡμέρα, 'Heads or Tails,' as he threw it. According as the white or black fell uppermost, one side ran away and the other gave chase. Plato means that education is not, like the 'spinning of a coin,' an affair of no consequence, to be settled off-hand, and by chance, but a slow and laborious scientific process, dealing with the gravest of all possible issues. See also App. VI.

ψυχῆς περιαγωγή κτλ.: 'the turning round of a soul from a day which is as night into the true day, that is, the ascent into Being' (not the tarrying in γιγνόμενον, which is the νυκτερινὴ ἡμέρα). In νυκτερινῆς τινος ἡμέρας (for which see 520 c nn.) Plato, *more suo*, plays on the



οὔσαν ἐπάνοδον, ἣν δὴ φιλοσοφίαν ἀληθῆ φήσομεν εἶναι. Πάνν  
 μὲν οὖν. Οὐκοῦν δεῖ σκοπεῖσθαι, τί τῶν μαθημάτων ἔχει τοιαύτην  
 ἰ δύναμιν; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Τί ἂν οὖν εἴη, ὃ Γλαύκων, μάθημα ψυχῆς D  
 25 ὁλκὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ γιγνομένου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄν; τόδε δ' ἐννοῶ λέγων ἅμα·  
 οὐκ ἀθλητὰς μέντοι πολέμου ἔφαμεν τούτους ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι νέους  
 ὄντας; Ἐφαμεν γάρ. Δεῖ ἄρα καὶ τοῦτο προσέχειν τὸ μάθημα,  
 ὃ ζητοῦμεν, πρὸς ἐκεῖνον. Τὸ ποῖον; Μὴ ἄχρηστον πολεμικοῖς  
 ἀνδράσιν εἶναι. Δεῖ μέντοι, ἔφη, εἰπερ οἶόν τε. Γυμναστικῇ ἰ μὴν E  
 30 καὶ μουσικῇ ἔν γε τῷ πρόσθεν ἐπαιδεύοντο ἡμῖν. Ἦν ταῦτα,  
 ἔφη. Γυμναστικῇ μὲν πού περὶ γιγνόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον  
 τετεύτακεν· σώματος γὰρ αὔξης καὶ φθίσεως ἐπιστάτεῖ. Φαίνεταιαι.  
 Τοῦτο μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἂν εἴη ὃ ζητοῦμεν μάθημα. | Οὐ γάρ. Ἄλλ' 522  
 ἄρα μουσικῇ ὅσῃν τὸ πρότερον διήλθομεν; Ἄλλ' ἣν ἐκείνη γ',  
 ἔφη, ἀντίστροφος τῆς γυμναστικῆς, εἰ μέμνησαι, ἔθεσι παιδεύουσα  
 τοὺς φύλακας, κατὰ τε ἀρμονίαν εὐαρμοστίαν τινά, οὐκ ἐπιστήμην,  
 5 παραδιδούσα, καὶ κατὰ ῥυθμὸν εὐρυθμίαν, ἔν τε τοῖς λόγοις ἕτερα  
 τούτων ἀδελφά, ἔφη, ἅττα ἔχουσα, καὶ ὅσοι μυθώδεις τῶν λόγων

29. γυμναστικῇ—μουσικῇ II: γυμναστική—μουσική A.

exclamation 'νῦν ἡμέρα': cf. IV 422 D, E *nn.* (It may be noted that Plato's adaptation is from νῦν ἡμέρα rather than from νῦν ἡ ἡμέρα.) The words τοῦ ὄντος—ἐπάνοδον explain the figure, οὔσαν 'that is' being used as in φορὰν οὔσαν βάθους 528 D. The daylight in which the ἀπαλ-  
 δευτος lives is darkness; the true day is the ascent of the soul out of the ὄρατόν and δοξαστόν into the νοητόν: cf. 517 B τὴν δὲ ἄνω ἀνάβασιν καὶ θεῶν τῶν ἄνω τὴν εἰς τὸν νοητὸν τόπον τῆς ψυχῆς ἀνοδὸν τιθεῖς οὐχ ἀμαρτήσῃ τῆς γ' ἐμῆς ἐπιθόδου. This and this alone is true philosophy. The phrase τὴν τοῦ ὄντος ἐπάνοδον is copied by Alcinoüs from Plato (*Isag.* p. 7 ed. Hermann). Cf. also Clement *Strom.* v 14 p. 196 Migne ψυχῆς περιαγωγὴ ἐκ νυκτερινῆς τινος ἡμέρας εἰς ἀληθινὴν τοῦ ὄντος (vv. II. ὄντος and ὄντως ὄντος) οὔσαν ἐπάνοδον κτλ. Other views on the text and interpretation of this passage are discussed in App. VI.

521 D 26 μέντοι. For μέντοι in questions see on I 339 B.

ἔφαμεν. Cf. III 403 E, 416 D and VIII 543 B.

27 δεῖ ἄρα κτλ. The subject of προσέχειν is τὸ μάθημα ὃ ζητοῦμεν: its object

is τοῦτο. With προσέχειν 'insuper habere' (a rare use) cf. προσγενέσθαι II 375 E *n.*

521 E 30 ἔν γε τῷ πρόσθεν. II 376 E ff.

32 τετεύτακεν. τευτάζων· πραγματευόμενος, ἐνδιατρίβων (Tim. *Lex.* s.v., where Ruhnken elaborately illustrates the word. See also Stephanus-Hase *Thes.* s.v.). τευτάζω is always, I believe, semi-contemptuous in Plato (*Phil.* 56 E, *Tim.* 90 B). Brugmann's connexion of the word with τεύω (*Vergl. Gr.* I p. 362) may not be right, but the notion that τευτάζω is for ταυτάζω (L. and S.) is certainly wrong.

522 A 2 ὅσῃν κτλ. There is (as J. and C. remind us) a sense in which φιλοσοφία itself is μουσική: cf. III 403 C *n.* and VI 499 D.

3 ἀντίστροφος κτλ. is best explained by III 410 C—412 A, and κατὰ τε ἀρμονίαν—εὐρυθμίαν by III 400 D, E.

5 τοῖς λόγοις. II 377 ff., III 392 A ff.

6 ἔφη is repeated as in *Phaed.* 78 A: cf. I 348 D *n.* and VIII 557 C, *Euthyd.* 296 D (ἦν δ' ἐγὼ repeated). Here "iteratum ἔφη—ethicam, ut ita dicam, vim habet" (Schneider). I formerly omitted the word (with Flor. T), but now believe it genuine. ἔθη (II<sup>2</sup>, *v* and two other mss,

καὶ ὅσοι ἀληθινώτεροι ἦσαν. μάθημα δὲ πρὸς τοιοῦτόν τι ἀγαθόν,  
 Β οἷον σὺ νῦν ζητεῖς, οὐδὲν ἦν <sup>1</sup> ἐν αὐτῇ. Ἀκριβέστατα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,  
 ἀναμιμνήσκεις με· τῷ γὰρ ὄντι τοιοῦτον οὐδὲν εἶχεν. ἀλλ', ὦ  
 δαιμόνιε Γλαῦκων, τί ἂν εἴη τοιοῦτον; αἵ τε γὰρ τέχναι βάνανσοί <sup>10</sup>  
 που ἅπασαι ἔδοξαν εἶναι. Πῶς δ' οὐ; καὶ μὴν τί ἔτ' ἄλλο  
 λείπεται μάθημα, μουσικῆς καὶ γυμναστικῆς καὶ τῶν τεχνῶν κεχω-  
 ρισμένον; Φέρε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εἰ μὴδὲν ἔτι ἐκτὸς τούτων ἔχομεν  
 C λαβεῖν, τῶν ἐπὶ πάντα τεινόντων τι λάβωμεν. Τὸ ποῖον; <sup>1</sup> Οἷον  
 τοῦτο τὸ κοινόν, ᾧ πᾶσαι προσχρῶνται τέχναι τε καὶ διάνοιαι <sup>15</sup>  
 καὶ ἐπιστήμαι, ὃ καὶ παντὶ ἐν πρώτοις ἀνάγκη μαθάνειν. Ποῖον;  
 ἔφη. Τὸ φαῦλον τοῦτο, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὸ ἔν τε καὶ τὰ δύο καὶ τὰ  
 τρία διαγιγνώσκειν· λέγω δὲ αὐτὸ ἐν κεφαλαίῳ ἀριθμόν τε καὶ  
 λογισμόν. ἢ οὐχ οὕτω περὶ τούτων ἔχει, ὥς πᾶσα τέχνη τε καὶ  
 ἐπιστήμη ἀναγκάζεται αὐτῶν μέτοχος γίνεσθαι; Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. <sup>20</sup>  
 Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ ἡ πολεμική; Πολλή, ἔφη, ἀνάγκη. Παγ-  
 D γέλοιον γοῦν, ἔφην, <sup>1</sup> στρατηγὸν Ἀγαμέμνονα ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις

12. κεχωρισμένον A<sup>2</sup>Π: κεχωρισμένων A<sup>1</sup>.

with Eusebius *Praep. Ev.* XIV 13. 3) is unsuitable in point of sense, and also because of ἄττα.

7 ἀληθινώτεροι: not = 'more true' but 'true on the other hand.' The comparative only points the contrast with μυθώδεις: cf. Homer's well-known γυναικῶν θηλυτεράων.

πρὸς τοιοῦτόν τι κτλ.: 'useful for any such purpose as you now require.' ἀγαθόν goes with πρὸς: cf. with Schneider Xen. *Mem.* IV 6. 10 ἄρ' οὖν τοὺς μὲν ἀγαθοὺς πρὸς τὰ δεινὰ καὶ ἐπικίνδυνα ὄντας ἀνδρείους ἡγεῖ εἶναι, τοὺς δὲ κακοὺς δειλοὺς; The words οἷον—ζητεῖς are equivalent to πρὸς οἷον—ζητεῖς sc. μάθημα ἀγαθόν εἶναι: cf. ἐν πόλει ἦ = ἐν πόλει ἐν ᾧ (520 D n.), and (for ζητεῖς with infinitive) IV 443 B. The Oxford editors connect ἀγαθόν with τοιοῦτον and not with μάθημα, referring οἷον σὺ νῦν ζητεῖς 'probably to μάθημα'—a highly unnatural interpretation, because it separates οἷον from τοιοῦτον, and leaves πρὸς out in the cold. ἄγον (γρ II and Eusebius l. c.) for ἀγαθόν is an obvious but wholly unnecessary 'emendation.' The present passage is Plato's authoritative statement of the relation between his two curricula of education. The aim of the first is morality, and its method habituation; in

the second knowledge is attained by a scientific discipline. Cf. II 376 E, VI 502 E *nn.*

522 B 10 αἵ τε κτλ. On τε used ἀνακλούθως see II 373 B n. "Quid addere Socrates in animo habuerit, Glauconis intercipiens verba docent: καὶ μὴν τί ἔτ' ἄλλο λείπεται μάθημα" (Schneider).

11 ἔδοξαν. VI 495 D.

522 C 15 διάνοιαι scarcely means the mathematical sciences here, as J. and C. suggest, but simply 'modes of thought': cf. VI 511 D n. Plato does not, I believe, use the plural of διάνοια in its peculiar technical sense, and in any case such a meaning is here unsuitable.

17 τὸ ἔν τε κτλ. Cf. *Laus* 818 C μήτε ἐν μήτε δύο μήτε τρία μήθ' ὅλως ἄρτια καὶ περιττὰ δυνάμενος γινώσκειν, μηδὲ ἀριθμῶν τὸ παράπαν εἰδώς and [*Erip.*] 977 C.

18 ἀριθμόν τε καὶ λογισμόν. See on λογιστικὴ τε καὶ ἀριθμητικὴ 525 A.

522 D 22 ἐν ταῖς τραγωδίαις κτλ. Plato speaks as if he were bored to death by Palamedes' damnable iteration. Plays on the subject of Palamedes were written by all three dramatists (see the fragments of Aeschylus 180 ff., Sophocles 426 ff., Euripides 582 ff. Dindorf), and the invention of number or the like is ascribed

Παλαμήδης ἐκάστοτε ἀποφαίνει. ἡ οὐκ ἐννεόηκας, ὅτι φησὶν ἀριθμὸν εὐρὼν τὰς τε τάξεις τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καταστήσαι ἐν Ἰλίῳ  
 25 καὶ ἐξαριθμῆσαι ναῦς τε καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα, ὡς πρὸ τοῦ ἀναριθμή-  
 των ὄντων καὶ τοῦ Ἀγαμέμνονος, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐδ' ὅσους πόδας εἶχεν  
 εἰδότος, εἴπερ ἀριθμεῖν μὴ ἡπίστατο; καίτοι ποῖόν τιν' αὐτὸν οἶε  
 στρατηγὸν εἶναι; Ἀτοπόν τιν', ἔφη, ἔγωγε, εἰ ἦν τοῦτ' ἀληθές.

VII. Ἄλλο τι οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, μάθημα ἀναγκαῖον πολεμικῶ  
 30 ἀνδρὶ θήσομεν καὶ λογίζεσθαι τε καὶ ἀριθμεῖν δύνασθαι; Πάντων  
 γ', ἔφη, μάλιστα, εἰ καὶ ὅτιοῦν μέλλει τάξεων ἐπαίειν, μᾶλλον  
 δ' εἰ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἔσσεσθαι. Ἐννοεῖς οὖν, εἶπον, περὶ τοῦτο τὸ  
 μάθημα ὅπερ ἐγώ; Τὸ ποῖον; Κινδυνεύει τῶν πρὸς τὴν νόησιν  
 ἀγόντων φύσει εἶναι ὧν ζητοῦμεν, χρήσθαι δ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ  
 523 ὀρθῶς, ἐλκτικῶ ὄντι παντάπασιν πρὸς οὐσίαν. Πῶς, ἔφη, λέγεις;  
 Ἐγὼ πειράσομαι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τό γ' ἐμοὶ δοκοῦν δηλῶσαι. ἂ γὰρ

to him by Aesch. l.c. Soph. *Tr.* 379 and Eur. l.c. Aeschylus also gives Prometheus the credit of the discovery (*P. V.* 459 f.).

27 καίτοι κτλ. 'Well, what d'ye think of Agamemnon for a general now?' καίτοι (lit. 'and yet' sc. if this was true) is often thus used to introduce a question 'cum quadam indignatione' (real or, as here, feigned); for examples see Kugler *de part. toi ar. Pl.* p. 18. ποῖόν τινα is derisive, as ποῖος constantly is: see on 1330 A. D. and V.'s translation "Yet what do you think of Agamemnon as a general?" misses the ἦθος of the original, which is correctly reproduced by Schneider and Jowett.

522 E 30 καὶ λογίζεσθαι τε κτλ. καὶ 'also,' because "et aliarum rerum et arithmetices peritum imperatorem esse decet" (Schneider). Cf. vi 506 A. The word is omitted by Π<sup>1</sup> q Z and some other mss. καὶ may of course be spurious, but it was not likely to have been added by a scribe, and the balance of MS evidence is in its favour. The other variants (ἡ and ἡ τό and μᾶλλον ἡ in place of καὶ) are corruptions due to the erroneous idea that ἄλλο τι is 'any other' and not 'nonne.'

31 μᾶλλον δὲ κτλ. μᾶλλον δὲ is 'vel potius,' as usual. ἄνθρωπος = 'human being,' not 'anything of a man' (D. and V.), which suggests an entirely wrong idea. We may compare the Latin use of *homo*, for example in Cic. *ad Quint.* II 11. 5 "sed cum veneris, virum te putabo, si Sallusti Empedoclea legeris: hominem non puta-

bo." For the sense cf. *Laws* 819 D, where the Greek ignorance of arithmetic appears to Plato οὐκ ἀνθρώπινον ἀλλὰ θηρῶν τινῶν εἶναι μᾶλλον θρεμμάτων. The knowledge of number is one of the characteristic differences between man and the lower animals: see *Tim.* 39 B and [*Epin.*] 978 C.

523 A I φύσει belongs to ἀγόντων (Schneider) rather than to εἶναι (Stallbaum and others), as is clear from the antithesis χρῆσθαι δ' οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ ὀρθῶς (explained in 525 C).

3 τό γ' ἐμοὶ δοκοῦν. Cf. 517 B n. Plato is careful to eschew the appearance of dogmatism, even where his convictions are most profound.

523 A—524 C I distinguish (says Socrates) between two classes of perceptions, those which stimulate the intellect, and those which do not. To the former belong all such sense-presentations as are self-contradictory. We have here, for example, three fingers. Sight tells us that each is a finger. So far there is no contradiction and the intellect is not roused. But it is otherwise with size and smallness, thickness and thinness, and the like. The perception which reports that such-and-such a thing is hard frequently tells us that it is also soft, and the same, mutatis mutandis, may be said of all perceptions which deal with relative qualities of this kind. In such cases the soul is perplexed, and appeals to the intellect for help. The intellect, promptly respond-



διαιρουμαι παρ' ἐμαντῷ ἀγωγὰ τε εἶναι οἱ λέγομεν καὶ μὴ, ξυν-  
 θεατῆς γενόμενος ξύμφαθι ἢ ἄπειπε, ἵνα καὶ τοῦτο σαφέστερον 5  
 ἴδωμεν εἰ ἔστιν οἶον μαντεύομαι. Δείκνυ', ἔφη. Δείκνυμι δὴ,  
 εἶπον, εἰ καθορᾶς, τὰ μὲν ἐν ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν οὐ παρακαλοῦντα 1  
 B τὴν νόησιν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν, ὡς ἱκανῶς ὑπὸ τῆς αἰσθήσεως κρινόμενα,  
 τὰ δὲ παντάπασι διακελευόμενα ἐκείνην ἐπισκέψασθαι, ὡς τῆς  
 αἰσθήσεως οὐδὲν ὑγιές ποιούσης. Τὰ πόρρωθεν, ἔφη, φαινόμενα 10  
 δῆλον ὅτι λέγεις καὶ τὰ ἐσκιαγραφημένα. Οὐ πάννυ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,  
 ἔτυχες οὐ λέγω. Ποῖα μὲν, ἔφη, λέγεις; Τὰ μὲν οὐ παρακα-  
 C λοῦντα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅσα μὴ ἐκβαίνει εἰς ἐναντίαν 1 αἰσθησιν ἅμα· τὰ  
 δ' ἐκβαίνοντα ὡς παρακαλοῦντα τίθημι, ἐπειδὴν ἡ αἰσθησις μηδὲν

ing, apprehends 'great' and 'small' (for example) as distinct and separate from one another, unlike the senses, by which they were seen together and in confusion. It is thus that we are first led to ask 'What is the great?' 'What is the small?'

523 B ff. In this section of the *Republic*, Plato ascribes the originating impulse of his intellectual discipline to the stimulus supplied by the self-contradictory evidence of sense-perception. On the connexion of this principle with earlier Greek philosophy see 523 C n., and on the aim and scope of Plato's theory of Education as a whole App. II.

8 ὡς ἱκανῶς κτλ. is taken by Krohn (*Pl. Fr.* p. 91) as excluding the possibility of Ideas of concrete things. Such an inference is unwarranted. ἱκανῶς, 'adequately' 'satisfactorily' (cf. E below), does not imply that sensation can apprehend everything there is to know about e.g. a finger, but merely that in the case of a finger etc., sensible perception is as a rule all that we demand: we are not impelled to summon νόησις to our aid. Even the perception of a finger may awaken the intelligence, and in such cases we shall be led to the Idea of finger (523 D n.).

9 ὡς τῆς αἰσθήσεως κτλ. On αἰσθήσεως see 523 C n. ποιούσης has been doubted by Ast, who conjectures νοούσης; "sed αἰσθήσεως non est νοεῖν" (Schneider). The Greek means 'produces no sound result,' "nichts zuverlässiges giebt" (Schneider): the product of sensation is, in such cases, ὑπουλον or νοσῶδες. For οὐδὲν ὑγιές metaphorically used c. *Phaed.* 90 E and (with Schneider) *Ar. Plat.*

50, 355 (πρὸς ἀνδρὸς οὐδὲν ὑγιές ἐστ' ἐργασμένον).

10 τὰ πόρρωθεν κτλ. readily suggest themselves to Glauco, for they were familiar examples of optical delusion in the Platonic school: cf. (for πόρρωθεν φαινόμενα) *Prot.* 356 C, *Theaet.* 191 B, infra x 602 C ff., and (for ἐσκιαγραφημένα) II 365 C n.

523 C 13 αἰσθησιν. Strictly speaking, of course, αἰσθησις by itself does not, and cannot, present us with a judgment of any kind. It merely furnishes a particular sensation, which is referred to our mental picture of the objects in question, and the resulting judgment is not αἰσθησις, but δόξα, which is, according to Plato, a combination of μνήμη and αἰσθησις (see *Phil.* 38 B ff. with Bury's notes). And in point of fact, the sort of contradictory judgments which are here ascribed to the initial step in the psychological process, viz. αἰσθησις (524 A), have already been attributed to δόξα in V 479 B—479 E. We have already seen that Plato throughout the whole of this part of the *Republic* is not careful to distinguish between αἰσθητόν (especially ὁρατόν) and δόξαστόν (VI 510 A n.); and the same tendency shews itself again here. But in this part of the dialogue, Plato's argument is no way affected by his imperfect analysis of the psychological process involved in such a judgment as 'This is a finger.' The relevant consideration is that in such cases the intellect is not, as a rule, aroused, and this is equally true whether we regard the judgment as an act of αἰσθησις alone or as the joint product of αἰσθησις and μνήμη.

- 15 μᾶλλον τοῦτο ἢ τὸ ἐναντίον δηλοῖ, εἴτ' ἐγγύθεν προσπίπτουσα εἴτε πόρρωθεν. ὧδε δὲ ἂν λέγω σαφέστερον εἴσει. οὔτοι, φαμέν, τρεῖς ἂν εἶεν δάκτυλοι, ὃ τε σμικρότατος καὶ ὁ δεύτερος καὶ ὁ μέσος. Πάνυ γ', ἔφη. Ὡς ἐγγύθεν τοῖνυν ὁρμώμενους λέγοντός μου διανοοῦ. ἀλλὰ μοι περὶ αὐτῶν τόδε σκόπει. Τὸ ποῖον; Δάκτυλος μὲν 20 αὐτῶν φαίνεται ὁμοίως ἕκαστος, <sup>1</sup> καὶ ταύτῃ γε οὐδὲν διαφέρει, εἴαν D τε ἐν μέσῳ ὁράται εἴαν τ' ἐν ἐσχάτῳ, εἴαν τε λευκὸς εἴαν τε μέλας, εἴαν τε παχὺς εἴαν τε λεπτός, καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι τοιοῦτον. ἐν πᾶσι γὰρ τούτοις οὐκ ἀναγκάζεται τῶν πολλῶν ἢ ψυχῇ τὴν νόησιν ἐπερέσθαι, τί ποτ' ἔστι δάκτυλος· οὐδαμοῦ γὰρ ἡ ὄψις αὐτῇ ἅμα ἐσήμηνεν 25 τὸν δάκτυλον τοῦναντίον ἢ δάκτυλον εἶναι. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εἰκότως τό γε τοιοῦτον νοήσεως οὐκ ἂν παρακλητικὸν οὐδ' <sup>1</sup> ἐγερτικὸν εἴη. Εἰκότως. Τί δὲ δῆ; τὸ μέγεθος E αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν σμικρότητα ἡ ὄψις ἄρα ἱκανῶς ὁρᾷ, καὶ οὐδὲν αὐτῇ διαφέρει ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ αὐτῶν κείσθαι ἢ ἐπ' ἐσχάτῳ; καὶ ὡσαύτως 30 πάχος καὶ λεπτότητα ἢ μαλακότητα καὶ σκληρότητα ἢ ἀφῆ; καὶ

15 εἴτ' ἐγγύθεν κτλ. (like ὡς ἐγγύθεν etc. below) is said to prevent misapprehension, in view of Glauco's τὰ πόρρωθεν etc. in B.

16 ὧδε δὲ κτλ. The best commentary on the following exposition is *Phaed.* 101 A ff., especially 102 B ff.: cf. also *Theat.* 154 C. These passages should be carefully read in connexion with the view enunciated here. I have endeavoured to explain some of the wider bearings of Plato's principle in a pamphlet on Classical Education published by Deighton, Bell and Co. 1895: see also App. II and Nettle-ship *Hellen.* pp. 152 ff. We should bear in mind that the antithesis of ἐν and πολλά was the *fons et origo* of Greek philosophy, and runs throughout its entire history. In Plato's time the question had become acute in connexion particularly with the problem of predication, and it was in trying to solve this special form of the antinomy that Plato devised his theory of Ideas. Nothing could be more natural or just than that his philosopher-kings should receive their first scientific impulse from the problem which had proved so great an intellectual stimulus in the past, and which had also led Plato himself to the goal whither he would have his guardians arrive, the contemplation of the Idea.

523 D 20 εἴαν τε ἐν μέσῳ κτλ.:

i. q. εἴαν τε ἐν μέσῳ ἢ ὁ ὁρῶμενος κτλ. This is said with reference to their size: cf. E below and *Phaed.* 102 B, C, where the difficulty is explained by the theory of Ideas. Thus *b* is both great and small, great relatively to *a*, small relatively to *c*. Similarly with the other antinomies. The *Philebus* dismisses such puzzles as τὰ δεδημευμένα τῶν θαυμαστῶν περὶ τὸ ἐν καὶ πολλά (14 D)—an indication perhaps of the priority in date of the *Republic* (cf. VI 505 C n. and Jackson in *J. Ph.* x pp. 263 ff.).

23 ἀναγκάζεται is said of the 'Drang nach Wahrheit': cf. 524 C, E, 525 D and 518 E ff. It is not the 'nature' of Soul to acquiesce in falsehood: for man is an οὐράνιον φύτον, οὐκ ἔγγειον (IV 443 B n.).

τῶν πολλῶν. Some exceptional natures, who are endowed with an uncommon share of noble curiosity, may find intellectual stimulus even in perceptions such as these: cf. 523 B n. Ast, who missed the point, wanted to excise the phrase. Herwerden seriously proposes <μᾶ> τὸν Ἀπόλλω.

24 οὐδαμοῦ: 'at no stage' viz. in the psychological process, not exactly 'never' (as Jowett, D. and V. etc.).

a b c

αἱ ἄλλαι αἰσθήσεις ἄρ' οὐκ ἐνδεῶς τὰ τοιαῦτα δηλοῦσιν; ἡ ὥδε  
 524 ποιεῖ ἐκάστη αὐτῶν· πρῶτον | μὲν ἢ ἐπὶ τῷ σκληρῷ τεταγμένη  
 αἰσθησίς ἡνάγκασται καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ μαλακῷ τετάχθαι, καὶ παραγ-  
 γέλλει τῇ ψυχῇ ὡς ταῦτόν σκληρόν τε καὶ μαλακὸν αἰσθανομένη;  
 Οὕτως, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις αὐ-  
 τὴν ψυχὴν ἀπορεῖν, τί ποτε σημαίνει αὕτη ἡ αἰσθησίς τὸ σκληρόν, 5  
 εἴπερ τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ μαλακὸν λέγει, καὶ ἡ τοῦ κούφου καὶ ἡ τοῦ  
 βαρέος, τί τὸ κούφον καὶ βαρὺ, εἰ τό τε βαρὺ κούφον καὶ τὸ κούφον  
 Β βαρὺ σημαίνει; <sup>1</sup> Καὶ γάρ, ἔφη, αὐταῖ γε ἄτοποι τῇ ψυχῇ αἱ  
 ἐρμηνεῖαι καὶ ἐπισκέψεως δεόμεναι. Εἰκότως ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐν  
 τοῖς τοιούτοις πρῶτον μὲν πειράται λογισμὸν τε καὶ νόησιν ψυχὴ 10  
 παρακαλοῦσα ἐπισκοπεῖν, εἴτε ἐν εἴτε δύο ἐστὶν ἕκαστα τῶν εἰσαγ-  
 γελλομένων. Πῶς δ' οὐ; Οὐκοῦν ἐὰν δύο φαίνηται, ἕτερόν τε καὶ

524 A 2 παραγγέλλει κτλ.: 'intimates to the soul that the same thing is both hard and soft when it perceives it to be so.' With παραγγέλλει (needlessly suspected by Stephanus) cf. *Tim.* 70 B τοῦ λόγου παραγγείλαντος ὡς τις ἄδικος περὶ αὐτὰ γίγνεται πράξις. The English translators, together with Schneider, appear to take ὡς with αἰσθανομένη ('that it feels the same thing to be both hard and soft' D. and V.). But such a construction is difficult (cf. Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 652) and the meaning scarcely satisfactory. It should be remembered that touch does not always report that an object is both hard and soft, but only when it feels the object hard in relation to one thing and soft in relation to another, and similarly in other cases. This limitation is expressed by αἰσθανομένη (as well as by ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις), and explains its emphatic position. I have sometimes thought that <οὕτως> should be added after αἰσθανομένη, but the object can be supplied from ὡς—μαλακόν. Prantl understands the construction in somewhat the same way as I do.

5 ἀπορεῖν. The word is Socratic: see on 515 D. It is worthy of note that Plato, like Socrates, makes intellectual ἀπορία the beginning of Education. See App. II.

αὕτη ἡ αἰσθησίς means 'this present sensation,' not the sense of touch in general, and similarly with ἡ τοῦ κούφου κτλ., which J. and C. erroneously understand as a special *sense*, apparently 'the same which modern philosophers call the

sense of resistance.' But Plato nowhere recognises any such sense, and if he did, he would call it ἡ τοῦ κούφου καὶ βαρέος, and not ἡ τοῦ κούφου καὶ ἡ τοῦ βαρέος. The parallel in τί ποτε σημαίνει—λέγει shews that Plato means: 'what do the sensation of light and the sensation of heavy mean by light and heavy, if they indicate, the one that the heavy is light and the other that the light is heavy?' The last clause contains an elegant chiasmus. Schneider understands αὕτη ἡ αἰσθησίς as ἡ αἰσθησίς τοῦ σκληροῦ, but it is better taken as deictic: cf. 516 B, 523 C. Otherwise his view agrees with mine.

524 B 8 ἄτοποι. Herwerden's ἀποροί is an elegant conjecture, in view of ἀπορεῖν in A and 524 E; but the text is more forcible.

9 ἐρμηνεῖται = 'communications,' not 'interpretations,' as D. and V. translate. αἰσθησίς is as it were the ἐρμηνεύς καὶ ἄγγελος (*Crat.* 407 E) between the object of the perception and the soul: cf. παραγγέλλει in A.

10 λογισμόν. See on λογιστικῷ 525 B.

12 οὐκοῦν ἐὰν κτλ. Thus: Perception reports 'This finger' (let us say) 'is big-and-little.' Thereupon the soul is puzzled (ἀπορεῖ), and calls in νόησις. If big-and-little appear (viz. to νόησις) not one but two, then each of them appears distinct from the other, and one: cf. V 476 A and *Parm.* 143 D. 'Accordingly—if each appears one, and both together two—νόησις, conceiving as it does of two (τά γε δύο), will conceive of them as separate; for otherwise it would



ἐν ἑκάτερον φαίνεται; Ναί. Εἰ ἄρα ἐν ἑκάτερον, ἀμφοτέρα δὲ  
 δύο, τὰ γε δύο κεχωρισμένα νοήσει· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἀχώριστά γε δύο  
 15 ἐνόει, ἄλλ' ἔν. Ὅρθως. Μέγα μὴν καὶ ὄψις καὶ σμικρὸν ἑώρα, C  
 φαμέν, ἄλλ' οὐ κεχωρισμένον, ἀλλὰ συγκεχυμένον τι. ἡ γάρ; Ναί.  
 Διὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦτου σαφήνειαν μέγα αὖ καὶ σμικρὸν ἡ νόησις ἡναγ-  
 κάσθη ἰδεῖν, οὐ συγκεχυμένα, ἀλλὰ διωρισμένα, τοῦναντίον ἡ' κείνη.  
 Ἀληθῆ. Οὐκοῦν ἐντεῦθεν ποθεν πρῶτον ἐπέρχεται ἐρέσθαι ἡμῖν,  
 20 τί οὖν ποτ' ἔστι τὸ μέγα αὖ καὶ τὸ σμικρὸν; Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν.  
 Καὶ οὕτω δὴ τὸ μὲν νοητόν, τὸ δ' ὁρατόν ἐκαλέσαμεν. Ὅρθότατ', D  
 ἔφη.

VIII. Ταῦτα τοίνυν καὶ ἄρτι ἐπεχείρουν λέγειν, ὥς τὰ μὲν  
 παρακλητικὰ τῆς διανοίας ἐστί, τὰ δὲ οὐ, ἃ μὲν εἰς τὴν αἴσθησιν  
 25 ἅμα τοῖς ἐναντίοις ἑαυτοῖς ἐμπίπτει, παρακλητικὰ ὀριζόμενος, ὅσα  
 δὲ μή, οὐκ ἐγερτικὰ τῆς νοήσεως. Μανθάνω τοίνυν ἤδη, ἔφη, καὶ  
 δοκεῖ μοι οὕτω. Τί οὖν; ἀριθμός τε καὶ τὸ ἐν ποτέρων δοκεῖ  
 εἶναι; Οὐ ξυννωῶ, ἔφη. Ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων, ἔφην, ἀνα-  
 λογίζου. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἰκανῶς αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ ὁράται ἢ ἄλλη τι  
 30 αἰσθήσει λαμβάνεται ἢ τὸ ἔν, οὐκ ἂν ὄλκον εἶη ἐπὶ τὴν οὐσίαν, E

27. ποτέρων A<sup>2</sup>Π: πότερον A<sup>1</sup>.

have conceived, not of two, but of one.' Plato's object is to make out that νόησις, in order to clear up the συγκεχυμένον τι of sensation (διὰ τὴν τοῦτου σαφήνειαν) is compelled to view sensation's μέγα-καὶ-σμικρὸν (for example) separately, i.e. as τὸ μέγα and τὸ σμικρὸν. These antinomies consequently force us to ask 'What is the great?' 'What is the small?' etc.; and just herein consists their periagogic or educative value, for to such questions the theory of Ideas alone furnishes an adequate and final answer (*Phaed.* 99 B ff.). κεχωρισμένα νοήσει perhaps = 'are separate to νόησις,' but the ordinary view, which understands νόησις as subject to νοήσει, is better. It may have been this passage of the *Republic*, or *Phaed.* 96 E ff., or both which inspired the line of Theopompus τὰ δὲ δύο μόλις (sic) ἐν ἔστιν, ὥς φησιν Ἡλᾶτων (*D. L.* III 26).

524 C 15 καὶ ὄψις: 'sight also' sc. as well as νόησις.

17 ἡναγκάσθη. See 523 D n.

524 C — 526 C Now consider — to which of these classes do number and 'one' belong? Our perception of 'one' is self-contradictory; for any unit which we

see, we see both as one and as infinite in number. This is also true of number generally, since it is true of 'one.' The science of number is therefore a suitable study on educational as well as on utilitarian grounds, provided it is pursued in such a way as to lead the soul from visible to the invisible numbers of true mathematics. We may add that arithmetical studies are an excellent test of general capacity, a good intellectual discipline, and difficult.

524 D ff. On Plato's treatment of ἀριθμητική—i.e. the Science of Number, not Arithmetic in the modern sense of the word: see on 525 A—reference may be made to Blass *de Platone mathematico* (Bonnae 1861), Cantor *Gesch. d. Mathem.* pp. 183 ff., and especially Rothlauf's excellent monograph *Die Mathem. z. Platons Zeit u. s. Beziehungen zu ihr* (Jena 1878) pp. 19—49. See also App. II.

524 D 27 ποτέρων is intrinsically better than πότερον, which has considerable MS authority (including A<sup>1</sup>, E and M), and is read by Hermann and Baier. Cf. τῶν ἀγωγῶν ἂν εἴη κτλ. 525 A. For the error see *Introd.* § 5.

ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ δακτύλου ἐλέγομεν· εἰ δ' αἰετὶ αὐτῷ ἅμα ὁράται  
ἐναντίωμα, ὥστε μηδὲν μᾶλλον ἐν ἧ καὶ τοῦναντίον φαίνεσθαι, τοῦ  
ἐπικρινούντος δὴ δέοι ἂν ἥδη καὶ ἀναγκάζοιτ' ἂν ἐν αὐτῷ ψυχῇ  
ἀπορεῖν καὶ ζητεῖν κινουῖσα ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὴν ἔννοιαν καὶ ἀνερωτᾶν, τί

525 ποτε ἔστιν αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν, καὶ οὕτω τῶν | ἀγωγῶν ἂν εἴη καὶ μετα- 35  
στρεπτικῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ὄντος θέαν ἢ περὶ τὸ ἐν μάθησις. Ἄλλὰ  
μέντοι, ἔφη, τοῦτό γ' ἔχει οὐχ ἡκιστα ἢ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄψις· ἅμα γὰρ  
ταῦτόν ὡς ἐν τε ὁρῶμεν καὶ ὡς ἄπειρα τὸ πλήθος. Οὐκοῦν εἴπερ  
τὸ ἐν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ ξύμπας ἀριθμὸς ταῦτόν πέπονθε τοῦτο; Πῶς 5  
δ' οὐ; Ἄλλὰ μὴν λογιστικὴ τε καὶ ἀριθμητικὴ περὶ ἀριθμὸν πᾶσα.

B Καὶ μάλα. Ταῦτα δέ γε φαίνεται ἀγωγὰ ἰπρὸς ἀλήθειαν. Ὑπερ-  
φυῶς μὲν οὖν. Ὡν ζητοῦμεν ἄρα, ὡς ἔοικε, μαθημάτων ἂν εἴη·  
πολεμικῷ μὲν γὰρ διὰ τὰς τάξεις ἀναγκαῖον μαθεῖν ταῦτα, φιλο-  
σόφῳ δὲ διὰ τὸ τῆς οὐσίας ἀπτόεον εἶναι γενέσεως ἐξαναδύντι, ἧ 10  
μηδέποτε λογιστικῷ γενέσθαι. Ἔστι ταῦτ', ἔφη. Ὁ δέ γε ἡμέτερος

#### 5. τοῦτο II: τούτῳ A.

524 E 31 εἰ δ' αἰετὶ κτλ. A *visible*  
ἐν is always seen both as ἐν and πολλά  
(one wood, many trees; one tree, many  
branches etc.).

33 ἐν αὐτῷ is not ἐν τῷ ἐνί, but 'in  
the case in question,' 'in such a case,'  
"dabei" (Schneider): cf. I 339 E n.

35 αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν. See on αὐτῶν τῶν  
ἀριθμῶν 525 D.

525 A 3 ἢ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄψις. I  
formerly read αὐτό instead of τὸ αὐτό with  
Ξ and a few inferior mss. αὐτό, which  
Bekker, Schneider and Stallbaum adopt,  
is easier, but lacking in authority; and  
τὸ αὐτό is in reality more elegant. The  
marked antithesis between ἢ περὶ τὸ  
ἐν μάθησις ('the intellectual apprehen-  
sion of the one') and ἢ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὄψις  
(('the visual apprehension of the same'))  
makes it clear that τὸ αὐτό means 'the  
same' as that with which ἢ μάθησις was  
concerned (viz. τὸ ἐν), and not (as Her-  
mann imagined) 'one and the same object  
of vision' (like ταῦτόν presently). Plato  
may have deliberately employed the two  
forms τὸ αὐτό and ταῦτόν in order to dis-  
sociate them from one another.

5 καὶ ξύμπας ἀριθμὸς κτλ. Because  
ἀριθμὸς is τὸ ἐκ μονάδων συγκείμενον  
πλήθος (Euclid VII def. 2), or in other  
words a σύστημα μονάδων (Theo Smyrn.  
p. 18 ed. Hiller), and thus for example  
a visible three (i.e. three visible things)

presents us with three separate cases of  
the contrast between ἐν and πολλά.

τοῦτο (see *cr. n.*) is preferable to  
τούτῳ, which appears in no MS except A,  
and would be superfluous after εἴπερ τὸ  
ἐν. Two mss do in point of fact omit  
the word altogether.

6 λογιστικὴ τε καὶ ἀριθμητικὴ.  
Greek mathematicians distinguished be-  
tween ἀριθμητικὴ 'the science of num-  
bers' and λογιστικὴ 'the art of calcula-  
tion' (Gow *Greek Math.* p. 22). It has  
been doubted whether Plato also held this  
distinction; but a comparison of *Gorg.*  
451 B, 453 E, *Theaet.* 198 A (on ἀριθμη-  
τικὴ) with *Gorg.* 451 C, *Charm.* 166 A,  
*Pol.* 259 E (on λογιστικὴ) proves that he  
did (Roehlauf, l. c. pp. 19—21). Plato  
does not insist on the distinction here,  
but we may reasonably suppose that his  
pupils would begin with λογισμοί (λογισ-  
τικὴ) and rise from thence to ἀριθμητικὴ:  
cf. C, D and *Laws* 817 E, 819 A ff. See  
also on λογιστικῷ in B.

7 ταῦτα: i.e. τὰ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ.

525 B 7 ἀλήθειαν: viz. the Ideas,  
and ultimately the Idea of Good (517 B).

10 γενέσεως. See on 519 A.

ἧ = 'alioquin' (V 463 D n.). Liebholt  
absurdly adds ἔστιν after γενέσθαι.

11 λογιστικῷ: 'a reasoning profi-  
cient in the art of calculation,' with a  
play on λογιστικός in its deeper sense, as

φύλαξ πολεμικός τε καὶ φιλόσοφος τυγχάνει ὢν. Τί μὴν; Προσ-  
 ἦκον δὴ τὸ μάθημα ἂν εἴη, ὃ Γλαύκων, νομοθετῆσαι, καὶ πείθειν  
 τοὺς μέλλοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν μεγίστων μεθέξειν ἐπὶ λογιστικῇν  
 15 ἵέναι καὶ ἀνθάπτεσθαι αὐτῆς μὴ ἰδιωτικῶς, ἀλλ' ἕως ἂν ἐπὶ θεῶν C  
 τῆς τῶν ἀριθμῶν φύσεως ἀφίκωνται τῇ νοήσει αὐτῇ, οὐκ ὠνῆς οὐδὲ  
 πράσεως χάριν ὡς ἐμπόρους ἢ καπηλούς μελετῶντας, ἀλλ' ἕνεκα  
 πολέμου τε καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς ψυχῆς ῥαστώνης μεταστροφῆς ἀπὸ  
 γενέσεως ἐπ' ἀληθείαν τε καὶ οὐσίαν. Κάλλιστα, ἔφη, λέγεις. Καὶ  
 20 μὴν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, νῦν καὶ ἐννοῶ ῥηθέντος τοῦ περὶ τοὺς λογισμοὺς  
 ἡμαθίματος, ὡς κομφὸν ἐστὶ καὶ πολλαχῇ χρήσιμον ἡμῖν πρὸς ὃ D  
 βουλόμεθα, ἐὰν τοῦ γνωρίζειν ἕνεκά τις αὐτὸ ἐπιτηδεύῃ, ἀλλὰ μὴ  
 τοῦ καπηλεύειν. Πῇ δὴ; ἔφη. Τοῦτό γε, ὃ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν, ὡς  
 σφόδρα ἄνω ποι ἄγει τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἀριθμῶν

18. ῥαστώνης II: ῥαστώνης τε A.

Shorey points out (*Chicago Studies* I p. 222 n. 4), comparing the double meaning of *παρὰνομία* in IV 424 D. *λογισμὸν* in 524 B prepared the way for this; and the same ambiguity partly explains why Plato puts *λογιστική* rather than *ἀριθμητική* in the forefront of this discussion (cf. *λογιστικῇν* below and *λογισμοὺς* in C). We readily feel that *λογιστική* will arouse τὸ λογιστικόν. Cf. also X 602 E n.

13 καὶ πείθειν. προσῆκον ἂν εἴη is carried on: cf. I 334 B n. and infra 530 B. J. and C.'s explanation, that "μάθημα (or αὐτό) is to be repeated in the accusative after νομοθετῆσαι and πείθειν ἐπὶ λογιστικῇν ἵέναι," is untenable.

14 τῶν μεγίστων is idiomatically used of government: cf. 534 D and *Apol.* 22 D with my note ad loc.

525 C 15 θεῶν—αὐτῇ. The 'nature of numbers' cannot be fully seen except in their connexion with the Good and with all other νοητά (VI 511 B—D nn.). Plato does not of course imply that ἀριθμητική by itself will achieve this result (although it may be doubted whether some of his successors did not exalt the science to something like this dignity: see e.g. the *Erinomis*): neither ἀριθμητική nor all the propaedeutic studies taken together will ever carry us so far. He only means that the student, having once set foot on the ladder, must not re-descend until he reaches the Good. Then and then only will he understand the

'nature of numbers' i.e. the *Ideas* of 1, 2, etc., because only then will he know Numbers dialectically (VI 511 B). On the use of φύσις see X 597 B n.

16 τῇ νοήσει αὐτῇ: 'by thought alone.' αὐτῇ is 'by itself' i.e. (in this case) unadulterated with αἰσθησις: cf. 525 D n. and supra IV 437 E, 438 B, VI 510 B, D nn.

18 ῥαστώνης. A few inferior MSS add καὶ after this word: A alone has ῥαστώνης τε. I agree with Schneider in holding that the conjunctions are interpolated to avoid the concurrence of genitives, in which there is, however, no difficulty at all: cf. V 449 A n.

20 νῦν καὶ ἐννοῶ. Cf. (with J. and C.) II 370 A ἐννοῶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸς εἰπόντος σοῦ.

λογισμοὺς: see on λογιστικῇ in B.

525 D 24 αὐτῶν τῶν ἀριθμῶν: 'numbers themselves,' e.g. 1, 2, 3, 4 etc., in other words individual mathematical numbers and nothing more. αὐτῶν means 'by themselves,' 'alone,' i.e. with nothing αἰσθητῶν about them, such as is present in the ὁρατὰ ἢ ἀπὰ σώματα ἔχοντες ἀριθμοὺς (= Aristotle's αἰσθητικοὶ or σωματικοὶ ἀριθμοί: v. Bonitz *Ind. Arist.* s. v. ἀριθμός), e.g. one man, two men etc. These mathematical numbers are not Ideas, but (like τὰ μαθηματικά generally) a half-way house between sensibles and Ideas, and for this reason valuable as a προπαιδεῖα to Dialectic: cf. 526 A n. and see on VI 510 D



ἀναγκάζει διαλέγεσθαι, οὐδαμῇ ἀποδεχόμενον, ἐάν τις αὐτῇ ὁρατὰ 25  
ἢ ἀπτά σώματα ἔχοντας ἀριθμούς προτεινόμενος διαλέγηται. οἶσθα  
Ε γάρ που τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα δεινούς<sup>1</sup>, ὥς ἐάν τις αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν ἐπιχειρῇ  
τῷ λόγῳ τέμνειν, καταγελῶσί τε καὶ οὐκ ἀποδέχονται, ἀλλ' ἐὰν σὺ  
κερματίξης αὐτό, ἐκείνοι πολλαπλασιούσιν, εὐλαβούμενοι μὴ ποτε  
φανῇ τὸ ἐν μὴ ἐν ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μόρια. Ἀληθέστατα, ἔφη, λέγεις. 30  
526 Τί οὖν οἶει, ὦ Γλαῦ|κων, εἴ τις ἔροιτο αὐτούς, ὦ θαυμάσιοι, περὶ  
ποίων ἀριθμῶν διαλέγεσθε, ἐν οἷς τὸ ἐν οἶον ὑμεῖς ἀξιοῦτέ ἐστιν,

27. δεινούς Ξ q: δεινούς δύο ΑΠ, sed δύο punctis notavere Α<sup>2</sup>Π<sup>2</sup>.  
ἐστιν Ξ q: ἀξιοῦτε· ἐστιν Α: ἀξιοῦντε (sic) ἐστὶν Π.

2. ἀξιοῦτέ

and App. I. For αὐτῶν in this sense cf. αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν in E, αὐτῇ τῇ νοήσει 526 B and ἀριθμῶν αὐτῶν ἀλλ' οὐ σώματα ἔχον-  
των [E<sup>2</sup>rin.] 990 C.

27 δεινούς. The word δύο, which was originally written after δεινούς (see *cr. n.*) in A and Π, is probably due to a marginal adscript on the words ἐάν τις αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν ἐπιχειρῇ—τέμνειν. Burnet neatly conjectures δεινούς αὐ, but αὐ is inappropriate here.

525 E 27 ἐάν τις κτλ. αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν means 'the unit itself' i.e. the mathematical number 'one' which is *ex hypothesi* and by definition ἀμέριστον καὶ ἀδιαίρετον (Theo Smyrn. 18). If any one maintains that the mathematical unit is divisible, the mathematicians καταγελῶσί τε καὶ οὐκ ἀποδέχονται. Quā mathematicians, they never condescend to justify either this or any other mathematical definition (οὐδένα λόγον οὔτε αὐτοῖς οὔτε ἄλλοις ἔτι ἀξιοῦσι—διδόναι VI 510 C), and think it ridiculous that any one should question the foundations of their science. The moment they begin to render an account of their ὑποθέσεις they cease to be mathematicians and become διαλεκτικοί. See also on VI 510 C and App. III.

28 ἐὰν σὺ κερματίξης κτλ.: 'if you mince it, they multiply it.' If you insist on dividing their unit, they insist on multiplying it (viz. by your divisor), and so defeat your purpose and keep the unit one and indivisible as before. 'I cut that unit up!' you exclaim. 'I multiply it!' is their reply; and you are checkmated. They have just as much right to multiply it as you to divide it; for the mathematical unit is only a ὑπόθεσις when all is said and done. Plato is humorously describing a passage-at-arms between mathematicians and some

obstinate fellow who will not admit the indivisibility of their unit. The words 'back again' in D. and V.'s translation "they multiply it back again" correspond to nothing in the Greek and suggest an erroneous idea; nor can the Greek mean "that division is regarded by them as a process of multiplication, for the fractions of one continue to be units" (as Jowett suggests). Each of these explanations misses the humour of the original. The word μόρια is doubtless genuine, though its rejection (proposed by Herwerden) would improve the antithesis. Cf. μόριόν τε ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὐδέν (526 A), for which μόρια here prepares the way.

526 A 1 περὶ ποίων κτλ. On the derivative ποῖος see 522 D n. Mathematical units are in every case (ἐκαστον) equal each to each (πᾶν παντί), and destitute of parts; whereas sensible units (e.g. one horse, one cow etc.) are *not* equal to each other, and *are* divisible. In πᾶν παντί Plato copies the formal language of mathematics: cf. ἐκατέραν ἐκατέρα and the like in Euclid *passim*. For the sense see *Phil.* 56 C ff., where these two kinds of number are made the basis of a distinction between philosophical or scientific and popular or unscientific ἀριθμητική. It should be carefully noted that a plurality of mathematical units is expressly recognised both here (ἴσων τε ἐκαστον πᾶν παντί κτλ.) and in *Phil.* I. c. (μονάδα μονάδος ἐκάστης τῶν μυρίων μηδεμίαν ἄλλην ἄλλης διαφέρουσιν). This entirely confirms what Aristotle tells us, viz. that Plato placed μαθηματικά between αἰσθητά and εἶδη, τῷ τὰ μὲν πόλλ' ἅττα ὅμοια εἶναι, τὸ δὲ εἶδος αὐτὸ ἐν ἐκαστον μόνον (*Met.* A 6. 987<sup>b</sup> 14 ff.). There are therefore three kinds of μονάδες in Plato's scheme—the Ideal μονάς, of

ἴσον τε ἕκαστον πᾶν παντὶ καὶ οὐδὲ σμικρὸν διαφέρων μῶριόν τε  
 ἔχον ἐν ἑαυτῷ οὐδέν; τί ἂν οἶει αὐτοὺς ἀποκρίνασθαι; Τοῦτο  
 5 ἔγωγε, ὅτι περὶ τούτων λέγουσιν, ὦν διανοηθῆναι μόνον ἐγχωρεῖ,  
 ἄλλως δ' οὐδαμῶς μεταχειρίζεσθαι δυνατόν. 'Ορᾷς οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,  
 ὦ φίλε, ὅτι τῷ ὄντι ἀναγκαῖον ἡμῖν κινδυνεύει εἶναι τὸ μάθημα,  
 ἐπειδὴ φαίνεται γε προσαναγκάζον αὐτῇ τῇ νοήσει χρῆσθαι τὴν B  
 ψυχὴν ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν; Καὶ μὲν δὴ, ἔφη, σφόδρα γε ποιεῖ  
 10 αὐτό. Τί δέ; τότε ἤδη ἐπεσκέψω, ὥς οἱ τε φύσει λογιστικοὶ εἰς  
 πάντα τὰ μαθήματα ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ὀξεῖς φύονται, οἱ τε βραδεῖς, ἂν  
 ἐν τούτῳ παιδευθῶσι καὶ γυμνάσωνται, καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο ὠφελη-  
 θῶσιν, ὅμως εἰς γε τὸ ὀξύτεροι αὐτοὶ αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι πάντες  
 ἐπιδιδόασιν; Ἔστιν, ἔφη, οὕτω. Καὶ μὴν, ὥς ἐγῶμαι, ἅ γε C

8. τῇ II: om. A.

which only one exists, the Mathematical and the Sensible, of each of which there are many. See on VI 510 D and App. I, where I have quoted further evidence on this subject, and endeavoured to explain the philosophical truth which is contained in the Platonic doctrine of mathematical numbers, magnitudes etc. as intermediates between the Ideas and sensibles.

5 ὦν κτλ. ὦν is for περὶ ὦν rather than ἄ (as J. and C. hold): cf. VI 510 D οὐ περὶ τούτων διανοοῦμενοι, and (for the grammatical construction) III 402 A η. διανοηθῆναι should be understood in the technical sense of VI 511 E.

7 τῷ ὄντι ἀναγκαῖον. Perhaps with a play on προσαναγκάζον (J. and C.): see on τῷ ὄντι VI 511 B.

526 B II ὀξεῖς κτλ. Plato was very emphatic on this point: see *Latus* 747 B and 819 C. φύονται was restored by Schneider from the best MSS. Earlier editions read φαίνονται on inferior authority.

ἀν—γυμνάσωνται κτλ. Even Isocrates admits this, although his self-styled 'Philosophy' was something very different from Plato's: see *Antid.* 265—266, especially γυμνασίαν μέντοι τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ παρασκευὴν φιλοσοφίας καλῶ τὴν διατριβὴν τὴν τοιαύτην (mathematical studies).

526 C 14 ἄ γε μείζω κτλ. is an important principle with Plato, who does not believe in any royal road to learning: cf. 530 C and VI 503 E. In antiquity, while algebra was still unknown, ἀριθμητικὴ must have taxed the powers of

thought far more than now, and been, from the Platonic point of view, all the more valuable on that account as an educative discipline. The treatment of numbers by Euclid Books VII—X will illustrate Plato's observation: see *Gov Gk Math.* pp. 74—85, with De Morgan's remarks there quoted.

16 ὥς τοῦτο. ὥς = 'quam' instead of ἥ is found sporadically in Greek literature after comparatives: see my note on *Ap.* 30 B, 36 D. To say that in all such cases the comparative is equivalent to οὕτω with the positive is only to shelve the difficulty; and it is better to recognise the usage as exceptional than summarily to dismiss it as a barbarism (with Thompson on *Gorg.* 492 E). J. and C. after οὐδὲ πολλά supply ἄ πόνον οὕτω μέγαν παρέχεται, but the ellipse is too difficult, especially as οὐδὲ πολλά is only a kind of afterthought to or elaboration of οὐ βadıως.

526 C—527 C Next in order comes Plane Geometry. On its practical uses we need not dilate; the important question is whether it tends to turn the soul towards Being. A mere tiro in Geometry knows that it is not a practical art, in spite of such terms as 'squaring' etc., which the poverty of language compels it to employ. The object of geometrical knowledge is ever-existent Being. For this reason we shall prescribe the study of Geometry, a subject which is moreover practically useful and an excellent educational propaedeutic.

526 C ff. On the subject of this

μείζω πόνον παρέχει μανθάνοντι καὶ μελετῶντι, οὐκ ἂν ῥαδίως 15  
οὐδὲ πολλὰ ἂν εὖροις ὥς τοῦτο. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν. Πάντων δὲ ἔνεκα  
τούτων οὐκ ἀφετέον τὸ μάθημα, ἀλλ' οἱ ἄριστοι τὰς φύσεις παι-  
δευτέοι ἐν αὐτῷ. Ξύμφημι, ἧ δ' ὅς.

IX. Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν, εἶπον, ἐν ἡμῖν κείσθω· δεύτερον δὲ τὸ  
ἐχόμενον τούτου σκεψάμεθα ἅρά τι προσήκει ἡμῖν. Τὸ ποῖον; 20  
ἢ γεωμετρίαν, ἔφη, λέγεις; Αὐτὸ τοῦτο, ἦν δ' ἐγώ. "Οσον μὲν,  
D ἔφη, πρὸς τὰ πολεμικὰ αὐτοῦ τείνει, δηλὸν ὅτι προσήκει· πρὸς  
γὰρ τὰς στρατοπεδεύσεις καὶ καταλήψεις χωρίων καὶ συναγωγὰς  
καὶ ἐκτάσεις στρατιᾶς καὶ ὅσα δὲ ἄλλα σχηματίζουνσι τὰ στρατό-  
πεδα ἐν αὐταῖς τε ταῖς μάχαις καὶ πορείαις, διαφέροι ἂν αὐτὸς 25  
αὐτοῦ γεωμετρικὸς καὶ μὴ ὢν. 'Αλλ' οὖν δὴ, εἶπον, πρὸς μὲν τὰ

16. ἂν εὖροις II: ἀνέυροις A.

19. ἐν Ξ q: ἐν AII.

26. δὴ A<sup>2</sup>II: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

section consult Blass and Cantor referred to on 524 D, Rothlauf l.c. pp. 50—69, and App. II to this book. The great importance attached by Plato and his school to geometry and kindred studies is attested from many sources: see for example Philoponus in *Arist. de an.* I 3 (*Comment. in Arist.* p. 117. 26 ὁ Πλάτων οὐ καὶ πρὸ τῆς διατριβῆς ἐπεγέγραπτο Ἀγεωμέτρητος μὴ εἰσὶτω, Tzetzes *Chil.* VIII 973 μηδεὶς ἀγεωμέτρητος εἰσὶτω μου τὴν στέγην, Proclus in *Euclid.* pp. 29 f. Friedlein Πλάτων καθαρτικὴν τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ ἀναγωγὴν τὴν μαθηματικὴν εἶναι σαφῶς ἀποφάνεται, τὴν ἀχλὺν ἀφαιρούσαν τοῦ νοεροῦ τῆς διανοίας φωτὸς κτλ., and D. L. IV 10 πρὸς δὲ τὸν μῆτε μουσικὴν μῆτε γεωμετρίαν μῆτε ἀστρονομίαν μεμαθηκότα, βουλόμενον δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν (Ξενοκράτη) φοιτᾶν· Πορεύου, ἔφη λαβὰς γὰρ οὐκ ἔχεις φιλοσοφίας. Among Plato's companions or pupils in the Academy, Eudoxus and Menaechnus rendered the most conspicuous services to mathematical science (see Allman *Greek Geometry from Thales to Euclid* pp. 129—179), and Euclid himself, according to Proclus (in *Euclid.* p. 68), was τῇ προαιρέσει Πλατωνικὸς καὶ τῇ φιλοσοφίᾳ ταύτῃ οἰκεῖος. That ὁ θεὸς αἰὲ γεωμετρεῖ was a characteristic and profound saying of Plato's (Plut. *Conv. Disp.* VIII 2. 718 C ff.), on the meaning of which see App. I.

19 τὸ ἐχόμενον τούτου. If γεωμετρία i.e. ἡ τοῦ ἐπιπέδου (plane surfaces) πραγματεία (528 D) concerns itself with δευτέρα αὔξη, and Stereometry with τρίτη αὔξη, we may infer that ἀριθμητική deals with

the πρώτη αὔξη, i.e. presumably the line, which, according to the Pythagoreans, is a collection of points (cf. *Lavus* 894 A and Rothlauf l.c. p. 51). And in point of fact the line represented number among the Pythagoreans exactly as the point is the geometrical symbol for the unit: cf. IX 587 D n. Hence ἐχόμενον τούτου: we take the δευτέρα αὔξη after the first. See also App. II to this Book, and App. I to Book VIII Part I § 2.

21 ἢ γεωμετρίαν κτλ. The sequence —Geometry after ἀριθμητική—was probably a usual one with teachers, even in Plato's time: see Grasberger *Erziehung u. Unterricht* II p. 340 and cf. App. II.

ὅσον μὲν κτλ. is exactly the attitude of the historical Socrates, as Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 376) and others have pointed out, comparing Xen. *Mem.* IV 7. 2 ff. Practical necessities of this kind probably originated the science (Gow *Gk Math.* pp. 134 ff.) and gave it its name γεωμετρία. The name μαθήματα (or μαθηματικά) in the special sense of Mathematics owes its origin, no doubt, to the position occupied by mathematical studies in Plato's μαθήματα: but the usage itself is not found till Aristotle (Rothlauf l.c. p. 18), although it is clear from [*Levin.*] 990 D, that some Platonists resented the γελόιον ὄνομα γεωμετρίας. Glauco represents the practical point of view throughout: cf. 527 D.

526 D 25 καὶ πορείαις. "Scriptum vellem καὶ ἐν πορείαις" (Stallbaum). The idiom is common enough: see Kühner-Blass *Gr. Gr.* II 1, p. 548.



τοιαῦτα βραχύ τι ἂν ἐξαρκοῖ γεωμετρίας τε καὶ λογισμῶν μόνιον·  
 τὸ δὲ πολὺ αὐτῆς καὶ πορρωτέρω προῖον σκοπεῖσθαι<sup>1</sup> δεῖ εἴ τι **E**  
 πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τείνει, πρὸς τὸ ποιεῖν κατιδεῖν ῥᾶον τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ  
 30 ἰδεάν. τείνει δέ, φαμέν, πάντα αὐτόσε, ὅσα ἀναγκάζει ψυχὴν εἰς  
 ἐκεῖνον τὸν τόπον μεταστρέφεισθαι, ἐν ᾧ ἐστὶ τὸ εὐδαιμονέστατον  
 τοῦ ὄντος, ὃ δεῖ αὐτὴν παντὶ τρόπῳ ἰδεῖν. Ὁρθῶς, ἔφη, λέγεις.  
 Οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν οὐσίαν ἀναγκάζει θεάσασθαι, προσήκει, εἰ δὲ γένεσιν,  
 οὐ προσήκει. Φαμέν γε δῆ. Οὐ τοίνυν τοῦτό γε, | ἦν δ' ἐγώ, 527  
 ἀμφισβητήσουσιν ἡμῖν ὅσοι καὶ σμικρὰ γεωμετρίας ἔμπειροι, ὅτι  
 αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη πᾶν τούναντίον ἔχει τοῖς ἐν αὐτῇ λόγοις λεγο-  
 μένοις ὑπὸ τῶν μεταχειριζομένων. Πῶς; ἔφη. Λέγουσι μὲν πού  
 5 μάλα γελοίως τε καὶ ἀναγκαίως· ὥς γὰρ πράττοντές τε καὶ πρά-  
 ξεως ἕνεκα πάντας τοὺς λόγους ποιούμενοι λέγουσιν τετραγωνίζειν  
 τε καὶ παρατείνειν καὶ προστιθέναι καὶ πάντα οὕτω φθεγγόμενοι·

28. προῖον II: προσῖον A.

32. ὃ II: οὐ A<sup>1</sup>: οὐ A<sup>2</sup>.

**526 E 31** τὸ εὐδαιμονέστατον τοῦ ὄντος is cited by Stumpf (l.c. p. 95 n. 3) in support of his identification of the Idea of Good with God: see on VI 505 A.

33 γένεσιν. 519 A n.

**527 A 3** αὕτη ἡ ἐπιστήμη κτλ.: 'the nature of this science is in precise contradiction to' etc. πᾶν τούναντίον is adverbial, and ἔχει intransitive. In what follows Plato is not (as Stallbaum strangely supposes) censuring contemporary geometers, "sed vitium quoddam ipsius scientiae" (Schneider, who refers to VI 510 B—511 A), for even those ὅσοι καὶ σμικρὰ γεωμετρίας ἔμπειροι agree with him. It is however probable on other grounds that Plato himself was afraid lest his pupils should depend too much on geometrical figures and instruments; and Plutarch tells us that he reproved Eudoxus and others for this very fault: ἀπόλλυσθαι γὰρ οὕτω καὶ διασφειρεσθαι τὸ γεωμετρίας ἀγαθὸν αὐθις ἐπὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ παλινδρομοῦσης, καὶ μὴ φερομένης ἄνω μηδὲ ἀντιλαμβανομένης τῶν αἰδίων καὶ ἀσωμάτων εἰκόνων, πρὸς ὅσπερ ὦν ὁ θεὸς αἰεὶ θεὸς ἐστί (Conv. Disp. VIII 2. 718 F: cf. also Vit. Marc. 14. 5—7. The anecdote refers in particular to stereometrical instruments, but its moral applies equally to the study of plane geometry). See Rothlauf l.c. pp. 66 ff. and Gow *Gk Math.* p. 181.

5 ἀναγκαίως 'in beggarly fashion' ("nothgedrungenen Weise" Prantl). They are 'hard up' for words to express their meaning, and must consequently use language which does not: cf. VI 510 D. J. and C.'s explanation "with merely practical needs in view" is quite wrong; nor does the word appear to me to contain "a facetious allusion to geometrical necessity" (in the sense of V 458 D), as they assert. Madvig's ἀκάκως for ἀναγκαίως is a singularly unhappy suggestion.

7 παρατείνειν = 'to apply,' e.g. a parallelogram to a given line: cf. *Men.* 87 A (παρὰ τὴν δοθείσαν—γραμμὴν παρατείναντα κτλ.) with E. S. Thompson's note. Blass takes the same view (*de Pl. math.* p. 19). Euclid's expression for this is παραβάλλειν (X 18 ff. and *passim*: cf. Cantor l.c. p. 145). The ordinary translation 'produce' (as e.g. a line) has no authority, and Euclid's word for 'producing' a line is ἐκβάλλειν or προσεκβάλλειν (I 5, 17 and *passim*). So also in Aristotle: see the *Ind. Arist.* s.v.).

προστιθέναι: 'to add,' sc. one μέγεθος to another in any geometrical construction: cf. Nicom. *Introd. Ar.* II 12. 2. Euclid uses συντιθέναι, σύγκειμαι (X 16 and *passim*) of such an operation.

φθεγγόμενοι is said "non sine eleganti quadam irrisione" (Stallbaum): cf. VI 505 C n.

Β τὸ δ' ἔστι που πᾶν τὸ μάθημα ἰ γνῶσεως ἔνεκα ἐπιτηδευόμενον. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο ἔτι διομολογητέον; Τὸ ποῖον; Ὡς τοῦ αἰὲ ὄντος γνῶσεως, ἀλλ' οὐ τοῦ ποτέ τι γιγνομένου 10 καὶ ἀπολλυμένου. Εὐομολόγητον, ἔφη· τοῦ γὰρ αἰὲ ὄντος ἡ γεωμετρικὴ γνῶσις ἔστιν. Ὀλκὸν ἄρα, ὦ γενναῖε, ψυχῆς πρὸς ἀλήθειαν εἴη ἂν καὶ ἀπεργαστικὸν φιλοσόφου διανοίας πρὸς τὸ αἰῶ σchein ἢ νῦν κάτω οὐ δέον ἔχομεν. Ὡς οἶόν τε μάλιστα, ἔφη. C Ὡς οἶόν τ' ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἰ ἐγώ, μάλιστα προστακτέον, ὅπως οἱ ἐν τῇ 15 καλλιπόλει σοι μηδενὶ τρόπῳ γεωμετρίας ἀφέξονται. καὶ γὰρ τὰ

11. εὐομολόγητον Π et γρ in marg. A<sup>2</sup>: εὐ διομολογητέον A<sup>1</sup>. 16. ἀφέξονται Ξ: ἀφέζονται ΑΠ q.

8 τὸ δέ: 'whereas': cf. I 340 D n.

527 B 10 τοῦ αἰὲ ὄντος. Plato held the objects of mathematical study to be αἰδία καὶ ἀκίνητα 'eternal and unchangeable' (Arist. *Met.* A 6. 987<sup>b</sup> 16: cf. VI 510 C ff., VII 526 A n.), but not Ideas. The Platonic meaning of τοῦ αἰὲ ὄντος is certainly not exhausted by the observation that "the truths of every science are always true" (Bosanquet). ὄντος implies substantial existence, independently of our thoughts, and independently also of particulars. The existence of τὰ μαθηματικά as μιμήματα τῶν ὄντων or copies of the Ideas, 'moving in and out of' the material substance of the Universe, which they stamp with an infinite diversity of forms and shapes, is a cardinal doctrine of Plato's physics (*Tim.* 50 C al.), and Bosanquet appears to me to rob the words of Plato of half their significance, in the fruitless attempt to find in his ontology nothing but what commends itself to certain schools of philosophy in the present day. See V 476 E and App. I.

10 τοῦ ποτέ κτλ.: 'that which at some particular time is a particular instance of becoming and perishing.' τι γιγνομένου = ὄντος (the copula) γιγνομένου τινός, but γιγνομένου itself involves the copula, the presence of which would here be intolerable. Cf. V 473 D n. and *Euthyphr.* 10 C εἴ τι γίγνεται ἢ τι πάσχει, οὐχ ὅτι γιγνόμενόν ἐστι, γίγνεται, ἀλλ' ὅτι γίγνεται, γιγνόμενόν ἐστι. Here τι is indeclinable like τι in *Lach.* 200 B, *Menex.* 247 B (ὀλομένῳ τι εἶναι), *Euthyd.* 303 C (δοκοῦντων τι εἶναι), οὐδέν, μηδέν etc. tolerably often in tragedy, and the adverbial use of ἀμφοτέρα and τάναντία

(e.g. *Lach.* 185 A νέων γὰρ που ἡ χρηστῶν ἢ τάναντία γενομένων κτλ.): cf. also (with Schneider *Addit.* p. 57) *Procl.* in *Tim.* 136 E τοῦ—ἀδιαίρετως πάντα ὄντος et al. The indeclinable form adds to the emphasis, and indeed τινός (if placed after ποτέ) could hardly stand at all. Schneider translates "des etwas werdenden und vergehenden," apparently taking τι predicatively with γιγνομένου. But the expression 'that which becomes something' suggests a substratum underlying γιγνόμενον, whereas the only correct antithesis to ὄν (τοῦ αἰὲ ὄντος) is γιγνόμενον itself. Stallbaum wrongly explains τι as "aliqua ratione." A few inferior MSS omit the word. I believe the text is sound, though possibly τι should be accented, as in the exactly similar Aristotelian usage of τις "ad significandam τὴν ἀτομότητα" (*Bonitz Ind. Ar.* p. 763) e.g. ὁ τις ἄνθρωπος. The use of ποτέ also reminds us of the ποτέ of the Categories.

12 γεωμετρικὴ is an adjective (Schneider).

14 σchein. The tense is inchoative or ingressive, as usual: see 516 E n.

527 C 16 καλλιπόλει. Socrates rallies Glauco on his 'braid town.' The word, as J. and C. point out, is full of tenderness and affection. Callipolis was the name of several cities in Greece (Pape-Benseler *Gr. Eigennam.* s.v.), a fact which sufficiently refutes Herwerden's doubts as to the formation of the word: see also (with Schneider) *Lobeck's Phrynichus* pp. 600—607. Herwerden ought not to have revived the tasteless and prosaic conjectures καλῇ πόλει (Π<sup>2</sup>) and καλλίστη πόλει (Ξ).

πάρεργα αὐτοῦ οὐ σμικρά. Ποῖα; ἡ δ' ὅς. "Α τε δὴ σὺ εἶπες, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὰ περὶ τὸν πόλεμον, καὶ δὴ καὶ πρὸς πάσας μαθήσεις, ὥστε κάλλιον ἀποδέχσθαι, ἵσμεν πού ὅτι τῷ ὄλῳ καὶ παντὶ 20 διοίσει ἡμμένους τε γεωμετρίας καὶ μή. Τῷ παντὶ μέντοι νῆ Δί', ἔφη. Δεύτερον δὲ τοῦτο τιθώμεν μάθημα τοῖς νέοις; Τιθώμεν, ἔφη.

X. Τί δέ; ἡ τρίτον θώμεν ἀστρονομίαν; ἡ οὐ δοκεῖ; Ἐμοὶ D γοῦν, ἔφη· τὸ γὰρ περὶ ὥρας εὐαίσθητοτέρως ἔχειν καὶ μνηῶν καὶ

24. ἐμοὶ γοῦν Π: ἐμοιγ' οὖν Α.

17 αὐτοῦ: viz. τοῦ μαθήματος.

18 καὶ δὴ καὶ κτλ. See on 526 B.

20 ἡμμένους τε. Herwerden excises τε, comparing 526 D; but the MSS are a safer guide.

527 C—528 E *Shall we prescribe Astronomy as our third subject? Glauco approves, pointing to its usefulness in practical affairs. After reproving his friend for advocating the Platonic curriculum chiefly on this ground, Socrates observes that the solid should first be studied in itself, and afterwards the solid in motion. In other words Stereometry should precede Astronomy. Although the problems of Stereometry are not yet solved, we may hope for success under proper guidance, and with the support of the State.*

527 D ff. On stereometry in the age of Plato see Rothlauf l.c. pp. 69—74, Cantor l.c. pp. 194—202, Tannery *Rev. Phil.* x (1880) pp. 523 ff. The most famous stereometrical problem of Plato's time was the so-called 'Delian problem' or duplication of the cube, and it is highly probable that Plato had this question in his mind when he wrote the present chapter. A dramatic poet, whom Valckenaer supposed to be Euripides, had already made allusion to it in the lines μικρὸν γ' ἔλεξας βασιλικοῦ σηκὸν τάφου· ἡ διπλάσιος ἔστω. τοῦ καλοῦ (v.l. κύβου) δὲ μὴ σφαλῆς ἡ δίπλας' ἕκαστον κῶλον ἐν τάχει τάφου (Nauck *Trag. Gr. Fr.* p. 676). The story runs that the Delians, having been commanded by an oracle to double a certain altar, were in great perplexity, διαπεμφαμένους δὲ τοὺς παρὰ τῷ Πλάτῳ ἐν Ἀκαδημίᾳ γεωμέτρως ἀξιοῦν αὐτοῖς εὐρεῖν τὸ ζητούμενον (Eratosthenes, quoted by Eutocius in Archimed. III pp. 102 ff. Heiberg. See also Plut. *de gen. Socr.* 7. 579 B—D and *de ei ap. Delphos* 6.

386 E f., and Johannes Philop. quoted by Sturm *Das Delische Problem* p. 10). Plato favourably entertained their application, and the students of the Academy set to work with extraordinary enthusiasm. A remarkable stimulus was thereby given to the study of stereometry, and the Delian problem was successfully solved. The anecdote may of course be apocryphal, but we have not the smallest reason for rejecting it. The memory of such incidents is usually cherished with peculiar care in the history of a College, and Eratosthenes (276—194 B.C.) was born only seventy-one years after Plato's death. In any case the duplication of the cube may well have seemed in Plato's time a question of the first importance for the purposes of stereometrical science, for, as Tannery remarks (l.c. p. 256), the duplication of the square, which had already been discovered (*Men.* 82 B ff.), was believed to be the key to plane problems, and so it was probably surmised that the διπλασιασμός τοῦ κύβου would give the solution of a whole series of solid problems. English readers will find a short account of this classical ἀπορία with some of its ancient solutions in Rouse Ball's *Math. Recreations and Problems* pp. 154 ff. The most elaborate and exhaustive history of the problem and its solutions in antiquity is that of Sturm *Das Delische Problem* 1896.

23 ἐμοὶ γοῦν. Schneider and others write ἐμοιγ' οὖν (see *cr. n.*), but οὖν is too strongly illative for this passage. Cf. I 335 E n.

24 τὸ γὰρ περὶ κτλ. Cf. 526 C n. and Xenophon there quoted, esp. § 4 ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ ἀστρολογίας ἐμπείρους γίγνεσθαι, καὶ ταύτης μέντοι μέχρι τοῦ νυκτός τε ὥραν καὶ μηνός καὶ ἐνιαυτοῦ δύνασθαι γιγνώσκειν κτλ. and *infra* τὰς ὥρας τῶν εἰρημένων διαγιγνώσκοντες. The ana-



ἐνιαυτῶν οὐ μόνον γεωργίᾳ οὐδὲ ναυτιλίᾳ προσήκει, ἀλλὰ καὶ 25  
στρατηγίᾳ οὐχ ἦττον. Ἡδὺς εἶ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι ἔοικας δεδιότι τοὺς  
πολλοὺς, μὴ δοκῆς ἄχρηστα μαθήματα προστάττειν. τὸ δ' ἔστιν  
οὐ πάνυ φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ χαλεπὸν πιστεῦσαι, ὅτι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς  
μαθήμασιν ἐκάστου ὄργανόν τι ψυχῆς ἐκκαθαίρεται τε καὶ ἀναζω-  
E πυρεῖται<sup>1</sup> ἀπολλύμενον καὶ τυφλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευ- 30  
μάτων, κρεῖττον δὲ σωθῆναι μυρίων ὁμμάτων· μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ  
ἀλήθεια ὁράται. οἷς μὲν οὖν ταῦτα ξυνδοκεῖ ἀμηχάνως ὥς εὐ  
δόξεις λέγειν· ὅσοι δὲ τούτου μηδαμῇ ἦσθημένοι εἰσὶν, εἰκότως

logy of this passage suggests that in Plato καὶ ('both') μηνῶν καὶ ἐνιαυτῶν depends on ὥρας, which is the accusative plural: cf. *Latius* 812 B εὐαίσθητους δεῖν γεγονέναι περὶ τε τοὺς ῥυθμοὺς κτλ. Practical astronomy will enable one to tell both the time of month and the time of year by looking at the moon and the sun. For ὥρας μηνῶν cf. also, besides the passage of Xenophon just quoted, *Eur. Alc.* 449 f. Σπάρτα κυκλὰς ἀνίκα Καρνεῖον περιτίσσεται ὥρα ἰ μηνός κτλ. Schneider and the English translators take ὥρας as genitive and parallel with μηνῶν κτλ., but it is difficult to see what εὐαίσθητοτέρως ἔχειν περὶ ἐνιαυτῶν can mean: for ἐπιμέλειαν ποιῆσθαι ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ ὥρων in VI 488 D is quite different. Schneiermacher translates the passage correctly.

εὐαίσθητοτέρως. For this form of the comparative adverb see I 343 E n.

26 ἡδὺς εἶ: 'you amuse me.' See I 337 D n.

27 μὴ δοκῆς κτλ. The usefulness of 'useless' studies is a fundamental principle in Plato's theory; and (as Schneider points out) ὅτι ἐν τούτοις κτλ. is intended to shew that liberal studies are in the highest and truest sense useful.

τὸ δ' ἔστιν. I 340 D n.

28 χαλεπόν. Cobet's παγχάλεπον (after *Nicom. Introd. Ar.* III 7) is a wholly gratuitous change: see App. VII.

29 ἐκάστου. Every human being has an ὄργανον ψυχῆς viz. νοῦς: it is indeed the possession of νοῦς which makes him at once truly human and therewithal divine (VI 501 B n.). The genitive is much more expressive than ἐκάστῳ, which Herwerden proposes: cf. 518 C n., and for the combination of genitives V 449 A n.

ἐκκαθαίρεται κτλ.: 'is purged and rekindled.' In passages like this Plato hurls his metaphors about with Shake-

spearian vehemence and profusion. Cf. II 365 C n., and see the admirable remarks on metaphor by the author of the treatise περὶ ὕψους 32. 4 πλήθους καὶ τόλμης μεταφορῶν—τὰ εὐκαιρα καὶ σφοδρὰ πάθη καὶ τὸ γενναῖον ὕψος εἶναι φημι ἰδιὰ τινά ἀλεξιφάρμακα, ὅτι τῷ ῥοβίῳ τῆς φορᾶς ταυτὶ πέφυκεν ἅπαντα τὰλλα παρασύρειν καὶ προωθεῖν, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ ὡς ἀναγκαῖα πάντως εἰσπράττεσθαι τὰ παράβολα, καὶ οὐκ ἐὰ τὸν ἀκροατὴν σχολάζειν περὶ τὸν τοῦ πλήθους ἐλεγχον διὰ τὸ συνενθουσιᾶν τῷ λέγοντι. The eye of soul is purged of its blindness: its smouldering fires flame forth afresh. To translate "'is polished' like a soiled mirror" (J. and C.), besides being wrong, falls far below the level of Plato's ὕψος. The chiasmus in ἐκκαθαίρεται—τυφλούμενον adds to the literary effect. On other readings in this passage see App. VII.

527 E 32 οἷς μὲν οὖν κτλ. The logical sequence is somewhat difficult. Do not (says Socrates) be so anxious to persuade *οἱ πολλοί* of the usefulness of our curriculum. Its *true* utility is difficult to understand, and *οἱ πολλοί* will not easily be persuaded of it. Those who agree with us about its *true* utility will highly approve of your proposals; but *οἱ πολλοί* will not, for they can see no *practical* advantage (worthy of mention) accruing from them. *δόξεις λέγειν* attributes the proposals to Glauco as in D μὴ δοκῆς—προσ-τάττειν, and ἄλλην is said with reference to τούτου. To the *ὠφέλεια* of intellectual salvation such persons are blind; and they cannot see any other, i.e. any *practical* *ὠφέλεια* worth mentioning in Plato's studies. ἄλλην cannot be understood as "beyond their practical applications" (D. and V.) unless we refer it to Glauco's remark τὸ γὰρ περὶ κτλ. in D, to the detriment both of grammar and of sense.

ἡγήσονται σε λέγειν οὐδέν· ἄλλην γὰρ ἀπ' αὐτῶν οὐχ ὁρώσιν  
 35 ἀξίαν λόγου ὠφελίαν. σκόπει οὖν αὐτόθεν, πρὸς ποτέρους διαλέγει·  
 ἢ οὐ· | πρὸς οὐδετέρους, ἀλλὰ σαυτοῦ ἕνεκα τὸ μέγιστον ποιεῖ 528  
 τοὺς λόγους, φθονοῖς μὴν οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλω, εἴ τις τι δύναιτο ἀπ'  
 αὐτῶν ὄνασθαι; Οὕτως, ἔφη, αἰρούμαι, ἑμαυτοῦ ἕνεκα τὸ πλεῖστον  
 5 λέγειν τε καὶ ἐρωτᾶν καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι. "Αναγε τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,  
 εἰς τοῦπίσω· νῦν δὴ γὰρ οὐκ ὀρθῶς τὸ ἐξῆς ἐλάβομεν τῇ γεωμετρίᾳ.  
 Πῶς λαβόντες; ἔφη. Μετὰ ἐπίπεδον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐν περιφορᾷ ὅν  
 ἤδη στερεὸν λαβόντες, πρὶν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ λαβεῖν· ἵ ὀρθῶς δὲ B  
 ἔχει ἐξῆς μετὰ δευτέραν αὔξην τρίτην λαμβάνειν. ἔστι δέ που  
 τοῦτο περὶ τὴν τῶν κύβων αὔξην καὶ τὸ βάθους μετέχον. "Εστι  
 10 γάρ, ἔφη· ἀλλὰ ταυτὰ γε, ὦ Σώκρατες, δοκεῖ οὐπω ὑμῶς ῥῆσαι.

527 E—528 A 35 σκόπει οὖν κτλ.

'Very well: make up your mind once for all with which of these parties you are discoursing: or are you not addressing your remarks to either, but' etc.? Glauco's insistence on the practical uses of astronomy may be all very well with a popular audience, but are out of place in a philosophical discussion. For this peremptory αὐτόθεν cf. *Symp.* 213 A. οὐ πρὸς οὐδετέρους lit. 'not to neither': cf. the familiar μάλλον ἢ οὐ for μάλλον ἢ (Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II pp. 771—773). I understand ἢ—ὄνασθαι (with Ast) as an independent question: for it is difficult to supply 'whether.' Schneider's objections to this view are based on the idea that ἢ οὐ (if interrogative) must have an affirmative answer; but οὐ has nothing to do with ἢ, and only balances ἀλλά: cf. Ar. *Plut.* 372 μὴν οὐ κέκλοφας, ἀλλ' ἤρπακας; Plato makes this clear by placing the two contrasting clauses in close juxtaposition. οὐ is omitted by Ξ and some inferior MSS. The text is, however, sound, and none of the proposed corrections—σὺ for οὐ (Schneider), εἰ πρὸς οὐδετέρους (Madvig), οὐδὲ πρὸς ἑτέρους (Cobet), εἰ οὐδὲ πρὸς ἑτέρους (Baiter), ἢ που πρὸς οὐδετέρους (Liebhold)—will bear examination, though Cobet's deserves the praise of elegance.

528 A 4 ἀναγε—εἰς τοῦπίσω: 'fall back then': cf. Ar. *Birds* 383 ἀναγ' ἐπὶ σκέλος, with Blaydes' note. The metaphor is not naval (as Ast and Stallbaum hold), but military, nor is ἀνάγειν (ναῦν) even in naval language 'inhibere,' but 'put out to sea,' as in Hdt. VII 100, VIII 76 et al. and occasionally in Attic (for ἀνάγεσθαι). Cf. ἀνεχώρησας 528 D.

5 οὐκ ὀρθῶς: see on τὸ ἐχόμενον τούτου 526 C. The subjects ought to follow each other in the order of their complexity: see App. II. Plato's error was of course deliberately "contrived to emphasize the principle which it violated" (Bosanquet), and also, it may be added, to enable him to call especial attention to the study of Stereometry, on which he laid very great stress (527 D n.).

7 ἤδη should be taken with ὅν ('already in revolution'), not (as D. and V.) with λαβόντες.

528 B 8 δευτέραν αὔξην κτλ. It is better (with Schneider) to translate αὔξη by 'increase' than by 'dimension'; for αὔξη always implies something increased, and in the phrases δευτέρα αὔξη etc. this 'something' is the point. Among the Pythagoreans, who probably originated these expressions, the line was regarded as an αὔξη of the point, the plane of the line, the solid of the plane. See App. II.

9 κύβων αὔξην: 'cubic increase,' i.e. the increase which belongs to, or results in, cubes, with perhaps also a play on a different sense of κύβων αὔξην, 'how to increase cubes,' as in the famous 'Delian problem' of the διπλασιασμός κύβου (so also Tannery l. c. x p. 525). See on 527 D. But as cubes are not the only solid bodies, Plato adds τὸ βάθους μετέχον. By Aristotle's time the name στερεομετρία had been invented to designate the science as a whole (*An. Post.* II 13. 78<sup>b</sup> 38).

10 ταυτὰ γε—ὑμῶς ῥῆσαι. Plato does not of course mean to say that the study of Stereometry had not yet been invented, for the subject had already in one form or another engaged the attention of the Py-

Διττὰ γάρ, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, τὰ αἷτια· ὅτι τε οὐδεμία πόλις ἐντίμως αὐτὰ ἔχει, ἀσθενῶς ζητεῖται χαλεπὰ ὄντα, ἐπιστάτου τε δέονται οἱ ζητοῦντες, ἄνευ οὐ οὐκ ἂν εὖροιεν· ὃν πρῶτον μὲν γενέσθαι χαλεπόν, ἔπειτα καὶ γενομένου, ὡς νῦν ἔχει, οὐκ ἂν πείθοντο οἱ περὶ ταῦτα ζητητικοὶ μεγαλοφρονούμενοι. <sup>1</sup> εἰ δὲ πόλις ὅλη ξυνεπιστατοῖ 15

12. τε A<sup>2</sup>Π: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

14. οὐκ—μεγαλοφρονούμενοι Π et in marg. A<sup>2</sup>: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

thagoreans, Anaxagoras and Democritus (Blass l.c. p. 21, Tannery l.c. X p. 524), not to speak of Hippocrates of Chios, who had concerned himself in the fifth century B.C. with the question of the duplication of the cube (Allman *Gk Geometry* etc. pp. 84 ff.). He only means that its problems had not yet been 'discovered' (ἡρῆσθαι as in Pythagoras' ἡῤῥηκα) or solved. When and by whom the 'Delian problem' in particular was definitively solved to the satisfaction of the Academy, is not quite clear. The tradition which ascribes a solution of it to Plato himself is beset with grave difficulties, as Blass (l.c. pp. 21—30) and others have pointed out (see especially Cantor l.c. pp. 194—202 and Sturm *Das Delische Problem* pp. 49 ff.). It is however universally allowed that the principle involved—the finding of "two mean proportionals between one straight line and another twice as long" (Gow *Gk Math.* p. 169)—was first stated by Hippocrates of Chios and well known to Plato, at all events when he wrote the *Timaeus* (32 A ff.: see also Häbler *Ueber zwei Stellen in Platons Timaeus* etc. pp. 1—17). We may perhaps infer from οὕτω ἡρῆσθαι that Plato did not think a final solution of this as of other stereometrical problems had yet been reached: there is at all events nothing in the *Republic* to justify the curious statement of Diogenes Laertius that (Ἀρχύτας) πρῶτος κύβου διπλασιασμὸν εὔρεν, ὡς φησι Πλάτων ἐν πολιτεῖα (VIII 83), although it is probably true that Archytas was the first to offer a solution of the famous difficulty (see Sturm l.c. pp. 22—32). In D. L. l.c. Cobet reads πρῶτος κύβου εὔρεν κτλ., whether on his own responsibility, or on MS authority, he does not tell us. See also on 527 D, 528 C.

11 ὅτι τε κτλ. In *Laws* 819 E ff. Plato reproaches the Greeks for their ignorance of and indifference to stereometrical questions.

ἐντίμως ἔχει: 'holds in honour,' as in VIII 548 A. The expression usually means 'is honoured' (Xen. *An.* II 1. 7): hence ἄγει for ἔχει is proposed by Herwerden, who compares 528 C, 538 E. But the error is not an easy one in such a MS as A, and it is safer to keep ἔχει and take the phrase as = ἐν τιμῇ ἔχει (cf. ἐν ἀτιμῇ ἔχει Hdt. III 3, ἐν εὐνοίᾳ ἔχειν [Dem.] 284. 11, and Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 639) as ἀγειν ἐντίμως = ἄγειν ἐν τιμῇ (538 E).

14 ὡς νῦν ἔχει belongs no doubt to the following clauses (IV 419 A n.): but see also on 528 C.

15 μεγαλοφρονούμενοι is condemned as un-Attic by Cobet (*V. L.* pp. 232, 531); but μεγαλόφρων, μεγαλοφροσύνη are Attic, and Xenophon uses μεγαλοφροεῖν. μεγαλαυχούμενοι (Cobet's emendation) would mean 'vaunting': cf. III 395 D.

528 C 15 εἰ δὲ πόλις κτλ. is perhaps the earliest demand in literature for the State-encouragement—we might almost say the State-endowment—of pure science (cf. Krohn *Pl. St.* p. 169). Plato implies that in his city this claim will be fully satisfied; and the Platonic Utopia is in fact "la revendication du pouvoir pour la science" (Tannery l.c. p. 521).

ξυνεπιστατοῖ κτλ.: 'should cooperate with the superintendent' etc. not (as Jowett) 'become the director of these studies': for a special ἐπιστάτης—Plato has just said—is needed in any case. Plato's picture of the αἷτιον stereometricum, if the phrase may be allowed, is evidently drawn from life. He seems to speak as if he had himself an ἐπιστάτης ready, and wished to secure for him public support in order that students might be willing to work under him. Now although ὡς νῦν ἔχει belongs, strictly speaking, to the following clause, the words may, so far as the Greek is concerned, be connected with ἔπειτα καὶ γενομένου, and will then be equivalent to ὡς νῦν ἐγένετο ἐπιστάτης. I think it not impossible that Plato intended his readers to suspect him



ἐντίμως ἄγουσα αὐτά, οὗτοί τε ἂν πείθονται, καὶ ξυνεχῶς τε ἂν καὶ ἐντόνως ζητούμενα ἐκφανῇ γένοιτο ὅπῃ ἔχει· ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀτιμαζόμενα καὶ κολούμενα, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ζητούντων, λόγον οὐκ ἔχοντων καθ' ὃ τι χρήσιμα, ὅμως πρὸς ἅπαντα ταῦτα βία ὑπὸ  
 20 χάριτος αὐξάνεται, καὶ οὐδὲν<sup>1</sup> θαυμαστὸν αὐτὰ φανῆναι. Καὶ μὲν D

of this further meaning. If there is anything in this conjecture, to whom does Plato allude? Not, surely, to himself, although some have suspected the philosopher of blowing his own trumpet in a somewhat similar passage of the *Phaedo* (78 A): see Lutoslawski's *Plato's Logic* pp. 263 f. We are told by Plutarch *de genio Socratis* 7. 579 C that Plato referred the Delian deputation to Eudoxus, telling them that the problem was οὗτοι φαῖλον οὐδ' ἀμβλὺν διανοίας ὁρώσης, ἄκρως δὲ τὰς γραμμὰς ἡσκημένους ἔργον εἶναι τοῦτο μὲν οὖν Εὐδόξον αὐτοὺς τὸν Κνίδιον ἢ τὸν Κυζικηνὸν Ἑλικῶνα συντελέσειν κτλ. Now we know that Eudoxus not only himself achieved a solution of the Delian problem (Sturm l.c. pp. 32—37), but was also, in the fullest sense of the term, 'the founder of scientific Stereometry' (Günther in Müller's *Handbuch* v 1, p. 30), and did more for the subject than any of Plato's disciples (Cantor l.c. pp. 208—210). For these reasons I think it not unlikely that Plato has Eudoxus in his mind. Eudoxus and his pupils seem to have been living and working in the Academy along with the followers of Plato sometime between Plato's second and third visits to Sicily (368 B.C. and 361 B.C.: see Allman *Gk Geometry* etc. p. 178), and it is a pleasing and I hope pardonable conjecture—I do not claim that it is more—to suppose that Plato avails himself of this opportunity to pay a graceful compliment to his fellow-workers. See also on line 19 below and *Introd.* § 4.

16 ἐντίμως ἄγουσα. The phrase is illustrated by Loebck *Phryn.* p. 419.

18 ὑπὸ δὲ κτλ. ὑπὸ depends on ἀτιμαζόμενα καὶ κολούμενα. There is a sense in which the students also ἀτιμάζουσι καὶ κολοῦνσι a subject, which they ἀσθενῶς ζητοῦσιν (v above). κολούμενα is in harmony with αὐξάνεται—though cut short, the study still grows or advances. For other views on this sentence see App. VIII.

λόγον κτλ. The ζητούντες are the ζητητικοί of B—not, I think, Plato's pupils, but men who cannot explain the true

utility of stereometry (as described in 527 D, E), and are unwilling to throw their whole hearts into a 'useless' study.

19 βία—αὐξάνεται. Blass (l.c. p. 22) observes that in these words "sine dubio mathematici ex schola Platonis profecti intelligendi sunt." It is just conceivable—though of course no stress should be laid on the conjecture—that ὑπὸ χάριτος conceals some complimentary allusion to a particular person. If so, Eudoxus may be intended (see above on 528 C). There is, it is true, a tradition that Plato and Eudoxus had not always been on the best of terms (Allman *Gk Geom.* pp. 128 f.), but during the visit of Eudoxus to Athens between 368 and 361 B.C., they appear to have worked harmoniously and even cordially together (ib. pp. 133, 178). See also 530 A n. But we have no evidence to shew that Eudoxus bore the sobriquet of χάρις, though his character and personality (see Arist. *Eth. Nic.* x 2. 1172<sup>b</sup> 15 ff.), and even perhaps his name, deserved such a compliment. I think Plato means merely 'through elegance,' i.e. through the inherent elegance of the subject: cf. τὸ γε ἐπιχάρι καὶ διαφερόντως ἔχει. The use of ὑπό is as in ὑπὸ δέους φωνὴν ἔρρηξε and the like: see Kühner-Gerth *Gr. Gr.* II 1, p. 523. Badham's ἐπιχάριτα for ὑπὸ χάριτος is an unlucky venture. Dr Jackson suggests that ὑπὸ χάριτος may perhaps mean 'by grace, favour,' 'on sufferance': but Glauco's reply appears to me against this view.

528 C, D 20 οὐδὲν—φανῆναι: 'be brought to light,' 'discovered,' 'solved': cf. x 602 D and ἡρῆσθαι and ἐκφανῇ above. Unless Badham, Madvig, and Baiter had entirely mistaken the meaning of φανῆναι, they could scarcely have conjectured or approved of τοιαῦτα in place of αὐτά. Plato's language seems to point to some exceptional activity in connexion with the study of stereometrical problems, such as may have been occasioned by the application from Delos (527 D n.), and to encourage his pupils to hope for success at no distant date.

δή, ἔφη, τό γε ἐπίχαρι καὶ διαφερόντως ἔχει. ἀλλὰ μοι σαφέστερον εἶπε ἂν νῦν δὴ ἔλεγε. τὴν μὲν γάρ που τοῦ ἐπιπέδου πραγματεῖαν γεωμετρίαν ἐτίθης. Ναί, ἦν δ' ἐγώ. Εἰτά γ', ἔφη, τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἀστρονομίαν μετὰ ταύτην, ὕστερον δ' ἀνεχώρησας. Σπεύδων γάρ, ἔφην, ταχὺ πάντα διεξελθεῖν μᾶλλον βραδύνω· ἐξῆς γὰρ οὖσαν 25 τὴν βάθους αὐξὸς μέθοδον, ὅτι τῇ ζητήσῃ γελοιῶς ἔχει, ὑπερβὰς Ε αὐτὴν μετὰ γεωμετρίαν ἀστρονομίαν ἔλεγον, φορὰν<sup>1</sup> οὖσαν βάθους. Ὅρθως, ἔφη, λέγεις. Τέταρτον τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τιθώμεν μάθημα ἀστρονομίαν, ὡς ὑπαρχούσης τῆς νῦν παραλειπομένης, ἐὰν αὐτὴν πόλις μετή. Εὐκός, ἦ δ' ὅς· καὶ ὁ γε νῦν δὴ μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, 30

29. παραλειπομένης  $A^2P^2\Xi\eta$ : παραλιπομένης  $A^3\Pi$ .

528 D 21 ἀλλὰ μοι κτλ. The recapitulation is intended to emphasize once more the principle regulating Plato's sequence of subjects (528 A n. and App. II).

24 σπεύδων—βραδύνω: a proverbial saying, like our 'more haste, less speed': cf. (with Stallbaum) *Pol.* 264 B. If we σπεύδομεν ταχέως, we are apt σπεύδοντες βραδύνειν; hence the proverb σπεῦδε βραδέως 'Eile mit Weile.' See Jebb on *Soph. Ant.* 231.

26 ὅτι τῇ ζητήσῃ κτλ.: not "quia ita est comparata, ut de ea quaerere ridiculum sit" (Stallbaum), but 'quia ridicule tractatur': cf. (with Schneider) 529 E.

528 E—530 C Astronomy will accordingly be fourth in order, and Stereometry third. Yes, says Glauco; for assuredly Astronomy compels the soul to look 'on high.' On the contrary, Socrates replies, as studied at present, Astronomy turns the soul's eye down, though the bodily eye looks upward. True astronomy is not observation of the visible heavens, which are, like all things seen, imperfect and subject to change; it is a mathematical science, which studies the true movements of intelligible stars and uses the visible firmament as its orrery. We shall therefore pursue Astronomy by making use of problems and leave the heavens alone.

528 E ff. We have seen that the study of Stereometry, the science which deals with *τρίτη αἰξή*, naturally follows the study of Geometry, in which *δευτέρα αἰξή* is investigated (526 C n.). Astronomy, like Stereometry, is still concerned

with bodies of three dimensions, but in Astronomy we have one additional element, viz. Motion, so that the study of Astronomy, as Plato conceives it, is a degree more complicated than Stereometry, and forms its natural sequel: cf. 528 A, B. Plato's conception of *ἀριθμητική* and *γεωμετρική* would have commended itself in the main to the mathematicians of his day (cf. 525 D ff., 527 A), although they might not have accepted his view of the ontology of these sciences; but in the two remaining subjects of his curriculum, Astronomy and Harmonics, he consciously and deliberately parts company with his contemporaries (see 529 A—530 C, 530 E—531 C). After every allowance has been made for the perfervid enthusiasm of Plato's style, it must be confessed that the application of the principles laid down in this chapter would have checked the progress of astronomical science. Both Astronomy and Harmonics are treated by Plato as branches of pure rather than applied mathematics; and in each of these sciences Plato either discredits or altogether prohibits observation. It must be remembered, on the other hand, that Plato's object is not to promote the study of physical science for its own sake, but to provide a suitable *προπαιδεῖα* for those who are to crown their lives by the contemplation of the Idea, from which every element of sense-perception is far removed. The astronomy which Plato sketches in this chapter is a unique compound of poetry, metaphysics and mathematics. Besides the powerful appeal which it makes to the poetical imagination, it has a permanent value even in the

ἐπέπληξας περὶ ἀστρονομίας ὥς φορτικῶς ἐπαινοῦντι, νῦν ἢ σὺ μετέρχει ἐπαινῶ. παντὶ γάρ μοι δοκεῖ δῆλον, ὅτι αὕτη γε ἀναγκάζει 529 ψυχὴν εἰς τὸ ἄνω ὄραν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐνθένδε ἐκέισε ἄγει. Ἴσως, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, παντὶ δῆλον πλὴν ἐμοί· ἐμοὶ γὰρ οὐ δοκεῖ οὕτως. Ἀλλὰ πῶς; ἔφη. Ὡς μὲν νῦν αὐτὴν μεταχειρίζονται οἱ εἰς φιλοσοφίαν 5 ἀνάγοντες, πᾶν ποιεῖν κάτω βλέπειν. Πῶς, ἔφη, λέγεις; Οὐκ ἀγεννῶς μοι δοκεῖς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὴν περὶ τὰ ἄνω μάθησιν λαμβάνειν παρὰ σαυτῷ ἢ ἐστί· κινδυνεύεις γὰρ καὶ εἴ τις ἐν ὁρόφῃ ποικίλ- B ματα θεώμενος ἀνακύπτων καταμανθάνοι τι, ἡγείσθαι ἂν αὐτὸν νοήσει ἀλλ' οὐκ ὄμμασι θεωρεῖν. Ἴσως οὖν καλῶς ἡγεί, ἐγὼ δ'

7. ἢ Ξγ: ἢ A<sup>2</sup>II: η (sic) A<sup>1</sup>.  
Glauconi tribuit A<sup>2</sup>.

9. νοήσει II: νοήσιν A.

Ἴσως—εὐθιτικῶς

history of Astronomy as a passionate protest against mere empiricism, and an emphatic if exaggerated vindication of the theoretical side of the science. See also on 529 C, D and App. II.

528 E—529 A 31 ἢ σὺ μετέρχει: lit. 'in respect of that, in respect of which you pursue it,' i.e. 'in the way in which you pursue it,' no longer for its practical uses, as I did before (527 D), but because it leads the soul 'on high,' and from things here yonder ("from the things of this world to the next," say D. and V., quite wrongly). The object of ἐπαινῶ is not ἢ σὺ μετέρχει, but astronomy. Glauco has assimilated the phraseology of Socrates without its meaning. 'On high' and 'yonder' mean to Glauco the material heavens, not the νοητὸς τόπος: and he thinks the soul looks upwards if the bodily eye is turned aloft! The essence of Glauco's error consists in materializing the spiritual; and Plato here warns us against a danger which is responsible for countless errors, not only in Platonic criticism, but in every department of human thought and dogma. See also on 529 B, C.

529 A 4 οἱ εἰς φιλοσοφίαν ἀνάγοντες: 'those who would lead us upwards to philosophy' ("welche zur Wissenschafts-liebe hinaufführen wollen," Schneider). Plato is thinking of teachers who recognise (with Isocr. *Antid.* 261) that Astronomy and kindred subjects are the παρασκευὴ φιλοσοφίας, but nevertheless teach Astronomy on methods directly calculated to turn the soul's eye down. His description fits some of the Sophists,

particularly Hippias (see *Prot.* 318 E and cf. Isocr. *Pan.* 26—28). In οἱ ἀνάγοντες Plato takes them at their own valuation. For the Greek cf. 521 C ψυχῆς περιαγωγὴ ἐκ νυκτερινῆς τινας ἡμέρας εἰς ἀληθινὴν, τοῦ ὄντος οὖσαν ἐπάνοδον, ἣν δὴ φιλοσοφίαν ἀληθὴ φήσομεν εἶναι, where ἀληθὴ points the contrast with the false philosophy to which some would lead the soul. ἀνάγοντες preserves the idea of education as an ascent, in harmony with the prevailing metaphor throughout this book. The translation "those who embark on philosophy" (D. and V.) is untenable: so also are the two other versions in J. and C. ('raise astronomy to the rank of a science,' 'refer astronomy to philosophy'), as Shorey—whose view is more nearly correct—has pointed out (*A. J. Ph.* xvi p. 237).

5 οὐκ ἀγεννῶς: 'with a fine audacity,' "non sine generosa fiducia" (Schneider), as in *Gorg.* 492 D οὐκ ἀγεννῶς γε—ἐπεξέρχει τῷ λόγῳ παρησιαζόμενος, and elsewhere.

529 B, C 7 κινδυνεύεις γὰρ κτλ. Glauco conceives of astronomy in exactly the same way as the Aristophanic Socrates; and this indignant repudiation by the Platonic Socrates is the more intelligible, if (with Nettleship *Lect. and Rem.* II p. 274 n.) we suppose that Plato is thinking of the *Clouds*. Our astronomy (says Plato in effect), our vision upward, is not what Aristophanes made it appear to be, but something very different. See below on ἄνω κεχρηῶς in B and ἐξ ὑπτίας νέων in C.



εὐθηκῶς. ἐγὼ γὰρ αὖ οὐ δύναμαι ἄλλο τι νομίσαι ἄνω ποιοῦν 10  
 ψυχὴν βλέπειν μάθημα ἢ ἐκεῖνο, ὃ ἂν περὶ τὸ ὄν τε ἦ καὶ τὸ  
 ἀόρατον, εἴαν τε τις ἄνω κεχηνῶς ἢ κάτω συμμαρυκῶς τῶν αἰσθητῶν  
 τι ἐπιχειρῇ μαθάνειν, οὔτε μαθεῖν ἂν ποτέ φημι αὐτόν—ἐπιστήμην  
 C γὰρ οὐδὲν ἔχειν τῶν τοιούτων—οὔτε ἄνω ἀλλὰ κάτω αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> βλέπειν  
 τὴν ψυχὴν, κὰν ἐξ ὑπτίας νέων ἐν γῇ ἢ ἐν θαλάττῃ μαθάνῃ. 15

XI. Δίκην, ἔφη, ἔχω· ὁρθῶς γάρ μοι ἐπέπληξας. ἀλλὰ πῶς  
 δὴ ἔλεγες δεῖν ἀστρονομίαν μαθάνειν παρὰ ἃ νῦν μαθάνουσιν, εἰ  
 μέλλοιεν ὠφελίμως πρὸς ἃ λέγομεν μαθήσεσθαι; Ὁδε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ·

12. ἢ κάτω Π: ἢ κάτω A.

15. νέων Π: μέν A.

529 B 10 ἄλλο τι νομίσαι κτλ.: 'think any other study one that makes,' etc. "Aliud esse puto νομίσαι τι ποιεῖν, aliud ποιοῦν idque huic loco magis aptum, scilicet non solum facere sive faciendū in praesentia occupatum esse, sed vim et consuetudinem faciendū habere aliquid existimare" (Schneider). ποιοῦν is half adjectival, like συμφέρον in Xen. Rep. Lac. I 6 (quoted by Ast) τοῦτο συμφέρον τῇ εὐγονίᾳ νομίζων. Heindorf's conjecture ποιεῖν was approved by Kühner Gr. II p. 631; but ποιοῦν is in all the MSS, and should be retained.

12 εἴαν τίς κτλ.: 'and if any one attempts to learn aught which is perceivable I care not whether his open mouth yawn upwards or his closed mouth look below—he will never, as I hold, learn' etc. For εἴαν τε, Hermann and Stallbaum read εἴαν δέ on slight MS authority; but οὐ δύναμαι and οὐ (τε)—φημι are properly joined by τε (Schneider). The English translators understand συμμαρυκῶς of closed eyes; but the eyes must of course be open in any case, and the balance with ἄνω κεχηνῶς is conclusive against this view. συμῶν, as the Lexica shew, is used of closing any bodily aperture. The state of the mouth is ludicrously irrelevant, but κεχηνῶς, which betokens rapt stupidity, inevitably suggests συμμαρυκῶς, and the whole expression is a finely indignant outburst of exuberant and extravagant satire on a gross misapprehension of Socratico-Platonic views.

ἄνω κεχηνῶς refers perhaps specifically to Clouds 171—173 ζητοῦντος αὐτοῦ τῆς σελήνης τὰς ὁδοὺς | καὶ τὰς περιφορὰς

εἰτ' ἄνω κεχηνῶτος | ἀπὸ τῆς ὁροφῆς νύκτωρ γαλεώτης κατέχευεν. It will be admitted that Plato had some ground for his anger. I don't in the least care, he says in effect to Aristophanes, whether your Socrates looks up or down: so long as he studies αἰσθητά, he is not my Socrates, and I disown your caricature. For the general sense cf. (with J. and C.) Tim. 91 D.

13 ἐπιστήμην—ἔχειν: 'admits of knowledge.'

529 C 15 τὴν ψυχὴν: though his bodily eye looks upwards.

κὰν ἐξ ὑπτίας κτλ.: 'aye, even though the learner float face upwards on land or in the sea.' I understand ἐξ ὑπτίας νεῖν ἐν γῇ as an allusion to Socrates in the κρεμάθρα: cf. Ar. 19 C ταῦτα γὰρ ἐωρᾶτε καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀριστοφάνους κωμῳδίᾳ, Σωκράτη τινὰ ἐκεῖ περιφερόμενον, φάσκοντά τε ἀεροβατεῖν κτλ. and see Ar. Clouds 218—226. If we suppose that Socrates lay supine in his swinging κρεμάθρα, as presumably he did, since he was looking at the moon, then any one who had seen the Clouds would at once catch the allusion, especially after ἄνω κεχηνῶς and the other references just above. For νεῖν of floating in the air, cf. ἀερονηχῆς Ar. Clouds 337, with Blaydes ad loc. and on Peace 831.

ἢ ἐν θαλάττῃ is thrown in by Plato with the same extravagant mockery as κάτω συμμαρυκῶς. Float him on land, float him, if you like, in the sea; but though his body's eye looks upward, his soul looks down. On the text and other views of this passage see App. IX.

ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ποικίλματα, ἐπείπερ ἐν ὁρατῷ πεποι-

**529 C, D 19** ταῦτα μὲν κτλ. 'Yonder embellishments in the heavens, forasmuch as they are wrought in that which is seen with the bodily eye, we should indeed consider more beautiful and perfect than anything visible, but far inferior to those which are genuine and true—far inferior to the movements wherewith essential speed and essential slowness, in true and genuine number and in all true forms, are moved in relation to each other and therewithal make that which is essentially in them to move: the true adornments, which are apprehended by reasoning and the mathematical intelligence, but not by sight.' The clause *κάλλιστα μὲν*—*ἔχειν* is concessive, and *ἐπείπερ ἐν ὁρατῷ πεποικίλται* gives the reason why τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ ποικίλματα πολὺ ἐνδεῖ τῶν ἀληθινῶν (sc. ποικιλμάτων), for the ἀληθινὰ ποικίλματα are wrought, not ἐν ὁρατῷ, but ἐν νοητῷ, i.e. in the lower νοητόν, with which and which alone the true astronomer as such is conversant. See App. I. The clause *ὡς τὸ ἐν τάχος*—*φορὰς κτλ.* explains τῶν ἀληθινῶν (ποικιλμάτων), being equivalent, as Schneider points out, to *τοῦτ' ἐστι, τῶν φορῶν, ὡς κτλ.*, 'that is, the movements which' etc. So much for the relation between the different members of the sentence. In order to grasp the meaning of Plato, we should read the sentence aloud, letting the full stress of the voice fall on the words *ἀληθινῶν, ἐν, οὐσα, ἀληθινῷ, ἀληθέσι* and *-όντα ἐν τὰ ἐνόντα φέρει*. Each of these words is emphatic, and expresses that degree of Truth or Being which belongs to the mathematical realities of true astronomy, as opposed to the sensibles or *αἰσθητά* which form the subject-matter of the astronomy which Plato has just condemned. Popular astronomy observes with the bodily eye the movements of visible and material planets, e.g. Mercury and Mars. These two planets *φορὰς πρὸς ἄλληλα φέρει* in *γυγνόμενος* or *κινητὸς ἀριθμὸς*, i.e. in time (cf. *Tim.* 37 C ff.), Mercury, as astronomers tell us, completing his orbit in about three, and Mars in about twenty-three, months. In the second place, these planets travel in *γυγνόμενα* (not ἀληθῆ) *σχήματα*, i.e. in forms or orbits which belong to the world of *γυγνόμενα*, and as they travel they carry with them the *γυγνόμενα* which they contain, Mars for example his snow-caps and canals. The

Platonic astronomer, on the other hand, looks with the eye of *διάνοια* at the ἀληθινὰ ποικίλματα, i.e. at the motions of true or mathematical stars. These mathematical stars *φορὰς πρὸς ἄλληλα φέρεται ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἀριθμῷ*, i.e. in mathematical number, e.g. in 3 and 23 (not three *months*, etc.), and also ἐν ἀληθέσι *σχήμασιν*, i.e. in mathematical orbits, viz. the perfect ellipses which are imperfectly reproduced in the orbits of the visible material planets. Furthermore, although here perhaps our imagination may refuse to follow Plato in his flight, just as the visible Mars in his journey carries with him the *γυγνόμενα* which he contains, so Plato represents the true stars of mathematical astronomy as carrying round with them τὰ ἐνόντα, i.e. the mathematical *realities* which are in them. The mathematical counterpart of Mars, for example, will take with it in its revolution those perfect mathematical forms which are imperfectly reproduced in the canals and snow-caps of the visible Mars. Plato in short conceives of a mathematical *οὐρανὸς* of which the visible heavens are but a blurred and imperfect expression in time and space, just as every visible and material triangle is only an approximation to a true or perfect, i.e. a mathematical, triangle. The following remark of Aristotle's is intended as an objection to Plato's theory, but, according to the doctrine of this part of the *Republic*, Plato would have accepted the criticism as containing a just and true account of the astronomy which he prescribes: *ἐτι δὲ εἰ τις παρὰ τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ τὰ μεταξὺ θήσεται, πολλὰς ἀπορίας ἔξει. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως γραμμαὶ τε παρ' αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς αἰσθητὰς ἔσονται καὶ ἕκαστον τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν. ὥστ' ἐπείπερ ἀστρολογία μὲν ταῦτα ἐστίν, ἔσται τις καὶ οὐρανὸς παρὰ τὸν αἰσθητὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη καὶ τὰλλα ὁμοίως τὰ κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν (*Met.* B 2. 997<sup>b</sup> 12 ff.). It remains to speak of two particular difficulties. What does Plato mean by ταῦτα τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ποικίλματα, and by τὸ ἐν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὐσα βραδυτής? The ποικίλματα seem to be generally identified with the stars and nothing more. But inasmuch as astronomy deals with *φορὰ βάθους*, and the ordinary astronomer, according to Plato, studies τὰς τῶν ἀστρων *φορὰς* (cf. 533 A) rather than*

**D** κίλται, κάλλιστα μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ <sup>1</sup> ἀκριβέστατα τῶν τοιούτων <sup>20</sup>  
 ἔχειν, τῶν δὲ ἀληθινῶν πολὺ ἐνδεῖν, ἃς τὸ ὄν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὐσα  
 βραδυτῆς ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἀριθμῷ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀληθέσι σχήμασι  
 φοράς τε πρὸς ἀλλήλα φέρεται καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα φέρει. ἂ δὲ λόγῳ  
 μὲν καὶ διανοίᾳ ληπτὰ, ὅφει δ' οὐ· ἢ σὺ οἶε; Οὐδαμῶς, ἔφη.  
 Οὐκοῦν, εἶπον, τῇ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ποικιλίᾳ παραδείγμασι χρη- <sup>25</sup>  
 στέον τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνα μαθήσεως ἕνεκα, ὁμοίως ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις  
**E** ἐντύχοι ὑπὸ Δαιδάλου ἢ <sup>1</sup> τινος ἄλλου δημιουργοῦ ἢ γραφέως  
 διαφερόντως γεγραμμένοις καὶ ἐκπεπονημένοις διαγράμμασιν.  
 ἡγήσαιο γὰρ ἂν πού τις ἔμπειρος γεωμετρίας ἰδὼν τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 κάλλιστα μὲν ἔχειν ἀπεργασίᾳ, γελῶν μὴν ἐπισκοπεῖν ταῦτα <sup>30</sup>

28. διαφερόντως A<sup>2</sup>Π: διαφέροντος A<sup>1</sup>.

ἄστροι themselves, it may be presumed that the ποικίλματα ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ in reality denote the stars regarded as moving bodies, i.e., strictly speaking, the movements of the heavenly bodies revolving in their orbits (cf. *Tim.* 39 D and 40 C); and the presumption becomes a certainty when we reach the words τῶν ἀληθινῶν, ἃς—φέρει, for since the true ποικίλματα which true astronomy studies are identified with the movements of true stars, we are bound in like manner to suppose that the γινόμενα ποικίλματα which observational astronomy studies are the movements of γινόμενα ἄστροι. Some may be disposed to think that τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ ποικίλματα refers to the intricate and complex patterns which the orbits of the celestial bodies weave upon the Heavens: cf. *Tim.* 39 D τὰς τούτων πλάνας, πλήθει μὲν ἀμυγχανῶν χρωμένας, πεποικιλμένας δὲ θαυμαστῶς. But in view of expressions like Aesch. *P. V.* 24 ἡ ποικιλείμων νύξ and Eur. *Hel.* 1102 ἀστέρων ποικίλματα, it is better to hold that Plato adopts the word which was usually applied to the 'spangles' in the heavens, the "patines of bright gold," with which "the floor of heaven is thick inlaid" (*Merchant of Venice* v 1), and uses it of the movements of the stars, especially as throughout this chapter he consistently represents the visible stars which popular astronomy investigates as nothing but visible or material φοράι. I understand τὸ ὄν τάχος and ἡ οὐσα βραδυτῆς as the mathematical counterparts of visible stars. This interpretation is, I think, the only one which gives a proper

sense to φοράς τε πρὸς ἀλλήλα φέρεται καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα φέρει, and no other solution preserves in its full and unimpaired significance the necessary contrast between the astronomy of observation and Plato's form of the science. The place which in popular astronomy is occupied by a γινόμενον τάχος, e.g. the planet Mercury, and a γινόμενη βραδυτῆς, e.g. the planet Mars, is in true astronomy filled by ὄν τάχος and οὐσα βραδυτῆς. Plato's conception of a true science of Astronomy is a remarkable product of his peculiar half-poetical, half-philosophical imaginative faculty, and differs fundamentally from the theory and practice of the science both in antiquity and now. But it must in fairness be allowed that if a science of astronomy could be constructed on Platonic principles, admitting no element of sense-perception, and dealing exclusively with incorporeal mathematical abstractions, it would prove a better prelude to the study of the ἀχρώματός τε καὶ ἀσχημάτιστος καὶ ἀναφῆς οὐσία (*Phaedr.* 247 C) than could ever be provided by the astronomy which depends on observation of the heavenly bodies. See further App. II, and for other views of this passage App. X.

529 D, E 25 παραδείγμασι κτλ. The visible heavens may be used as a moving orrery, but nothing more. ὁμοίως κτλ. is a singularly apt illustration, because the special feature of Daedalus' statues was that they moved (*Euthyph.* 11 B ff., *Men.* 97 D ff., Eur. *Frag.* 373).



σπουδῇ, ὡς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν αὐτοῖς ληψόμενον ἴσων ἢ διπλασίων  
 | ἢ ἄλλης τινὸς συμμετρίας. Τί δ' οὐ μέλλει γελοῖον εἶναι; ἔφη. 530  
 Τῷ ὄντι δὴ ἀστρονομικόν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ὄντα οὐκ οἶε ταῦτόν πεῖσεσθαι  
 εἰς τὰς τῶν ἀστρων φορὰς ἀποβλέποντα; νομεῖν μὲν, ὡς οἶόν τε  
 κάλλιστα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἔργα συστήσασθαι, οὕτω ξυνεστάναι τῷ τοῦ  
 5 οὐρανοῦ δημιουργῷ αὐτόν τε καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ· τὴν δὲ νυκτὸς πρὸς  
 ἡμέραν ξυμμετρίαν καὶ τούτων πρὸς μῆνα καὶ μηνὸς πρὸς ἐνιαυτὸν  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρων πρὸς τε ταῦτα <sup>1</sup> καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα οὐκ Β  
 ἀτοπον, οἶε, ἡγήσεται τὸν νομίζοντα γίγνεσθαι τε ταῦτα αἰεὶ ὡσαύ-  
 τως καὶ οὐδαμῇ οὐδὲν παραλλάττειν, σῶμά τε ἔχοντα καὶ ὁρώμενα,  
 10 καὶ ζητεῖν παντὶ τρόπῳ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν; Ἐμοὶ γοῦν  
 δοκεῖ, ἔφη, σοῦ νῦν ἀκούοντι. Προβλήμασιν ἄρα, ἣν δ' ἐγώ,  
 χρώμενοι ὥσπερ γεωμετρίαν οὕτω καὶ ἀστρονομίαν μέτιμεν, τὰ δ'

530 A 2 τῷ ὄντι δὴ κτλ. It has been conjectured by Brandt (z. *Entw. d. Plat. Lehr. v. d. Seelenteilen* p. 8) that Plato is thinking of Eudoxus; but there is nothing to suggest a specific reference here, as there was in 528 B, C, and as Eudoxus, "the father of scientific astronomical observation in Greece" was preeminently "a practical observer" (Allman *Gr. Geometry etc.* p. 142), he would hardly be described by Plato in this passage as τῷ ὄντι ἀστρονομικός. See also Hirmer *Entst. u. Komp. d. Plat. Pol.* p. 667.

4 τὰ τοιαῦτα: i.e. ὁρατά, σωματοειδῆ. τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ δημιουργῷ: the Demiurgus of the *Timaeus*.

5 τὴν δὲ νυκτὸς κτλ.: with which astronomical observation is concerned. Plato's tone is very different in the *Timaeus* (47 A ff.) as Grote points out (*Plato* III p. 235 n., where also an amusing parallel is quoted from Malebranche); but it should be remembered that it is with the educational value of astronomy as a preparation for Dialectic that we are here concerned (note εἰ μέλλομεν—ποιήσειν in B, and see App. II).

7 τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρων: 'the other stars' (Schneider), as ταῦτα shews, not 'the stars besides' (as Stallbaum).

ταῦτα: viz. the Sun and Moon, which make day, night, year, and month.

530 B 9 παραλλάττειν—ὁρώμενα is a cardinal principle with Plato: see *Tim.* 28 A, B, 37 D and especially *Pol.* 269 D, E. παραλλάξ is used half-technically of any change or deviation in the courses of the heavenly bodies, as for

example in the legend of Atreus (*Pol.* 269 A): cf. *Tim.* 22 C.

10 ζητεῖν depends on ἀτοπον ἡγήσεται, ἀτοπον being now taken as neuter. A reference to 525 B n. will shew that Madvig's ζητήσῃ (or ζητεῖν δειν), and Richards' ζητοῦντα, with other conjectures, are wholly beside the mark. J. and C. (following Stallbaum) say ζητεῖν "depends on νομίζοντα with the common ellipse of δειν": but δειν is not commonly omitted. In ζητεῖν—λαβεῖν there is a slight suggestion of something like the historical Socrates' distrust of astronomy (Xen. *Mem.* IV 7. 6).

11 προβλήμασιν κτλ. Some have cited in illustration "Leverrier and Adams calculating an unknown planet into existence by enormous heaps of algebra" (De Morgan, quoted by Bosanquet p. 293: cf. Lutoslawski *Plato's Logic* p. 300). The example is striking but inapposite; for, according to this passage, the visible perturbations of Uranus, which occasioned the search for Neptune, would not have seemed to Plato anything very extraordinary. Unless he is greatly exaggerating here, and I do not deny that throughout this passage there is a touch of γενναῖον πάθος, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ μανίας τινὸς καὶ πνεύματος ἐνθουσιαστικῶς ἐκπνέον καὶ οἶον εἰ φοιβάξον τοὺς λόγους (Longinus *περὶ ὑψους* 8. 4), Plato's views on law in the heavens must have undergone considerable modification before he wrote the *Laws*: see the striking passage 821 B ff., and *Tim.* 47 A ff.

12 τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἔασομεν: 'we

Ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ἐάσομεν, εἰ μέλλομεν ὄντως ἀστρονομίας μεταλαμβάνοντες χρήσιμον τὸ φύσει φρόνιμον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἐξ ἀχρήστου ποιήσιν. Ἡ πολλαπλάσιον, ἔφη, τὸ ἔργον ἢ ὡς νῦν ἀστρονομεῖται<sup>15</sup> προστάττεις. Οἶμαι δέ γε, εἶπον, καὶ τὰλλα κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον προστάξιν ἡμᾶς, ἐάν τι ἡμῶν ὡς νομοθετῶν ὄφελος ᾖ.

14. ἀχρήστου A<sup>2</sup>Π: ἀρχῆς τοῦ A<sup>1</sup>.

will dispense with the starry heavens.' There is a touch of fine audacity, not to say impiety, in Plato's phrase. Greater than the starry heavens is the mind of man. Nettleship (*Lect. and Rem.* II pp. 271—277) and Bosanquet (*Companion* pp. 290—293) are, as it seems to me, unduly anxious throughout the whole of this episode to minimise and explain away Plato's depreciation of the senses and their objects, although by so doing they can make his theories harmonize more nearly with the views of certain modern philosophers, and possibly also with the truth. Krohn (*Pl. St.* pp. 170—174) inclines to the opposite error, although, except perhaps on verbal grounds, Plato would not quarrel with his definition of Platonic astronomy as "die Wissenschaft von den Bewegungen intelligiblen Körper." Plato's Astronomy is in fact a kind of idealised Kinematics, with occasional illustrations from the visible movements of the heavenly bodies (τῇ περὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ποικίλῃ παραδείγμασι χρηστέον κτλ. 529 D).

16 οἶμαι δέ γε κτλ. 526C n.

530 C—531 C Next will come the science which is sister to Astronomy, viz. Harmonics. For particulars we will refer to the Pythagoreans, taking care, however, to maintain our leading principles intact. We may ignore the good people who try to determine a minimum interval and unit of measurement by the ear; but the Pythagoreans are also wrong, for it is the numerical ratios of audible consonances which they study. They ought to ascend to problems and examine which numbers are consonant, which not, and why. The science of Harmonics is useless for our purpose if otherwise pursued.

530 C ff. With the science of Har-

monics we reach the end of Plato's *προπαιδεία*. Plato's conception of Harmonics is in all respects analogous to his view of Astronomy. We have seen that the visible movements of the celestial bodies are only imperfect copies of those mathematical movements which true Astronomy seeks to apprehend. In like manner, the audible movements which produce audible consonances are imperfect reproductions of those mathematical movements from which result mathematical consonances, and it is these true consonances which the *ἁρμονικός* should study. The methods of pure mathematics are to be employed in Harmonics as well as in Astronomy, and observation and experiment are forbidden. If we criticise Plato from the standpoint of acoustical science, we must allow that he falls into the same error as before, but the emphasis, however exaggerated, which he lays on the mathematical and theoretical element in Harmonics, is not without importance in the history of the science; and we must remember that the study of Harmonics is valuable to Plato only as a preparation for Dialectic. The poetical affinities of the Platonic science of Harmonics are worthy of remark, though this chapter refrains from any allusion to them. It is altogether in harmony with Plato's theory to hold that 'the solemn and divine harmonies of music, heard or learned,' appeal to us so powerfully because they are one expression of those 'unheard harmonies' which are also expressed in the sister souls of Nature and of Man (*Tim.* 35 A ff.), and although there is much in Brownling's Abt Vogler to which Plato would demur, the idea which inspires that noble poem has its philosophical basis in some such theory as Plato here suggests.

"But here is the finger of God, a flash of the will that can,  
Existent behind all laws, that made them and lo they are!  
And I know not, if, save in this, such gift be allowed to man,  
That out of three sounds he frame, not a fourth sound, but a star.

XII. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ τί ἔχεις ὑπομνήσαι τῶν προσηκόντων μαθημάτων; Οὐκ ἔχω, ἔφη, νῦν γ' οὕτωςί. Οὐ μὲν ἔν, ἀλλὰ 20 πλείω, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, εἶδη παρέχεται ἡ φορά, ὡς ἐγῶμαι. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἅπαντα ἴσως ὅστις σοφὸς ἔξει εἰπεῖν· ἃ δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν προφανῇ, δύο. D Ποῖα δὴ; Πρὸς τούτῳ, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ἀντίστροφον αὐτοῦ. Τὸ ποῖον; Κινδυνεύει, ἔφη, ὡς πρὸς ἀστρονομίαν ὄμματα πέπηγεν, ὡς πρὸς ἐναρμόνιον φορὰν ὅτα παγῆναι, καὶ αὐταὶ ἀλλήλων ἀδελφαί τινες 25 αἱ ἐπιστήμαι εἶναι, ὡς οἱ τε Πυθαγόρειοί φασι καὶ ἡμεῖς, ὧ Γλαῦκων, συγχωροῦμεν. ἥ πῶς ποιοῦμεν; Οὕτως, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ἐπειδὴ πολὺ ἢ τὸ ἔργον, ἐκείνων πευσόμεθα, πῶς λέγουσι E περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πρὸς τούτοις· ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ πάντα

Consider it well: each tone of our scale in itself is nought;  
It is everywhere in the world—loud, soft, and all is said:  
Give it to me to use! I mix it with two in my thought;  
And there! ye have heard and seen: consider and bow the head!"

It is perhaps because he believed that the Soul of the Universe no less than that of Man is attuned to these eternal harmonies, as well as for other reasons, that Plato makes his *προπαιδεῖα* culminate in Harmonics. See also App. II.

530 C 18 ἀλλὰ γάρ κτλ. Socrates means: If you criticise my curriculum (as in ἡ πολλαπλάσιον—προσάττεις), you are doubtless ready with suggestions of your own: hence I appeal to you: 'what suitable study can you suggest?' 'I cannot,' says Glauco, 'make any suggestion straight off.' ἀλλὰ γάρ ('however' as in *Theaet.* 144 B, *Symp.* 220 E) goes closely with the previous sentence; if it were otherwise, Plato would have added ἦν δ' ἐγώ or the like. The reading ἀλλὰ γάρ τι (*q* Vind. F, Hermann etc.) can hardly stand; nor is Steinhart's ἄλλο γάρ τι κτλ., or Richards' ἀλλὰ γάρ <ἄλλο> τι (or ἀλλὰ γάρ <ἐτι> τι) pleasing or probable. I formerly suggested ἀλλὰ γάρ τι ἔχεις <σὺ> ὑπομνήσαι κτλ., the other subjects having all been suggested by Socrates and not Glauco, with the partial exception of geometry 526 C; but now believe (with Schneider) that the text is sound.

20 πλείω κτλ. φορὰ is (according to both Plato and Aristotle) a specific variety of κίνησις, being in fact, ἡ κατὰ τόπον κίνησις. Of the genus κίνησις Plato enumerates ten varieties in *Latw* 893 B ff.; of φορὰ in particular some specific εἶδη are mentioned by Arist. *Eth. Nic.* x 3 1174<sup>a</sup> 30 ff.

530 D 22 πρὸς τούτῳ: "praeter astronomicum φορὰς s. motus genus" (Stallbaum).

23 ὡς πρὸς ἀστρονομίαν κτλ. ἀστρονομία is φορὰ βάθους (528 E n.), and appeals to the eye in the same way as ἐναρμόνιος φορὰ, or movement in accordance with the laws of ἁρμονία (III 397 B, 398 D, E nn.), appeals to the ear. In ἐναρμόνιος φορὰ the air moves more or less quickly etc., and this accounts for the different pitch etc. of notes: see *Tim.* 67 B, 80 A ff. and Theo Smyrn. p. 50 Hiller, where this—Pythagorean as well as Platonic—theory of sound is very clearly explained. Cf. also von Jan *Musici Scriptores Graeci* pp. 130 ff.

24 ἀδελφαί τινες. Cf. [Archytas] in Mullach *Frag. Phil. Graec.* I p. 564 περί τε δὴ τὰς τῶν ἀστρων ταχυτάτος καὶ ἐπιτολᾶν καὶ δυσίων παρέδωκαν αὐτὴν διὰ γινώσκειν καὶ περί γεμετρίας καὶ ἀριθμῶν καὶ οὐχ ἥκιστα περί μουσικῆς· ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ μαθήματα δοκοῦντι εἶμεν ἀδελφά, ib. p. 565 and (with J. and C.) *Tim.* 47 B, C. The sisterhood of Music and Astronomy is best seen in the 'harmony of the Spheres': see x 617 B n. and RP<sup>7</sup>. 68 B nn.

530 E 27 ἐκείνων πευσόμεθα κτλ. Plato does not claim to be a specialist in musical matters: cf. III 400 A. The words καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πρὸς τούτοις look like a general acknowledgment of obligation throughout this part of the *Republic* to the Pythagoreans. See App. II.



ταῦτα φυλάξομεν τὸ ἡμέτερον. Ποῖον; Μή ποτ' αὐτῶν τι ἀτελὲς ἐπιχειρῶσιν ἡμῖν μαθάνειν οὓς θρέψομεν, καὶ οὐκ ἐξήκον ἐκείσε 30 αἶε, οἱ πάντα δεῖ ἀφήκειν, οἷον ἄρτι περὶ τῆς ἀστρονομίας ἐλέγομεν.

531 ἢ οὐκ οἶσθ' ὅτι καὶ περὶ ἁρμονίας ἕτερον | τοιοῦτον ποιοῦσι; τὰς γὰρ ἀκουόμενας αὖ συμφωνίας καὶ φθόγγους ἀλλήλοις ἀναμετροῦντες ἀνήνυτα ὥσπερ οἱ ἀστρονόμοι πονοῦσιν. Νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς, ἔφη, καὶ γελοῖως γε, πυκνώματ' ἅττα ὀνομάζοντες καὶ παραβάλ-

30 ἐξήκον κτλ. The MS reading αἶε, of gives a weightier and better meaning than οἱ αἶε, which Richards proposes. For ἀφήκειν Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* xiv 13. 5) has ἀνήκειν, also a rare word: Stephanus conjectured ἐφήκειν. ἀφήκειν is better, though rarer, than either: cf. (with Schneider) ἀφίκεται in 531 D. The reference in ἄρτι is to 529 A ff.

531 A I τὰς γὰρ ἀκουόμενας κτλ. The intervals reckoned as consonant (σύνφωνα) were such as the octave, double octave, fifth and fourth: see on IV 430 E. These the Pythagoreans 'measure by' (or 'against') 'one another,' by comparing the lengths of vibrating strings of the same material, thickness and tension. It is thus found that the octave is 2 : 1, the double octave 4 : 1, the fifth 3 : 2, and the fourth 4 : 3. See *Dict. of Ant.* II p. 193 with Theo Smyrn. pp. 48—51, 56—61 Hiller, and Aristox. *Harm.* 20 ff. Marquard. Richards proposes <έν> ἀλλήλοις, but the dative is strictly accurate: cf. *Tim.* 39 D τῷ τοῦ ταύτου καὶ ὁμοίως ἴοντος ἀναμετρηθέντα κύκλῳ.

3 ὥσπερ οἱ ἀστρονόμοι. The parallel is exact: as the astronomers studied visible, so the Pythagoreans investigated audible *φωναί* (Theo l.c.). To Plato, on the other hand, ἁρμονίη ἀφανὴς φανερῆς κρείσσω (Heracle. *Fr.* 47 Bywater). 'Heard harmonies are sweet, but those unheard are sweeter.' See above on 530 C.

3 νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς κτλ. There were two rival schools of musical theory in Greece, viz. "(1) the Pythagorean or mathematical, who identified each interval with a ratio, (2) the 'musical' (μουσικοί), who measured all intervals as multiples or fractions of the Tone" (Monro in *Dict. Ant.* II p. 193). Cf. *Modes of Anc. Gk. Mus.* p. 124. Plato's criticism was intended to apply to the first school; but Glauco erroneously understands it of the second.

4 πυκνώματα κτλ. ἅττα (*nescio quae*) and ὀνομάζοντες shew that πυκνώματα is a technical term. The word πύκνωμα does not appear to occur elsewhere in this sense, but πυκνόν was a favourite word with writers of the 'musical' school, as may be seen from its constant employment by Aristoxenus. πυκνόν is thus defined: τὸ ἐκ δύο διαστημάτων συνεστηκὸς ἃ συντεθέντα ἑλαττον διάστημα περιέξει τοῦ λειπομένου διαστήματος ἐν τῷ διὰ τεσσάρων (Aristox. *Harm.* 24. 10 ff. Marquard) i.e. any combination of two intervals which are together less than the interval remaining in the Fourth when the πυκνόν is subtracted from the Fourth, e.g. two quarter tone intervals, or even two semitone intervals (but not more): see Aristox. l.c. 50. 15 ff. The definition in Bacchius *Isag.* 20 von Jan τὸ ἐκ δύο διαστημάτων ἐλαχίστων συγκείμενον ἐν ἐκάστῳ γένει is less exact, but not, so far as it goes, inconsistent with that of Aristoxenus. Plato's πυκνώματα must be "haec ipsa πυκνά vel alia parva et tamen composita intervalla," so called "propter sonorum in angusto spatio quasi confertorum frequentiam" (Schneider). Cf. πυκνότης in *Latw* 812 D, καταπυκνωθῆναι, καταπύκνωσις etc. in Theo 91 and often in Aristoxenus, and see generally Westphal and Rossbach *Gr. Harm.* etc. pp. 105 ff. It is possible that the musical application of these terms was originally a metaphor borrowed from the art of weaving: for "vestes *spatha textae*, ob densitatem, quam inde consequebantur, πυκνώματα dictae ap. Aesch. *Suppl.* 235 πέπλοισι βαρβαροῖσι, καὶ πυκνώμασι" (Stephanus-Hase s.v. πύκνωμα, where reference is made also to Hesych. s.v. σπάθημα and a Scholiast on Ar. *Ach.* 180). I agree with Schneider in doubting whether Gellius' "frequentamenta" (I II. 12, V I. 1) are the same as Plato's πυκνώματα.

5 λοντες τὰ ὦτα, οἷον ἐκ γειτόνων φωνὴν θηρεύμενοι, οἱ μὲν φασιν  
 ἔτι κατακούειν ἐν μέσῳ τινὰ ἡχὴν καὶ σμικρότατον εἶναι τοῦτο  
 διάστημα, ᾧ μετρητέον, οἱ δὲ ἀμφισβητοῦντες ὡς ὅμοιον ἤδη  
 φθεγγομένων, ἀμφοτέροι ὦτα ἰ τοῦ νοῦ προστησάμενοι. Σὺ μὲν, B  
 ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τοὺς χρηστοὺς λέγεις τοὺς ταῖς χορδαῖς πράγματα  
 10 παρέχοντας καὶ βασανίζοντας, ἐπὶ τῶν κολλόπων στρεβλοῦντας·  
 ἵνα δὲ μὴ μακροτέρα ἢ εἰκὼν γίγνηται πλήκτρῳ τε πληγῶν γιγνο-  
 μένων καὶ κατηγορίας πέρι καὶ ἐξαρνήσεως καὶ ἀλαζονείας χορδῶν,

8. φθεγγομένων A<sup>1</sup>Π: φθεγγόμενον corr. A<sup>2</sup>.

5 οἷον ἐκ γειτόνων κτλ.: 'as if they were trying to catch a sound in the neighbourhood.' Cf. Heliod. I 17 πῖναι δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἐκ γειτόνων and Blaydes on Ar. *Plut.* 435 or Stephanus-Hase *Thest.* s.v. γείτων, where numerous examples of this highly idiomatic phrase are quoted. J. and C.'s translation "from a neighbour's house" is incorrect and pointless: still worse is Westphal's "als ob sie die Intervallgrösse dem Nachbarton ablauschen wollen." The idiom was understood by Ficinus, who translates it by "viciniore loco."

οἱ μὲν φασιν κτλ. Some will have it that they overhear a note between (let us say) B and C, and that this is the smallest interval, and should be the unit of measurement: others say 'No! it is not different from B.' Plato (who is all for simplicity in music *Latws* 812 C) here satirises the μουσικοί, who made the quartertone or διέσις their unit: see Theo 55 διέσιν δὲ καλοῦσιν ἐλαχίστην οἱ περὶ Ἀριστότενον τὸ τεταρτημῆριον τοῦ τόνου, ἡμῖν δὲ ἡμιτονίου, ὡς ἐλάχιστον μελωδητὸν διάστημα, and on the ἐναρμόνιον γένος generally, which Plato strongly disliked (Theo 56; cf. also Procl. in *Tim.* 191 E), and in which the διέσις played a large part, *Dict. of Ant.* l.c. and Westphal and Rossbach l.c.

7 ἀμφισβητοῦντες. We should expect ἀμφισβητοῦσιν (so Theo 6) or else φάσκοντες instead of φασιν above. Cobet would emend, but the anacoluthon is not difficult in a writer like Plato: see on VI 488 C, D and supra 519 A n.

8 φθεγγομένων: sc. τῶν χορδῶν, omitted as in ἡ διὰ πασῶν.

ὦτα κτλ. This bitter epigram was applied by Adrastus to Aristoxenus (Procl. in *Tim.* 192 B). The cap fits admirably; for Aristoxenus was afterwards the leader

of the μουσικοί whose principle is here ridiculed. With the expression itself cf. Pliny *Eph.* VII 27. 8 sed offirmare animum auribusque praetendere.

531 B 8 σὺ μὲν κτλ. Socrates now corrects Glauco's error: see on νῆ τοὺς θεοὺς κτλ. 531 A. τοὺς χρηστοὺς is of course contemptuous. Plato has no sympathy with the 'μουσικοί.'

9 τοὺς ταῖς χορδαῖς κτλ.: 'who persecute and torture the strings, racking them upon the pegs. But lest my figure become somewhat tedious if I dwell upon the blows delivered with the plectrum, and the accusations brought against the strings, as well as their denials and braggadocio behaviour' etc. The figure (εἰκὼν) is from torturing and beating slaves, as βασανίζοντας, στρεβλοῦντας and πληγῶν shew: even πράγματα παρέχοντας suggests a court of law (cf. *Crit.* 44 E). The strings are the victims, while the pegs are the pulleys by which they were racked upon the τροχός (see *Dict. Ant.* s. v. eculus). For ἐπὶ Herwerden proposes ὑπό: but the strings are racked by the musicians ὑπὸν the pegs.

11 πλήκτρῳ τε πληγῶν κτλ. The etymological meaning of πλήκτρον adds point to this part of the comparison.

12 πέρι from its position divides πληγῶν and κατηγορίας, which refer to the behaviour of the musicians, from ἐξαρνήσεως καὶ ἀλαζονείας, in which the behaviour of the strings is described. For the anastrophe of πέρι see Lina de *praeposit. usu Plat.* pp. 26—30. The angry musician is like the prosecutor, and blames the strings, which in their turn repudiate the charge and swagger away like a stubborn slave however savagely the screw is turned. For a further discussion of this passage see App. XI.

παύομαι τῆς εἰκόνης καὶ οὐ φημι τούτους λέγειν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνους  
οὓς ἔφαμεν νῦν δὴ περὶ ἀρμονίας ἐρήσεσθαι. ταῦτόν γάρ ποιοῦσι  
C τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀστρονομίᾳ·<sup>1</sup> τοὺς γὰρ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς συμφωνίαις ταῖς 15  
ἀκουομέναις ἀριθμοὺς ζητοῦσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰς προβλήματα ἀνάσιν,  
<sup>1</sup> ἐπισκοπεῖν τίνες ξύμφωνοι ἀριθμοὶ καὶ τίνες οὐ, καὶ διὰ τί ἐκά-  
τεροι. Δαιμόνιον γάρ, ἔφη, πρᾶγμα λέγεις. Χρήσιμον μὲν οὖν,  
ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πρὸς τὴν τοῦ καλοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ζήτησιν, ἄλλως δὲ  
μεταδιωκόμενον ἄχρηστον. Εἰκός γ', ἔφη. 20

XIII. Οἶμαι δέ γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ ἡ τούτων πάντων ὧν  
D διεληλύθαμεν μέθοδος εἶναι<sup>1</sup> μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλλήλων κοινωνίαν ἀφί-  
κηται καὶ ξυγγένειαν, καὶ ξυλλογισθῇ ταῦτα ἣ ἐστὶν ἀλλήλοις  
οἰκεῖα, φέρειν τι αὐτῶν εἰς ἃ βουλόμεθα τὴν πραγματείαν, καὶ οὐκ

14. ἐρήσεσθαι A<sup>2</sup>Π<sup>2</sup>Ξ q: αἰρήσεσθαι A<sup>1</sup>Π<sup>1</sup>.

16. ἀνάσιν A<sup>2</sup>Π: ἀνῶσιν A<sup>1</sup>.

13 ἐκείνους: i.e. the Pythagoreans, and not the μουσικοί, as Glauco supposed.

531 C 15 τοὺς γὰρ κτλ. It is strange that in spite of οὓς ἔφαμεν νῦν δὴ κτλ. this should have been so frequently understood as referring to the school satirised by Glauco: see for example Susemihl *Gen. Entw.* II p. 210. Plato is of course, as Schneider pointed out, speaking about the Pythagoreans who investigated the numbers or ratios of audible consonances: see 531 A n. and RP.<sup>7</sup> § 56 C.

16 ἀλλ' οὐκ κτλ. Cf. 530 B. ἀνάσιν is undoubtedly present, and not future, here: see on V 473 C.

17 τίνες ξύμφωνοι κτλ. As the true astronomer should study intelligible stars with the mathematical intelligence, using the visible stars only as imperfect παραδείγματα (529 C, D n.), so the true ἀρμονικός must investigate intelligible, and not audible, consonances. In the words of a modern writer, he must "look, not into the tone-world here, but into the world of harmony beyond." Plato holds that certain mathematical numbers are in themselves ξύμφωνοι, and others not: see Theo 72—75, where examples of both varieties are given. The numbers or ratios of audible consonances are only particular and imperfect embodiments or expressions of these numbers: they may serve as παραδείγματα, but nothing more. In the *Timaeus* Plato represents the World-soul as the grandest expression of certain ξύμφωνοι ἀριθμοί, so that it is natural enough for him to crown his προπαιδεία

with the study of mathematical συμφωνία, and say that it is 'useful in seeking out the beautiful and good.' It must nevertheless be admitted that Plato's conception of Harmonics as well as of Astronomy is fundamentally different from that of modern science, in spite of the attempts which Bosanquet and others have made to prove their essential harmony. See on 530 C and App. II.

531 C—533 D. The pursuit of these studies, if carried far enough to reveal their mutual relationship, will contribute to the end which we desire; but after all, they are only the prelude to Dialectic. We may compare Dialectic to the prisoner's progress from looking on real animals to beholding the sun, and these preparatory studies to his release and ascent from shadows and images within the cave to shadows of real objects in the world above. Socrates declines to give an account of the method and object of Dialectic; but insists that the Good must be seen, and that Dialectic alone can reveal it, for Dialectic is the only study which ascends on the ruins of its hypotheses to the Idea of Good, leading the soul on high, and using the 'Arts' as handmaidens and helpers in the process of education.

531 D ff. Plato's conception of Dialectic and dialectical science is fully discussed in App. III.

23 ἡ—οἰκεῖα κτλ. Cf. [Epin.] 991 E ff. πᾶν διάγραμμα ἀριθμοῦ τε σύστημα καὶ ἀρμονίας σύστασιν ἅπασαν τῆς τε τῶν ἀστρῶν περιφορᾶς τὴν ὁμολογίαν οὔσαν



25 ἀνόνητα πονεῖσθαι, εἰ δὲ μή, ἀνόνητα. Καὶ ἐγώ, ἔφη, οὕτω μαν-  
τεύομαι. ἀλλὰ πάμπολυ ἔργον λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες. Τοῦ προοιμίου,  
ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἢ τίνοις λέγεις; ἢ οὐκ ἴσμεν, ὅτι πάντα ταῦτα προοιμιά  
ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ νόμου, ὃν δεῖ μαθεῖν; οὐ γάρ που δοκοῦσί γέ σοι  
οἱ ταῦτα <sup>1</sup> δεινοὶ διαλεκτικοὶ εἶναι. Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, εἰ μὴ Ε  
30 μάλα γέ τινες ὀλίγοι ὦν ἐγὼ ἐντετύχηκα. Ἄλλ' ἤδη, εἶπον, μὴ  
δυνατοὶ τινες ὄντες δοῦναί τε καὶ ἀποδέξασθαι λόγον εἴσεσθαι  
ποτέ τι ὦν φαμέν δεῖν εἰδέναι; Οὐδ' αὖ, ἔφη, τοῦτό γε. | Οὐκοῦν, 532<sup>11</sup>  
εἶπον, ὦ Γλαῦκων, οὗτος ἤδη αὐτός ἐστιν ὁ νόμος, ὃν τὸ διαλέγεσθαι  
περαίνει; ὃν καὶ ὄντα νοητὸν μιμοῖτ' ἂν ἢ τῆς ὀψέως δύναμις, ἣν  
ἐλέγομεν πρὸς αὐτὰ ἤδη τὰ ζῶα ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀποβλέπειν καὶ πρὸς

30. μὴ II: οἱ μὴ A, sed oi punctis notavit A<sup>2</sup>.

3. περαίνει γ: παραίνει AΠΞ.

μίαν ἀπάντων ἀφανῆναι δὲ τῷ κατὰ  
τρόπον μανθάνοντι, ἀφανήσεται δὲ ἂν—  
ὀρθῶς τις εἰς ἐν βλέπων μανθάνη· δεσμός  
γάρ πεφυκὼς πάντων τούτων εἰς ἀφανή-  
σεται διανοουμένοις· εἰ δ' ἄλλως πῶς ταῦτα  
μεταχειριεῖται τις, τύχην δὲ καλεῖν. The  
apprehension of the 'one in the many' in  
these preliminary studies prepares us for  
the dialectical conception of the universe  
of Thought as an organic and correlated  
whole (VI 511 B—D *nn.*); but the mere  
specialist in mathematics for example, or  
astronomy, can never become a dialectic-  
ian. Cf. 537 C and *Euthyd.* 290 B ff.

28 νόμον: 'song' or 'strain.' There  
is no pun on νόμος 'law,' as Bosanquet  
supposes. Dialectic is not a 'law' in the  
Greek sense of the word.

οὐ γάρ που κτλ. Theodorus in the  
*Theaetetus* (146 B) is a good example,  
and everyone who knows men who are  
distinguished mathematicians and nothing  
more will heartily echo Glauco's emphatic  
οὐ μὰ τὸν Δία. Taught on the Platonic  
method, not as an end, but as a means,  
by teachers who have themselves pene-  
trated into regions beyond and above the  
sphere of pure mathematics, and who are  
constantly on the alert to direct their  
pupils thither, the study of mathematics  
may prove one of the most valuable  
of all instruments of education. See  
App. II.

531 E 30 ὦν. For the attraction see  
VI 510 B *n.*

ἀλλ' ἤδη κτλ. 'Well, did it ever seem  
to you that persons who are unable' etc.  
The subject is μὴ δυνατοὶ τινες ὄντες—  
λόγον, and after ἤδη "supplendum est

ἐδοξαν, quod ipsum Glauconis verbis ma-  
gis accommodatum est quam δοκοῦσι"  
(Schneider). The form of Socrates' ques-  
tion is in fact affected by Glauco's refer-  
ence to the past in ὦν ἐγὼ ἐντετύχηκα.  
I formerly, with *v* and three other MSS,  
including Vind. F, read ἀλλὰ δῆ, under-  
standing δοκοῦσι; but ἀλλὰ δῆ is scarcely  
appropriate here (see on II 365 C), and  
Schneider's explanation gives a satisfac-  
tory meaning to ἤδη. J. and C. take ἤδη  
with μὴ δυνατοὶ τινες ὄντες ('persons who  
are as yet unable' etc.); but the hyper-  
baton is too difficult, and the meaning  
(which Plato would rather have expressed  
by μὴπω δυνατοὶ κτλ.) unsuitable. Few  
will approve of Badham's ἀλλ' οἱ δῆ κτλ.  
or even of Burnet's ἀλλὰ δῆ, εἶπον, μὴ  
δυνατοὶ οὔτινες δοῦναί τε κτλ. For the  
sentiment, which is a commonplace of  
the Socratic school, cf. Xen. *Mem.* IV  
6. 1, *Prot.* 336 C, *Phaed.* 76 B, *Crat.*  
390 C ff. al.

32 οὐδ' αὖ κτλ. 'My answer to this  
question is also no.'

532 A 3 περαίνει = 'performs': cf.  
Plut. *Crass.* 33. 3 ἀναβακχεύσας ἐπέραιεν  
ἐκεῖνα τὰ μέλη κτλ., *Tim.* 29 D τὸ μὲν  
οὖν προοίμιον θαυμασίως ἀπεδεξάμεθά σου,  
τὸν δὲ δῆ νόμον ἡμῖν ἐφεξῆς πέρανε, and  
*Laws* 723 E. The metaphor is still from  
music, though D. and V. erroneously  
translate "of which dialectical reasoning  
is the consummation."

ἦν ἐλέγομεν κτλ. It follows that the  
progress of the prisoner after he has be-  
gun to look on real objects outside the  
Cave represents Dialectic: cf. 516 A *n.*  
and 532 B.

αὐτὰ ἄστρο τε καὶ τελευταῖον δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ἥλιον; οὕτω καὶ 5  
 ὅταν τις τῷ διαλέγεσθαι ἐπιχειρῇ ἄνευ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων διὰ  
 τοῦ λόγου ἐπ' αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον ὁρμᾶν, καὶ μὴ ἀποστῇ, πρὶν  
 B ἂν αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν ἂν αὐτῇ νοήσῃ λάβῃ, ἐπ' αὐτῷ γίγνεται τῷ  
 τοῦ νοητοῦ τέλει, ὥσπερ ἐκεῖνος τότε ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ ὁρατοῦ. Παντά-  
 πασι μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Τί οὖν; οὐ διαλεκτικὴν ταύτην τὴν πορείαν 10  
 καλεῖς; Τί μήν; Ἡ δέ γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, λύσις τε ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν  
 καὶ μεταστροφή ἀπὸ τῶν σκιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ εἶδωλα καὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ ἐκ  
 τοῦ καταγείου εἰς τὸν ἥλιον ἐπάνοδος, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ζῷα τε

7. ἕκαστον II: om. A.  
 ὁρατοῦ A<sup>1</sup>.

ὁρμᾶν Ast: ὁρμᾶ codd.

9. τοῦ ὁρατοῦ A<sup>2</sup> II:

5 αὐτὰ ἄστρο. I formerly read αὐτὰ <τὰ> ἄστρο with Baiter; but there is no MS authority for the article, and its presence is unnecessary even between αὐτὰ τὰ ζῷα and αὐτὸν τὸν ἥλιον.

οὕτω καὶ κτλ.: 'so also whenever by means of dialectic one attempts through discourse of reason' etc. On τοῦ λόγου and ἄνευ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων see VI 511 B n. and App. III. Ast's conjecture ὁρμᾶν (see *cr. n.*) is supported by Clement *Strom.* v 112 B Migne (quoted by Schneider) ἂν ἐπιχειρῇ τις ἄνευ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθήσεων διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐπ' αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον ὁρμᾶν κτλ., and closely corresponds with ἐπιχειρεῖν ἀποβλέπειν in the last sentence. There is no occasion for Stallbaum's professional ridicule of Schneider's view: 'quasi vero recte dici poterit: τῷ διαλέγεσθαι ἐπιχειρεῖν διὰ τοῦ λόγου ὁρμᾶν ἐπὶ τι!' for οὗ αὐτὸς ὁ λόγος ἄπτεται τῇ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι δυνάμει in VI 511 B is an exact parallel. On other views see App. XII.

7 ἕκαστον is omitted in A (see *cr. n.*) and some other MSS. It is however necessary both in itself, and in order to provide a proper contrast with αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστιν ἀγαθόν. For the process here described see App. III.

532 B 9 τότε. 516 B.

11 ἡ δέ γε κτλ. Having described διαλεκτικῇ in terms of the cave-simile, Plato now proceeds to describe his προ-  
 παιδεία in the same way: cf. 515 C, 516 A n. Bosanquet finds a difficulty in ἡ λύσις—ἐπάνοδος, and thinks it just conceivable that these words describe the training in music and gymnastic and not the προπαιδεία (so also Susemihl *Gen. Entw.* II p. 201). But Plato's language

is perfectly definite; and τῶν τεχνῶν ἂν διήλθομεν (532 C) cannot mean anything beyond or except the five studies just described. Nor is this the only passage where the 'turning round' of the prisoners while still in the cave and their gradual ascent are identified with the προπαιδεία, or with part of it: see 521 C. Plato means that the emancipation of the soul is a gradual process, and that we are not to expect our mathematical studies to deliver us from δόξα all at once. ἡ λύσις—εἶδωλα suggests that their first effect will be to loosen our intellectual bonds, and turn us as it were from reflected to original δόξαι—from εἰκασία to πίστις (VI 511 E, VII 517 A n.). The higher we mount, the less of δόξα we retain, and in the higher stages of the προπαιδεία (symbolized by ἐκεῖ—ἀποσκιαζόμενας) we escape from δόξα altogether. See App. I.

532 B, C 13 καὶ ἐκεῖ κτλ. 'and when there, their inability still to look upon animals and plants and the light of the sun, but upon divine reflections in water and shadows of things real, not, as before, shadows of images thrown by a light which is itself but an image compared with the sun.' Cf. 516 A, B. ἔτι ἄδυναμις is due to Iamblichus: see *cr. n.* and cf. Bywater in *J. Ph.* x p. 78. Nägelsbach also conjectured ἔτ' ἄδυναμις. The difference between ἔτι and ἐπ in an uncial MS is practically nil. With πρὸς δὲ τὰ κτλ. the positive counterpart of ἄδυναμις (βλέπειν) is to be supplied: cf. *Ap.* 36 B (where Schanz's insertion of οὐ after οἱ πολλοί is inelegant and unnecessary) and Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 1072. For ἔτι with a verbal noun cf. IV 434 C n. 'Divine' φαντάσματα is a half-technical

καὶ φυτὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ἔτι ἀδυναμία βλέπειν,<sup>1</sup> πρὸς δὲ C  
 15 τὰ ἐν ὕδασι φαντάσματα θεῖα καὶ σκιὰς τῶν ὄντων, ἀλλ' οὐκ  
 εἰδῶλων σκιὰς δι' ἐτέρου τοιούτου φωτὸς ὡς πρὸς ἡλίον κρίνειν  
 ἀποσκιαζόμενας, πᾶσα αὕτη ἡ πραγματεία τῶν τεχνῶν, ἃς διήλ-  
 θομεν, ταύτην ἔχει τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ἐπαναγωγὴν τοῦ βελτίστου  
 ἐν ψυχῇ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐν τοῖς οὐσι θεάν, ὥσπερ τότε τοῦ  
 20 σαφεστάτου ἐν σώματι πρὸς τὴν τοῦ φανοτάτου ἐν τῷ σωματοειδεῖ  
 τε καὶ ὁρατῷ τόπῳ. Ἐγὼ μὲν, ἔφη, ἀποδέχομαι οὕτω. καίτοι D  
 παντάπασί γέ μοι δοκεῖ χαλεπὰ μὲν ἀποδέχεσθαι εἶναι, ἄλλον δ'  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον χαλεπὰ μὴ ἀποδέχεσθαι. ὅμως δὲ—οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν  
 παρόντι μόνον ἀκουστέα, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὖθις πολλάκις ἐπανιτέον—  
 25 ταῦτα θέντες ἔχειν ὡς νῦν λέγεται, ἐπ' αὐτὸν δὴ τὸν νόμον ἴωμεν,  
 καὶ διέλθωμεν οὕτως, ὥσπερ τὸ προοίμιον διήλθομεν. λέγε οὖν,  
 τίς ὁ τρόπος τῆς τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι δυνάμεως, καὶ <sup>1</sup> κατὰ ποῖα δὴ E  
 εἶδη διέστηκεν, καὶ τίνες αὐτοὶ ὁδοί. αὐταὶ γὰρ ἂν ἦδη, ὡς ἔοικεν,  
 αἱ πρὸς αὐτὸ ἄγουσαι εἶεν, οἱ ἀφικόμενῳ ὥσπερ ὁδοῦ ἀνάπαυλα  
 30 ἂν εἴη καὶ τέλος τῆς πορείας. Οὐκέτ', ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ φίλε Γλαῦκων,

14. ἔτι ἀδυναμία Iamblichus (Villoison *Anecd.* II p. 196): ἐπ' ἀδυναμία ΑΠΞ<sup>2</sup> q: ἐπὶ δύναμις (sic) Ξ<sup>1</sup>. 26. διέλθωμεν Ξ q: ἔλθωμεν ΑΠ.

Platonic phrase for reflections of natural objects produced by natural lights: they are θεῖα because θεῖας ἔργα ποιήσεως (*Soph.* 266 C, where the whole matter is very clearly explained). Even without the aid of the *Sophist*, we might deduce the meaning from the antithetical clause ἀλλ' οὐκ —ἀποσκιαζόμενας, if we remember that the sun is a θεός (VI 508 A). The adjective is regularly placed after the substantive when two coordinate qualifications have to be expressed (here ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι and θεῖα): cf. III 397 D τὸν τοῦ ἐπιεικοῦς μιμητὴν ἄκρατον, IX 573 A τῶν ἐν ταῖς τοιαύταις συνουσίαις ἡδονῶν ἀνεμμένων. Other examples are given by Jebb on *Soph.* O. T. 1245 and Sandys on *Arist. Ath. Pol.* 51. 3: cf. also Stallbaum on *Phil.* 20 B. The present passage explains why Plato was so careful to make the originals in the Cave σκευαστά and εἰδῶλα, and not φυτευτά: see on 514 B. Other views of this sentence are discussed in App. XIII.

17 πᾶσα κτλ. The anacoluthon is illustrated by Engelhardt *Anac. Pl. Spec.* III p. 45.

18 ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν: viz. λύσω ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν κτλ.

532 D 23 οὐ γὰρ ἐν τῷ νῦν κτλ. We ought not to interpret this as a promise of future dialogues (with Siebeck *Unters. z. Phil. d. Griechen* p. 118); it is only a way of indicating, before we pass on, that the subject is not exhausted. See on IV 430 C.

532 E—533 A 30 οὐκέτι κτλ. With the general tenour and form of the sentence cf. (with Jackson) *Symp.* 210 A. I can see no reason for suspecting the text (with Madvig, who proposes εἰ γ' ἔτι, or εἰ σύ γ' ἔτι, and Badham, who would insert εἰ before οἷός τ' ἔσει). Glauco has not without difficulty (517 C) followed Socrates thus far: nor is there anything rude in telling him frankly that he has reached his limit, and even if there were, Socrates does not spare Glauco's feelings (cf. 527 D, 529 A). That his audience would not be able to follow a description of the Good, has already been implied in VI 506 E ff. βουλοίμην ἂν, εἰπον, ἐμέ τε δύνασθαι αὐτὴν (the account of the Good itself) ἀποδοῦναι καὶ ὑμᾶς κομίσασθαι. Here Socrates appears to be a trifle more confident of his own expository powers, though he is careful, as before, to avoid



533 οἶός τ' | ἔσει ἀκολουθεῖν· ἐπεὶ τό γ' ἔμὸν οὐδὲν ἂν προθυμίας ἀπολίποι, οὐδ' εἰκόνα ἂν ἔτι οὐ λέγομεν ἴδοις, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ ἀληθές, ὃ γε δὴ μοι φαίνεται· εἰ δ' ὄντως ἡ μή, οὐκέτ' ἄξιον τοῦτο δισχυρίζεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὅτι μὲν δεῖ τοιοῦτόν τι ἰδεῖν, ἰσχυριστέον. ἡ γάρ; Τί μὴν; Οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅτι ἡ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι δύναμις μόνη ἂν 5 φήνειεν ἐμπείρω ὄντι ὧν νῦν δὴ διήλθομεν, ἄλλη δὲ οὐδαμῇ δυνατόν; Καὶ τοῦτ', ἔφη, ἄξιον δισχυρίζεσθαι. Τόδε γοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, Β οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν ἁμφισβητήσει λέγουσιν, ὥς αὐτοῦ γε ἐκάστου πέρι ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον ἄλλη τις ἐπιχειρεῖ μέθοδος ὁδῶ περὶ παντὸς

2. ἀπολίποι A<sup>1</sup>Π<sup>1</sup>; ἀπολείποι A<sup>2</sup>Π<sup>2</sup>. 4. δεῖ ut videtur Ficinus: δὴ codd., exceptis Φ et Mon. C, qui pro μὲν δὴ τοιοῦτον praebent δεῖ μὲν τοιοῦτο.

the appearance of dogmatism and therefore introduces the expressions ὃ γε δὴ μοι φαίνεται etc. (cf. τοῦ γε δοκοῦντος ἐμοὶ l.c.) and προθυμίας (cf. προθυμοῦμενος δὲ κτλ. VI 506 D). Krohn (*Pl. St.* pp. 179 ff.) bitterly complains of Socrates for drawing back; and Whewell (*Phil. of Discovery* p. 436) observes "We may venture to say that it does not appear that he had any answer ready." The dialectical method recommended by Plato in the *Republic* is doubtless, in its full significance, an unrealised ideal (cf. *μν.* on ἀρχὴν ἀνυπόθετον VI 510 B and τοῦ ἀνυποθέτου 511 B), just as the ultimate object of Dialectic, the Idea of Good, will still recede as we approach it. The description which follows merely recapitulates the account already given in Book VI, with a few additional characteristics already familiar in the Socratic school: but the majority of the Platonic dialogues furnish practical illustrations of many essential features in Plato's dialectical method: so that it is possible to form a tolerably clear idea of the kind of answer which the Platonic Socrates might have made in reply to Glauco's invitation. See on the whole subject App. III.

533 A 2 οἶδ' εἰκόνα ἂν ἔτι κτλ.: such as we saw before in VI 506 E ff. Glauco's question refers to the method, Socrates' reply to the object, of Dialectic: it is of course impossible to separate the two. On δισχυρίζεσθαι followed by ἰσχυριστέον see I 336 E n.

4 ὅτι μὲν δεῖ κτλ. Cl. VI 505 E ff., supra 517 C (δεῖ ταύτην ἰδεῖν κτλ.), 519 C, 526 E (δὲ αὐτὴν παντὶ τρόπῳ ἰδεῖν). These passages are strongly in favour of δὲ as against δὴ (see *cr. n.*), which Schneider, Hermann, and Stallbaum re-

tain. ἰδεῖν is displeasing if we read δὴ, and μὲν δὴ is not free from difficulty here. For μὲν without δέ following see V 475 E n.

533 A, B 7 τόδε γοῦν κτλ. Socrates proceeds to establish what he has just asserted, viz. that only dialectic can reveal the Good to those who are versed in the propaedeutic 'arts' or sciences. In this at least (he says) every one will agree with us, viz. 'that it is some other μέθοδος' (different from the five propaedeutic 'arts') 'which endeavours in every case to apprehend by scientific procedure concerning each several self' (e.g. αὐτοῦ καλοῦ, αὐτοῦ δικαίου, etc.) 'that which they severally are' (the οὐσία of each) e.g. δ ἔστιν καλόν, etc. Cf. 531 D οὐ γάρ που δοκοῦσι γε σοι οἱ ταῦτα (the five propaedeutic 'arts') δεινοὶ διαλεκτικοὶ εἶναι. Socrates continues: while all the other arts (except τὰ μαθηματικά) address themselves πρὸς ὁδὸς ἀνθρώπων, etc., even the mathematical 'arts' give no λόγος of their ὑποθέσεις (and so do not apprehend the δ ἔστιν of their subject). Dialectic and Dialectic alone does this (533 C), so that Dialectic is the ἄλλη τις μέθοδος and alone satisfies our needs. τόδε is the object of λέγουσιν, on which, and not on ἁμφισβητήσει, ὥς depends. ἄλλη means other than ὧν νῦν δὴ διήλθομεν. ἀλλά is opposed to the negative notion contained in ἄλλη (another μέθοδος, not that of the five 'arts,' but etc.). Badham arbitrarily proposes to read ὅρῳ περιλαμβάνειν for ὁδῶ περὶ παντὸς λαμβάνειν. The expression περὶ παντός 'about everything' is of course different from αὐτοῦ ἐκάστου πέρι, and μέθοδος ὁδῶ is the kind of collocation in which Plato delights. For other views on this sentence see App. XIV.

- 10 λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πᾶσαι τέχναι ἢ πρὸς δόξας ἀνθρώπων καὶ ἐπιθυμίας εἰσίν, ἢ πρὸς γενέσεις τε καὶ συνθέσεις, ἢ πρὸς θεραπείαν τῶν φυομένων τε καὶ συντιθεμένων ἅπασαι τετράφεται, αἱ δὲ λοιπαί, ὥς τοῦ ὄντος τι ἔφαμεν ἐπιλαμβάνεσθαι, γεωμετρίας τε καὶ τὰς ταύτη<sup>1</sup> ἐπομένας, ὁρῶμεν ὡς ὀνειρώττουσι μὲν περὶ τὸ  
 15 ὄν, ὕπαρ δὲ ἀδύνατον αὐταῖς ἰδεῖν, ἕως ἂν ὑποθέσῃς χρώμεναι ταύτας ἀκινήτους ἑῶσι, μὴ δυνάμεναι λόγον διδόναι αὐτῶν. ᾧ γὰρ ἀρχὴ μὲν ὃ μὴ οἶδε, τελευτὴ δὲ καὶ τὰ μεταξὺ ἐξ οὗ μὴ οἶδεν συμπλέκεται, τίς μηχανὴ τὴν τοιαύτην ὁμολογίαν ποτὲ ἐπιστήμην γενέσθαι; Οὐδεμία, ἢ δ' ὅς.  
 20 XIV. Οὐκοῦν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ἢ διαλεκτικὴ μέθοδος μόνη ταύτη πορεύεται, τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀναιρούσα, ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἵνα

12. ἅπασαι II: ἅπανα A.

10 αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι κτλ. Cf. *Phil.* 55 E—58 E. Plato is thinking of a threefold classification of arts under *κολακική*, *ποιητική*, and *ἐπιμελητική* or the like (J. and C., comparing *Gorg.* 463 ff., 501, 502, *Soph.* 222 E, 265 ff., *Pol.* 261 ff.).

12 τετράφεται is one of Plato's archaisms: see on I 330 B. Such forms are not found in inscriptions after 410 B.C. (Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> p. 166).

13 γεωμετρίας—ταύτη. For the syntax cf. VI 511 B n.

533 C 14 ὀνειρώττουσι κτλ. Krohn (*Pl. St.* pp. 179—181) accuses Plato of a sudden *volte face* in regard to mathematical studies. It is true that the same language is used of δόξα in V 476 C (cf. VII 520 C), but there are dreams and dreams, and we may fairly say that if the *προπαιδεῖα* is only a dream in comparison with Dialectic, at least it is one of those dreams which come through the gates of horn.

16 ᾧ γὰρ ἀρχὴ κτλ. See VI 510 C, D n. *ὁμολογίαν* means 'agreement' 'harmony' ('Übereinstimmung' Schneider), viz. of ἀρχή, τελευτή and τὰ μεταξύ, not 'admissions' (as D. and V. translate): cf. *ὁμολογουμένως* l.c.

20 οὐκοῦν κτλ. 'Well then,' said I, 'the method of dialectic alone proceeds by the destruction of hypotheses to the actual first principle, in order to make its results secure.' Dialectic examines and cancels (*ἀναιρεῖ*) one *ὑπόθεσις* after another, till in the end it reaches the Idea of Good. Suppose for example that *δοσιότης* is the subject of discussion. Various *ὑποθέσεις* are proposed, tested, and overthrown.

Out of the ruins of the former *ὑποθέσεις* we built a new and better one, which must in its turn be thoroughly tested, tried, and perhaps overthrown, before it can serve as a stepping-stone to one which is higher, truer and better: cf. 534 B, C. Now this process of testing, revising, discarding, is not, ideally speaking, complete until we examine the relations of our *ὑπόθεσις* of *δοσιότης* with all *νοητά*, and in such an examination we apply the same 'hypothetical method' throughout the whole noetic sphere, testing and correcting all our *ὑποθέσεις* by one another. In the final stage, which is of course only an ideal, all our *ὑποθέσεις* become exact counterparts of the Ideas, and we have reached the ἀρχή or Good. Thereafter the results of Dialectic are βέβαια: see VI 511 B. The earlier steps in this dialectical ascent may be illustrated from many, if not most, of the Platonic dialogues. For ἀναιρούσα cf. *Arist. Topic.* Γ 6. 120<sup>a</sup> 6—31, and especially *Eth. Eud.* II 6. 1222<sup>b</sup> 27 f. *κινουμένης τῆς ἀρχῆς πάντα μάλιστα ἂν τὰ δεικνύμενα μεταβάλλοι, αὐτὰ δ' αὐτὰ οὐ μεταβάλλει ἀναιρουμένου θατέρου ὑπὸ θατέρου, ἂν μὴ τῷ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἀνελεῖν καὶ δι' ἐκείνης δέξαι.* The word is often used in connexion with the Eleatic dialectic, of which Plato's ἢ ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἀνάλυσις (*Alcin. Isag.* 7), here described, is a development: see RP<sup>7</sup>, §§ 95 n. a, 105 A—106, 110—115. For other views on this passage see App. XV: and for a farther discussion of the method itself and its permanent value in the history of investigation consult App. III.

D βεβαιώσεται, καὶ τῷ ὄντι ἐν βορβόρῳ βαρβαρικῷ τινὶ τὸ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ὄμμα κατορυσμένον ἡρέμα ἔλκει καὶ ἀνάγει ἄνω, συνερί-  
 θοις καὶ συμπεριαγωγοῖς χρωμένη αἷς διήλθομεν τέχναις· ὥς ἐπι-  
 στήμας μὲν πολλάκις προσείπομεν διὰ τὸ ἔθος, δέονται δὲ ὀνόματος 25  
 ἄλλου, ἐναργεστέρου μὲν ἢ δόξης, ἀμυδροτέρου δὲ ἢ ἐπιστήμης·  
 διάνοιαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν γε τῷ πρόσθεν που ὠρισάμεθα· ἔστι δ', ὡς  
 E ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐ περὶ ὀνόματος ἀμφισβήτησις, οἷς τοσοῦτων ἑπὶ  
 σκέψις ὅσων ἡμῖν πρόκειται. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη. Ἀρέσκει οὖν, ἦν  
 δ' ἐγώ, ὥσπερ τὸ πρότερον, τὴν μὲν πρώτην μοῖραν ἐπιστήμην 30  
 534 καλεῖν, δευτέραν δὲ διάνοιαν, | τρίτην δὲ πίστιν καὶ εἰκασίαν τετάρ-  
 την, καὶ ξυναμφότερα μὲν ταῦτα δόξαν, ξυναμφότερα δ' ἐκείνα  
 νόησιν, καὶ δόξαν μὲν περὶ γένεσιν, νόησιν δὲ περὶ οὐσίαν, καὶ ὃ τι  
 οὐσία πρὸς γένεσιν, νόησιν πρὸς δόξαν, καὶ ὃ τι νόησις πρὸς δόξαν,  
 ἐπιστήμην πρὸς πίστιν καὶ διάνοιαν πρὸς εἰκασίαν· τὴν δ' ἐφ' 5  
 οἷς ταῦτα ἀναλογίαν καὶ διαίρεσιν διχῇ ἑκατέρου, δοξαστοῦ τε καὶ

29. ἔφη Ξ: ἔφη· ἀλλ' ὁ ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ πρὸς τὴν ἔξιν σαφηνεῖα λέγει ἐν ψυχῇ A:  
 ἔφη· ἄλλο (ἀλλ' ὁ Π<sup>2</sup>) ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ πρὸς τὴν ἔξιν (sic) σαφηνεῖα λέγει ἐν ψυχῇ Π:  
 ἔφη· ἀλλ' ὁ ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ πρὸς τὴν λέξιν σαφηνεῖα ὁ λέγει ἐν ψυχῇ γ. ἀρέσκει οὖν Π:  
 ἀρέσκει γοῦν A. 5. ἐπιστήμην A<sup>1</sup>Π: ἐπιστήμη A<sup>2</sup>.

533 D 22 βορβόρῳ. The image is taken from Orphic theology: cf. II 363 D n.

27 ἐν γε τῷ πρόσθεν. VI 511 D, E.  
 ἔστι δ', ὡς κτλ. Cf. *Laws* 864 A. Plato constantly reminds us that he has no fixed terminology (see Hirmer *Entst. u. Komp. d. pl. Pol.* p. 647 and Hirzel *Der Dialog* pp. 246 ff.), and the ancients were well aware of this fact, though modern interpreters of Plato too often forget it; see the references collected by Hermann *Gesch. u. Syst.*, p. 573 n. 106 and D. L. III 63 (quoted by Hirmer).

533 E—534 E In conclusion, after pointing out the proportions between the different intellectual states, Socrates declares that the essential feature of Dialectic is its power to grasp the reason or principle of all Being, separating the Idea of Good, for example, from everything else, defining it in words, and scrutinizing the definition by tests, from each and all of which it must emerge triumphantly. Glauco agrees that such a study is indispensable to the rulers, and that the curriculum is now complete.

533 E 29 οὐ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη. See *cr. n.* The interpolation which follows

these words in all MSS except Ξ is discussed in App. XVI.

ἀρέσκει οὖν. See *cr. n.* Though γοῦν is in A and Ξ, a majority of MSS read οὖν, which is alone suitable. The same error occurs in one or more MSS in V 455 E and VI 506 C (Schneider).

534 A 4 ὃ τι νόησις—εἰκασίαν. That is to say, in the Simile of the Line (see Fig. i on p. 65), (1)  $CB : AC :: EB : DC$  and (2)  $CB : AC :: CE : AD$ . We have already seen that  $CE : EB :: AD : DC$  (VI 509 D n.); ∴ *componendo*

$CE + EB : EB :: AD + DC : DC$   
 i.e.  $CB : EB :: AC : DC$ ; ∴ *alternando*  
 $CB : AC :: EB : DC$ . This proves (1), and (2) is proved as follows. Since

$CE : EB :: AD : DC$ ,  
 ∴ *invertendo*  $EB : CE :: DC : AD$ ;  
 hence *componendo*

$EB + CE : CE :: DC + AD : AD$   
 i.e.  $CB : CE :: AC : AD$ ; ∴ *alternando*  
 $CB : AC :: CE : AD$ . I owe this proof to the kindness of a mathematical friend.

5 τὴν δ' ἐφ' οἷς κτλ. Liebhold (who also conjectured *καὶ ἐν νόησις* for *καὶ ὃ τι νόησις*) makes the extraordinary



νοητοῦ, ἐδόμεν, ὃ Γλαύκων, ἵνα μὴ ἡμᾶς πολλαπλασίων λόγων  
 ἐμπλήσῃ ἢ ὅσων οἱ παρεληλυθότες. <sup>1</sup> Ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔμοιγ', ἔφη, τά γε B  
 ἄλλα, καθ' ὅσον δύναμαι ἔπescθαι, ξυνδοκεῖ. Ἡ καὶ διαλεκτικὸν  
 10 καλεῖς τὸν λόγον ἐκάστου λαμβάνοντα τῆς οὐσίας; καὶ τὸν μὴ  
 ἔχοντα, καθ' ὅσον ἂν μὴ ἔχῃ λόγον αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἄλλῳ διδόναι, κατὰ  
 τοσοῦτον νοῦν περὶ τούτου οὐ φήσεις ἔχειν; Πῶς γὰρ ἂν, ἡ δ' ὅς,  
 φαίην; Οὐκοῦν καὶ περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ὡσαύτως· ὅς ἂν μὴ ἔχῃ  
 διορίσασθαι τῷ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀφελῶν τὴν τοῦ  
 15 ἀγαθοῦ ιδέαν καὶ <sup>1</sup> ὥσπερ ἐν μάχῃ διὰ πάντων ἐλέγχων διεξιῶν, μὴ C

8. ὅσων Ξγ: ὅσον ΑΠ.

suggestion τὴν δ' ἐφ' οἷς ταῦτ' ἂν διέχῃ ἀναλογίαν καὶ διαίρειν ἐκατέρου (*Philoi.* 1876 p. 372). The text is of course quite sound and = τὴν δὲ <τούτων> ἐφ' οἷς ταῦτά <έστιν> ἀναλογίαν κτλ.: cf. VI 511 E. I cannot agree with Shorey when he says (*Idea of Good* etc. p. 235) that Plato "avoids drawing out the proportion εἶδη: objects of διάνοια=σκευαστά etc.: εἰκόνες, because he is aware that the second member is a blank and the fourth is largely fantastic." Both of these assertions are in my opinion quite wrong, and if they were true, Plato would have refrained from drawing out the proportions between the faculties themselves for exactly the same reasons. See App. I. As it is, we should take Plato at his word. He may well decline to enter on the tedious and unprofitable task of expounding and illustrating in detail the proportions which may be conjectured to obtain between the different objects of our intellectual powers. It would for example lead to no useful result if we tried to establish a proportion between a particular εἶδος, one of the five μαθήματα, a particular object of πῆστις, and a particular object of εἰκασία. Such attempts would certainly involve us in an endless amount of talk, and would hardly result in anything but a series of barren and pedantic formulae and subdivisions.

8 ἡ ὅσων. See *cr. n.* ὅσων is read by a large majority of MSS, and the confusion of ο and ω is common: see *Introd.* § 5. The construction (as Schneider points out) is ἡ ὅσων λόγων οἱ παρεληλυθότες λόγοι ἡμᾶς ἐνέπλησαν: cf. (with Schneider) παρὰ δόξαν τοῖς νῦν δοκουμένοις VI 490 A. Madvig's ὅσοι has little probability, although it avoids a certain awkwardness.

534 B 9 ἡ καὶ διαλεκτικὸν κτλ. Cf. 531 E n. As far as words go, this definition of Dialectic might almost have come from the historical Socrates, although of course λόγον λαμβάνειν, οὐσία and λόγον διδόναι meant less to him than to Plato.

12 οὐ φήσεις = 'negabis.' οὐ is not here 'nonne.' The interrogation is carried on from the last clause.

14 διορίσασθαι—ἀφελῶν perhaps suggests the διαίσεις, which was an essential part of Plato's dialectical method: see App. III. It is noteworthy however that the *Republic* lays far more stress on συναγωγὴ than on διαίσεις: cf. 537 C, Zeller<sup>1</sup> II 1. p. 617 n. and App. III.

534 C 15 ὥσπερ ἐν μάχῃ κτλ.: 'as it were in a battle, exhausting every elenchus, striving to test his view not by that which seems, but by that which is' etc. For διὰ πάντων—διεξιῶν cf. Thuc. III 45. 3 διεξεληλύθασι γε διὰ πασῶν τῶν ζημιῶν and *Parm.* 136 E διὰ πάντων διεξέδδον. We apply the ἐλεγχοι ourselves: cf. ἐξελέγξωμεν in x 610 A. The ordinary interpretation supposes that the ἐλεγχοι are applied by others ('running the gauntlet of all questionings' J. and C.); but in that case we must take ἐλέγχειν as = ἐλέγχειν τοὺς τῶν ἄλλων ἐλέγχους, which is difficult, because ἐλέγχειν is most naturally interpreted by ἐλέγχων just before, and ἐλέγχων certainly means tests or elenchi which are applied to the theory which the dialectician is himself maintaining. Plato means that the dialectician tests his view of good not by 'seeming' i.e. by what 'seems' (good, bad etc.) to the many, but by the Truth i.e. by that which 'is' in the Platonic sense of οὐσία, viz. the Ideas, such as (let us say) the Ideas of κάλλος, δίκαιον

κατὰ δόξαν, ἀλλὰ κατ' οὐσίαν προθυμούμενος ἐλέγχειν, ἐν πᾶσι  
τούτοις ἀπτῶτι τῷ λόγῳ διαπορεύεται, οὔτε αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν  
φήσεις εἶδέναι τὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα οὔτε ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδέν, ἀλλ' εἴ  
πῃ εἰδῶλον τινὸς ἐφάπτεται, δόξῃ, οὐκ ἐπιστήμῃ ἐφάπτεσθαι, καὶ  
τὸν νῦν βίον ὄνειροπολοῦντα καὶ ὑπνώττοντα, πρὶν ἐνθάδ' ἐξεγρέσ- 20  
D θαι, εἰς Ἄιδου ἰ πρότερον ἀφικόμενον τελέως ἐπικαταδαρθάνειν;  
Νῆ τὸν Δία, ἧ δ' ὅς, σφόδρα γε πάντα ταῦτα φήσω. Ἀλλὰ μὴν  
τούς γε σαυτοῦ παῖδας, οὓς τῷ λόγῳ τρέφεις τε καὶ παιδεύεις, εἴ  
ποτε ἔργῳ τρέφοις, οὐκ ἂν ἐάσαις, ὥς ἐγῶμαι, ἀλόγους ὄντας ὥσπερ  
γραμμαῖς, ἄρχοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει κυρίους τῶν μεγίστων εἶναι. Οὐ 25  
γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη. Νομοθετήσεις δὴ αὐτοῖς ταύτης μάλιστα τῆς παι-  
δείας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι, ἐξ ἧς ἐρωτᾶν τε καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι ἐπι-  
E στημονέστατα οἰοί τ' ἔσονται; Νομοθετήσω, ἔφη, μετὰ γε σοῦ.  
Ἄρ' οὖν δοκεῖ σοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὥσπερ θριγκὸς τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἡ  
διαλεκτικὴ ἡμῖν ἐπάνω κεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκέτ' ἄλλο τούτου μάθημα 30  
ἀνωτέρω ὀρθῶς ἂν ἐπιτίθεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἔχειν ἤδη τέλος τὰ τῶν  
III 535 | μαθημάτων; Ἐμοιγ', ἔφη.

21 ἐπικαταδαρθάνειν A<sup>2</sup>Π: ἐπικαταδαρθανεῖν (sic) A<sup>1</sup>.

and so forth. The Idea of Good has connexions and relations with all the other Ideas (cf. VI 510 B, 511 B *nn.*); and our knowledge of these may therefore be used to test the accuracy of our conception of Good. Zeller<sup>1</sup> I 1. p. 620 *n.* rightly compares the present passage with *Parm.* 135 C—136 E: see App. III. It is perhaps unnecessary to notice Liebhold's foolish conjecture *νόησιν* for *οὐσίαν*.

20 ὄνειροπολοῦντα κτλ. 533 C *n.*

534 D 24 οὐκ ἂν ἐάσαις κτλ.: 'you will not suffer to be mere irrational quantities, if they are to rule in the city and control the higher issues.' ἄλογοι γραμμαῖς are irrational magnitudes (cf. *Arist. περὶ ἀτόμων γραμμῶν* 968<sup>b</sup> 18), which Greek mathematicians treated "geometrically through a symbolism of irrational lines," as in Euclid Bk. X (*Gow Gk Math.* p. 78). They are ἄλογοι or ἄρρητοι because "nicht aussprechbar" (*Cantor Gesch. d. Math.* p. 154 *n.*), whereas rational lines are βῆται, 'expressible' (cf. *Blass de Pl. Math.* p. 18). In its application to Glauco's 'children,' ἄλογοι is active, and means of course *μὴ λόγον ἔχοντες διδόναι* (534 B). Has γραμμαῖς also any special application? Probably it has: otherwise the witticism

seems unnecessarily far-fetched and frigid, even if we make every allowance for Plato's love of a mathematical jest (cf. *Pol.* 266 B), as well as for the interest which the subject of irrationals seems to have excited among the mathematicians of his day (see *Theaet.* 147 D ff. and *Cantor l.c.* pp. 182, 191, 203). *Lucilius* (II 20) has the line "vix vivo homini ac monogrammo" ("a dead-alive sketch of an anatomy" *Tyrrell Lat. Poetry* p. 175), and *Cicero* mocks at *Epicurus'* gods as "monogrammos" (*N. D.* II 59: cf. I 123 *homunculi similem deum—liniamentis dumtaxat extremis, non habitu solido—praeditum* etc., and other passages in *Usener Epicurea* p. 234). Perhaps Plato means to suggest that his "airy burgo-masters," as Milton calls them, would in such a case be only as it were mere silhouettes ("Schattenrisse" *Bertram Bilderspr.* Pl. p. 46) of rulers moving blindly to and fro in a sort of dreamland (cf. *ὄνειροπολοῦντα* 534 C and 533 C *n.*). For other views see App. XVII.

25 τῶν μεγίστων. 525 B *n.*

27 ἐρωτᾶν τε καὶ ἀποκρίνεσθαι κτλ. Plato concludes by emphasizing the most conspicuous and characteristic feature of the Socratic method: cf. *Crat.* 390 C.

XV. Διανομὴ τοίνυν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, τὸ λοιπόν σοι, τίσιν ταῦτα τὰ μαθήματα δώσομεν καὶ τίνα τρόπον. Δῆλον, ἔφη. Μέννησαι οὖν τὴν προτέραν ἐκλογὴν τῶν ἀρχόντων, οἷους ἐξελέξαμεν; Πῶς γάρ, 5 ἢ δ' ὅς, οὐ; Τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τοίνυν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ἐκείνας τὰς φύσεις οἷον δεῖν ἐκλεκτέας εἶναι· τοὺς τε γὰρ βεβαιοτάτους καὶ τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους προαιρετέον καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν τοὺς εὐειδεστάτους· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ζητητέον<sup>1</sup> μὴ μόνον γενναίους τε καὶ βλοσυροὺς B τὰ ἦθη, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἃ τῆδε τῇ παιδείᾳ τῆς φύσεως πρόσφορα ἐκτέον 10 αὐτοῖς. Ποῖα δὲ διαστέλλει; Δριμύτητα, ᾧ μακάριε, ἔφην, δεῖ αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὰ μαθήματα ὑπάρχειν καὶ μὴ χαλεπῶς μανθάνειν· πολὺ γάρ τοι μᾶλλον ἀποδελιῶσι ψυχαὶ ἐν ἰσχυροῖς μαθήμασιν ἢ ἐν γυμνασίοις· οἰκειότερος γὰρ αὐταῖς ὁ πόνος, ἴδιος, ἀλλ' οὐ

6. οἷον II: οἷον A.

535 A—536 B *It only remains to apportion these studies and prescribe how they are to be pursued. Our pupils must possess not only the qualities of stedfastness and courage etc., but also those other natural qualifications which our peculiar course of training demands. These are now enumerated by Socrates.*

535 A 2 διανομὴ κτλ. Herwerden needlessly and wantonly inserts σκεπτέα after τὸ λοιπόν.

4 τὴν προτέραν ἐκλογὴν. III 412 B ff.

5 ἐκείνας τὰς φύσεις κτλ. 'I would have you suppose that it must be those natures which are to be selected,' lit. 'those natures must be to-be-selected.' Kopetsch (*de verbalibus Plat.* p. 29) confesses himself unable to quote any parallels for the 'pleonasm.' We might compare the use of δεῖν in *μνημονικὴν αὐτὴν ζητῶμεν δεῖν εἶναι* VI 486 D, where see note; but the fact is that δεῖν is not altogether pleonastic in the present passage. Without δεῖν we should translate 'that it is those natures' etc. and not 'that it must be those natures' etc.; and there is a slight but appreciable difference between the two. Richards would expunge δεῖν or read ἀέλ, but ἀέλ is quite unsuitable here. ἐκλεκτάς (which I once proposed, taking the words as='ought to have been selected') is equally unsatisfactory, nor does θείναι, which might be suggested in place of εἶναι, carry conviction. The text is in my judgment sound.

6 βεβαιοτάτους—ἀνδρειοτάτους. The contrast is between stedfastness and spirit:

cf. II 375 A ff. and VI 503 C with Appendix VI to Book VI. εὐειδεστάτους has not hitherto been mentioned as a qualification of Plato's rulers: for VI 494 C cannot be interpreted in such a sense. The word is however certainly genuine: cf. ἀοτιμελεῖς in 536 B.

535 B 8 γενναίους—τὰ ἦθη: 'of noble and masculine characters.' Cf. *Theaet.* 149 A καί τις μάλα γενναίος τε καὶ βλοσυρᾶς, Nicostat. *Frag.* 35 ed. Kock *vñ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, ᾧ ξένη, βλοσυρὰν γε τὴν ψυχὴν ἔχεις*, and Aelian *Var. Hist.* 12. 21 *σεμνὸν ἅμα καὶ βλοσυρὸν ὀρώσαι* (of Spartan women). In *Cl. Rev.* XII p. 10 I have tried to shew that the original meaning of this vigorous and expressive word is 'hairy,' 'shaggy,' 'bristling' (horridus), from which to 'virile' the transition is natural enough. Mr L. D. Barnett has since supplied me with an interesting confirmation from Pollux IV 136 (on tragic masks) ὁ δὲ οὖλος, ξανθός, ὑπέρογκος. αἱ τρίχες τῷ ὄγκῳ προσπεπήγασιν, ὀφρύνες ἀνατέτανται, βλοσυρὸς τὸ εἶδος.

9 ἀ—πρόσφορα: 'the natural characteristics suitable for our scheme of education.' τῆς φύσεως depends on αἷ, not (as Stallbaum supposes) on τῆδε τῇ παιδείᾳ. The following list of qualifications should be compared with that in VI 485 A ff. The difference is slight, but φιλοπονία as a special attribute is new, and on the other hand some of the secondary moral qualities are not insisted upon here.

12 ἀποδελιῶσι κτλ. Cf. VI 504 A.



κοινὸς ὢν μετὰ τοῦ σώματος. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη. Καὶ μνήμονα δὴ καὶ  
 C ἄρρατον καὶ ἵ πάντῃ φιλόπονον ζητητέον. ἢ τίνι τρόπῳ οἶει τὰ τε 15  
 τοῦ σώματος ἐθελήσειν τινὰ διαπονεῖν καὶ τοσαύτην μάθησιν τε  
 καὶ μελέτην ἐπιτελεῖν; Οὐδένα, ἢ δ' ὅς, ἐὰν μὴ παντάπασί γ' ἢ  
 εὐφυής. Τὸ γοῦν νῦν ἀμάρτημα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ ἡ ἀτιμία φιλοσοφία  
 διὰ ταῦτα προσπέπτωκεν, ὃ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, ὅτι οὐ κατ' ἀξίαν  
 αὐτῆς ἄπτονται· οὐ γὰρ νόθους ἔδει ἄπτεσθαι, ἀλλὰ γνησίους. 20  
 D Πῶς; ἔφη. Πρῶτον μὲν, εἶπον, φιλοποιῖα ἢ οὐ χωλὸν δεῖ εἶναι τὸν  
 ἀψόμενον, τὰ μὲν ἡμίσεα φιλόπονον, τὰ δ' ἡμίσεα ἄπονον· ἔστι δὲ  
 τοῦτο, ὅταν τις φιλογυμναστῆς μὲν καὶ φιλόθηρος ἢ καὶ πάντα τὰ  
 διὰ τοῦ σώματος φιλοπονῇ, φιλομαθῆς δὲ μή, μηδὲ φιλήκοος μηδὲ  
 ζητητικός, ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις μισοπονῇ· χωλὸς δὲ καὶ ὁ τάναν- 25  
 τία τούτου μεταβεβληκὸς τὴν φιλοποιῖαν. Ἀληθέστατα, ἔφη,  
 λέγεις. Οὐκοῦν καὶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ταῦτόν τοῦτο  
 E ἀνάνηρον ψυχὴν θήσομεν, ἢ ἂν τὸ μὲν ἐκούσιον ψεύδος μισῇ καὶ  
 χαλεπῶς φέρῃ αὐτὴ τε καὶ ἐτέρων ψευδομένων ὑπεραγανακτῇ, τὸ  
 δ' ἀκούσιον εὐκόλως προσδέχεται καὶ ἀμαθαίνουσά που ἀλίσκομένη 30  
 μὴ ἀγανακτῇ, ἀλλ' εὐχερῶς ὥσπερ θηρίον ὕειον ἐν ἀμαθίᾳ μολύνη-  
 538 ται; Παντά|πασιν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Καὶ πρὸς σωφροσύνην, ἦν δ'  
 ἐγώ, καὶ ἀνδρείαν καὶ μεγαλοπρέπειαν καὶ πάντα τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς

28, 29. μισῇ—φέρῃ A<sup>2</sup>Π: μισεῖ—φέρει A<sup>1</sup>.

15 ἄρρατον. The word *ἄρρατος*, which occurs again in *Crat.* 407 D, is apparently, like *βλοσυρός*, an expressive vulgarism *de foro arreptum*. There is considerable variety here in the inferior MSS, but the evidence of the Scholiast places the reading beyond doubt. *ἄρρατος* is explained by Timaeus (s. v.) as *ισχυρός*, *στερεός*, and with this explanation the Scholiast and Lexicographers agree. Some of the ancients derived the word from an obsolete verb *ράω* = *ράω*. Schneider remarks that the α must be long "si verum est quod scholiastes Victorianus ad II. XIII 56 tradit, pro ἄρρηκτον alios legisse ἄρρατον." See Stephanus-Hase *Thes.* s. v.

535 C 17 οὐδένα: 'I think no one will.' Van Prinsterer's *οὐδενί*, as Stallbaum observes, is unnecessary. In written dialogue, as in actual conversation, the answer does not always accommodate itself to the exact form of the question: cf. v 465 E n.

19 πρότερον κτλ. The reference in *πρότερον* is to VI 495 C—496 A. In οὐ

κατ' ἀξίαν αὐτῆς ἄπτονται Dümmler sees an allusion to Antisthenes (*Antisth.* p. 34), but see on 535 D, E.

535 D 22 ἄπονον: not *μισόπονον*, although *μισοπονῇ* appears below. Plato loves variety as well as uniformity, and Herwerden should not have proposed to write *μισόπονον*.

23 φιλόθηρος. Dümmler thinks Plato perhaps means Xenophon, who loved the chase; but it is unlikely that any personal reference is intended either here or in 535 C. See also on 535 E.

25 ὁ—φιλοποιῖαν: 'whose love of work has taken the opposite direction.'

535 E 29 αὐτὴ τε καὶ κτλ. See on αὐτὸς τε καὶ—παρακάλει IV 427 D.

τὸ δ' ἀκούσιον. See II 382 A—C.

31 θηρίον ὕειον. Dümmler again recognises the unhappy Antisthenes, remembering, no doubt, the 'city of pigs.' See however on II 372 D.

536 A 2 μεγαλοπρέπειαν: 'high-mindedness,' not (as Jowett) 'magnificence.' See VI 486 A n.

μέρη οὐχ ἥκιστα δεῖ φυλάττειν τὸν νόθον τε καὶ τὸν γνήσιον.  
 ὅταν γάρ τις μὴ ἐπίστηται τὰ τοιαῦτα σκοπεῖν καὶ ἰδιώτης καὶ  
 5 πόλις, λανθάνουσι χωλοῖς τε καὶ νόθοις χρώμενοι πρὸς ὃ τι ἂν  
 τύχῃσι τούτων, οἱ μὲν φίλοις, οἱ δὲ ἄρχουσι. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη,  
 οὕτως ἔχει. Ἡμῖν δὴ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα διευλαβητέον,  
 ὥς ἐὰν μὲν ἀρτιμελεῖς τε καὶ ἀρτίφρονας ἐπὶ τοσαύτην μάθησιν B  
 καὶ τοσαύτην ἄσκησιν κομίσαντες παιδεύωμεν, ἢ τε δίκη ἡμῖν οὐ  
 10 μέμψεται αὐτή, τὴν τε πόλιν καὶ πολιτείαν σώσομεν, ἄλλοίους δὲ  
 ἄγοντες ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὰναντία πάντα καὶ πράξομεν καὶ φιλοσοφίας  
 ἔτι πλείω γέλῳτα καταντλήσομεν. Αἰσχροὺν μὲντ' ἂν εἴη, ἦ δ' ὅς.  
 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, εἶπον· γελοῖον δ' ἔγωγε καὶ ἐν τῷ παρόντι ἔοικα  
 παθεῖν. Τὸ ποῖον; ἔφη. Ἐπελαθόμεν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι ἐπαίζομεν, C

3. δεῖ A<sup>2</sup>Π: δὴ A<sup>1</sup>.

4 τὰ τοιαῦτα ("das dazu gehörige" Schneider) is quite general, and means how so-and-so is in respect of the virtues just enumerated: cf. VIII 549 D. The Oxford editors wrongly understand τὰ τοιαῦτα as τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς μέρη.

5 λανθάνουσι κτλ.: 'they unconsciously use cripples and bastards for any of these services that happen, as friends in the one case, and in the other rulers.' Schneider explains τούτων as "horum negotiorum, hoc est, aliquam ex his, quae dictae sunt, virtutibus requirementum." This is perhaps safer than to understand it merely of the services rendered by friends and rulers. In either case cf. for τούτων VIII 543 C n. J. and C. have rightly noted that "the subject of τύχῃσι is the same with that of λανθάνουσι": but they are mistaken in referring τούτων to τὰ τῆς ἀρετῆς μέρη, and in connecting πρὸς with χωλοῖς τε καὶ νόθοις. It is certain that χρώμενοι is understood with τύχῃσι, and, if so, πρὸς can belong only to χρώμενοι. D. and V. are consistently wrong in the translation of this somewhat perplexing little clause.

536 B 8 ἀρτιμελεῖς κτλ. For ἀρτιμελεῖς cf. 535 A. ἄσκησιν is of course the physical discipline: note the chiasmus.

9 ἢ τε δίκη κτλ. Cf. VI 487 A where οὐδ' ἂν ὁ Μῶμος, ἔφη, τό γε τοιοῦτον μέμψαιτο similarly concludes the earlier enumeration of qualities necessary to the philosopher ruler.

11 καὶ πράξομεν. καὶ (which some inferior MSS omit) is "paullo insolentius positum, sed ita ut τὰναντία πάντα partim ad civitatis conditionem—partim ad opi-

nionem hominum atque existimationem philosophiae, quam sequi errorem istum oporteat, spectare et utramque contra, quam dictum optandumque sit, casuram esse significet" (Schneider).

13 γελοῖον takes up γέλῳτα just before, hence καὶ. My extreme προθυμία, says Socrates in effect, was fitted to provoke a smile (cf. VI 506 D).

ἐν τῷ παρόντι. The reference is to 535 C and VI 495 C—496 A. After παρόντι Burnet adds <τι>, needlessly: see on III 388 D.

536 B—537 C After apologising for his excessive zeal in defence of Philosophy, Socrates lays down his ordinances. We must select our pupils while they are young, and put before them in their boyhood all the propaedeutic studies, taking care to avoid compulsion. At the same time they will be brought on the field of battle and receive their baptism of fire. From eighteen to twenty, gymnastic exercises claim their undivided attention. At twenty, those who have proved themselves the best will enter on a systematic comparative study of mathematics etc., lasting ten years.

536 C 14 ἐπαίζομεν. Literature is not life, but 'noble play'—παγκάλῃν—παιδιάν—τοῦ ἐν λόγοις δυναμένου παιζέιν (Phaedr. 276 E. Cf. also X 599 A n.). See Hirzel der Dialog I p. 180, where this thoroughly Platonic view is admirably expounded. There is a touch of pathos in Plato's application of it to his own dialogues, recalling to my mind, I know not exactly why, the saying of Isaac Newton about gathering pebbles by the

καὶ μᾶλλον ἐντεινόμενος εἶπον. λέγων γὰρ ἵμα ἔβλεψα πρὸς 15  
 φιλοσοφίαν καὶ ἰδὼν προπεπηλακισμένην ἀναξίως ἀγανακτήσας  
 μοι δοκῶ καὶ ὥσπερ θυμωθεὶς τοῖς αἰτίοις σπουδαιότερον εἰπεῖν ἂν  
 εἶπον. Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δι', ἔφη, οὐκ οὖν ὥς γ' ἐμοὶ ἀκροατῇ. Ἄλλ' ὥς  
 ἐμοί, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ῥήτορι. τὸδε δὲ μὴ ἐπιλανθανόμεθα, ὅτι ἐν μὲν τῇ  
 προτέρᾳ ἐκλογῇ πρεσβύτας ἐξελέγομεν, ἐν δὲ ταύτῃ οὐκ ἐγχωρήσει· 20  
 D Σόλωνι<sup>1</sup> γὰρ οὐ πειστέον, ὥς γηράσκων τις πολλὰ δυνατὸς μαθάνειν,  
 ἀλλ' ἦττον ἢ τρέχειν· νέων δὲ πάντες οἱ μεγάλοι καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ  
 πόνοι. Ἀνάγκη, ἔφη.

XVI. Τὰ μὲν τοίνυν λογισμῶν τε καὶ γεωμετριῶν καὶ πάσης  
 τῆς προπαιδείας, ἣν τῆς διαλεκτικῆς δεῖ προπαιδευθῆναι, παισὶν 25  
 οὖσι χρὴ προβάλλειν, οὐχ ὥς ἐπάναγκες μαθεῖν τὸ σχῆμα τῆς  
 E διδασχῆς ποιουμένους. Τί δὴ; Ὅτι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οὐδὲν μάθημα<sup>1</sup> μετὰ  
 δουλείας τὸν ἐλεύθερον χρὴ μαθάνειν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ σώματος  
 πόνοι βία πονούμενοι χεῖρον οὐδὲν τὸ σῶμα ἀπεργάζονται, ψυχῇ  
 δὲ βίαιον οὐδὲν ἔμμονον μάθημα. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη. Μὴ τοίνυν βία, 30  
 537 εἶπον, ὦ ἄριστε, τοὺς παῖδας ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν, ἀλλὰ παύζοντας  
 τρέφε, ἵνα καὶ μᾶλλον οἷός τ' ᾖς καθορᾶν ἐφ' ὃ ἕκαστος πέφυκεν.

21. πειστέον A<sup>2</sup>Ξq: πιστέον A<sup>1</sup>Π.

shore, as well as Heraclitus' αἰὼν παῖς ἐστὶ παίζων πεσσεύων (*Fr.* 79 Bywater).

15 μᾶλλον ἐντεινόμενος. Plato's apology is by no means intended to appease the 'bald little tinker' (VI 495 E) and his crew; for he still holds them responsible for the insults levelled at philosophy (τοῖς αἰτίοις). He is merely apologising, not without a characteristic touch of irony, for an offence against the canons of literary taste. One ought not to turn 'play' into earnest, and, as Longinus remarks, κἀν βακχεύμασι νήφειν ἀναγκαῖον (περὶ ὕψους 16. 4).

20 πρεσβύτας ἐξελέγομεν. III 412 C. It is quite clear that the προτέρᾳ ἐκλογῇ is not supplemented but superseded by the provisions now laid down. Cf. VIII 543 D n.

536 D 21 γηράσκων κτλ. γηράσκω δ' αἰεὶ πολλὰ διδασκόμενος Solon *Fr.* 18 Bergk. The line is quoted in [*Crast.*] 133 C and alluded to again in *Lach.* 188 B, 189 A.

22 ἦττον. εἰτι ἦττον, which Herwerden proposes, is no improvement, but rather the reverse. Plato may be alluding to some proverbial saying, as D. and V. appear to believe, translating thus: "an

old man can sooner run than learn."

νέων· δὲ κτλ. Cf. Eur. *I.* 7. 122 μόχθος γὰρ οὐδεὶς τοῖς νέοις σκήψην φέρει and *Theaet.* 146 B, *Symp.* 175 E.

25 παισὶν οὖσι κτλ. This preliminary survey is clearly meant to take place in the years during which 'Music' and Gymnastic are chiefly cultivated. See *Nettleship Lect. and Rem.* II p. 290.

26 οὐχ ὥς ἐπάναγκες κτλ. We must bear in mind throughout the whole of this subject that Plato is legislating for a select class who naturally love labour and truth. They alone are nature's freemen and must be treated as such in their education, but the compulsory method may be necessary, Plato would say, in order to educate others, so far as others can be educated at all. With the general sense cf. *Phaedr.* 240 C and *Theogn.* 472 πᾶν γὰρ ἀναγκαῖον χρῆμ' ἀνιερὸν ἔφν.

536 E 31 παύζοντας: with a play on παῖδας: cf. infra VIII 545 E and ἀτεχνῶς παισὶν—μετὰ παιδείᾳ—μαθάνειν in *Lysis* 819 B, a passage in which the general idea is that play should be study, whereas here it is that study should be play.



Ἔχει δ' λέγεις, ἔφη, λόγον. Οὐκοῦν μνημονεύεις, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι καὶ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον ἔφαμεν τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι ἀκτέον ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων  
 5 θεωρούς, καὶ ἐάν που ἀσφαλὲς ᾖ, προσακτέον ἐγγὺς καὶ γευστέον αἵματος, ὥσπερ τοὺς σκύλακας; Μέννημαι, ἔφη. Ἐν πᾶσι δὴ τούτοις, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τοῖς τε πόνοις καὶ μαθήμασι καὶ φόβοις ὃς ἂν ἐντρεχέστατος αἰεὶ φαίνεται, εἰς ἀριθμὸν τινα ἐγκριτέον. Ἐν τίνι, B  
 ἔφη, ἡλικία; Ἡνίκα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τῶν ἀναγκαίων γυμνασίων μεθιέν-  
 10 ται. οὗτος γὰρ ὁ χρόνος, ἐάν τε δύο ἐάν τε τρία ἔτη γίγνηται, ἀδύνατός τι ἄλλο πράττει· κόποι γὰρ καὶ ὕπνοι μαθήμασι πολέμιοι καὶ ἡμᾶ μία καὶ αὕτη τῶν βασάνων οὐκ ἐλαχίστη, τίς ἕκαστος ἐν τοῖς γυμνασίοις φανείται. Πῶς γὰρ οὐκ; ἔφη. Μετὰ δὲ τούτου τὸν χρόνον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐκ τῶν εἰκοσιετῶν οἱ προκριθέντες τιμᾶς τε  
 15 μείζους τῶν ἄλλων οἴσονται, τά τε ἡ χύδην μαθήματα παισὶν ἐν τῇ C  
 παιδείᾳ γενόμενα τούτοις συνακτέον εἰς σύνοψιν οἰκειότητος ἀλλήλων τῶν μαθημάτων καὶ τῆς τοῦ ὄντος φύσεως. Μόνη γοῦν, εἶπεν, ἡ τοιαύτη μάθησις βέβαιος ἐν οἷς ἂν ἐγγένηται. Καὶ μεγίστη γε,

3. δ A<sup>1</sup>Π: ὦ A<sup>2</sup>. 14. εἰκοσιετῶν Schneider secundum εἰκοσιετῶν (sic) Vind. F.: εἰκοσι ἐτῶν ΑΠ: εἰκοσι ἐτῶν Ξg. 16. παιδεία Ξ: παιδεία (sic) A<sup>1</sup>: παιδιᾶ corr. A<sup>2</sup>: παιδία vel παιδιᾶ Πg.

537 A 4 ἔφαμεν. V 467 C—E.

8 ἐντρεχέστατος: 'most agile in' ('der rüthrigste' Schneider). The word is rare, and apparently not elsewhere found in writers of the best period. It occurs in Longinus περὶ ὕψους 44. ἰδρυεῖαι τε καὶ ἐντρεχεῖς (φύσεις) and Marc. Aur. VI 14: cf. id. VII 66 (ἐντρεχέστερον) and I 8 (ἐντρέχεια). For a kindred use of the verb ἐντρέχειν see Hom. II. 19. 385 εἰ οἱ ἐφαρμόσσειε (sc. ἐντεα) καὶ ἐντρέχοι ἀγλαὰ γυνῖα.

537 B 10 οὗτος—ὁ χρόνος κτλ. The compulsory military or militia service of Athenian youth during their eighteenth and nineteenth years is probably in Plato's mind: see Gilbert *Gk. Const.* Ant. E. T. pp. 311—313.

14 προκριθέντες. See on 537 D.

537 C 15 ἐν τῇ παιδείᾳ. It is difficult to decide whether Plato in this instance wrote παιδιᾶ, παιδιᾷ or παιδείᾳ. παιδιᾶ is supported by three inferior MSS as well as by A<sup>2</sup> and the oldest MS of Theo (see Hiller's edition p. 3), and παίζοντας τρέφε in 536 E seems at first sight to favour it. But ἐν τῇ παιδιᾷ is different from ἐν παιδιᾷς μέρει, and ought

to mean 'in their play'; whereas 536 E does not distinguish between 'study' and 'play' (see note ad loc.). παιδιᾶ 'boyhood' has also some MS support, and the existence of the word in Greek is fully proved by Schneider in his elaborate note. But ἐν τῇ παιδιᾳ would be superfluous after παισίν, and on the whole I now prefer the traditional reading παιδείᾳ, which appears to be in a majority of MSS.

16 τούτοις συνακτέον κτλ. τούτοις (sc. τοῖς προκριθεῖσι) goes with συνακτέον. The propaedeutic studies now begin to be pursued no longer χύδην, but systematically and comparatively, so as to reveal the 'kinship of the studies with one another and with the nature of Being': cf. 531 D n., and (for the meaning of οἰκειότης) 526 C n. Platt would omit τῶν μαθημάτων as a gloss on ἀλλήλων, but without these words the Greek might mean 'their mutual kinship and the kinship of true being' (with itself). τῶν μαθημάτων is also in Theo (l. c.). For the genitives ἀλλήλων and τῆς—φύσεως, (which D. and V. wrongly connect with σύνοψιν), cf. VI 501 D τὴν φύσιν αὐτῶν οἰκεῖαν εἶναι τοῦ ἀρίστου.

ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πείρα διαλεκτικῆς φύσεως καὶ μή. ὁ μὲν γὰρ συνοπτικὸς  
 διαλεκτικός, ὁ δὲ μὴ οὐ. Ξυνοίομαι, ἣ δ' ὅς. Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἦν δ' 20  
 D ἐγώ, δεήσει σε ἐπισκοποῦντα<sup>1</sup> οὐκ ἂν μάλιστα τοιοῦτοι ἐν αὐτοῖς ὥσι  
 καὶ μόνιμοι μὲν ἐν μαθήμασι, μόνιμοι δ' ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 νομίμοις, τούτους αὖ, ἐπειδὴν τὰ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐκβαίνωσιν, ἐκ τῶν  
 προκρίτων προκρινάμενον εἰς μείζους τε τιμὰς καθιστάναι καὶ  
 σκοπεῖν τῇ τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι δυνάμει βασανίζοντα, τίς ὁμμάτων καὶ 25  
 τῆς ἄλλης αἰσθήσεως δυνατὸς μεθιέμενος ἐπ' αὐτὸ τὸ ὄν μετ'  
 ἀληθείας ἰέναι. καὶ ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἔργον, ὧ ἑταῖρε.  
 E Τί μάλιστα; ἣ δ' ὅς. Οὐκ ἐννοεῖς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὸ νῦν περὶ τὸ δια-  
 λέγεσθαι κακὸν γιγνόμενον ὅσον γίγνεται; Τὸ ποῖον; ἔφη. Παρα-  
 νομίας που, ἔφην ἐγώ, ἐμπίμπλονται. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Θαυμασ- 30  
 τὸν οὖν τι οἶει, εἶπον, πάσχειν αὐτοὺς καὶ οὐ ξυγγιγνώσκεις;  
 Πῇ μάλιστα; ἔφη. Οἶον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εἴ τις ὑποβολιμαῖος τραφείῃ  
 538 ἐν πολλοῖς μὲν χρήμασι, πολλῶ δὲ καὶ μεγάλῳ γένῃ καὶ κόλαξι  
 πολλοῖς, ἀνὴρ δὲ γενόμενος αἰσθοίτο, ὅτι οὐ τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν φασ-  
 κόντων γονέων, τοὺς δὲ τῷ ὄντι γεννήσαντας μὴ εὖροι, τοῦτον ἔχεις

23. τούτους  $\eta^1$ : τοῦτοις AΠΞ  $\eta^2$ . 29. κακὸν Π: καλὸν A. 30. ἐμπίμπλονται A<sup>2</sup>:  
 ἐμπίπλαται A<sup>1</sup>ΠΞ  $\eta^1$ : ἐμπίπλασθαι  $\eta^2$ .

19 ὁ μὲν γὰρ συνοπτικός κτλ. Cf. 531 D n.: also *Phaedr.* 265 D ff. εἰς μίαν—ἰδεάν συνορῶντα ἄγειν τὰ πολλὰ χῆ δισπαρμένα, *Laws* XII 965 B (συνορῶντα), *Phaedr.* 273 E, *Soph.* 253 D ff. and other passages cited by Zeller<sup>4</sup> II i. p. 616 n. 3. See also App. III.

21 ἐν αὐτοῖς. αὐτοῖς is masculine (Schneider), not neuter (as D. and V. translate).

537 D—540 C At this stage the best proficients will be advanced to higher honours, and tested by Dialectic. Great care must be taken in introducing them to this study; for where the character is immature and weak, dialectical debate too frequently engenders lawlessness, by overthrowing inherited beliefs. We shall therefore forbid such disputations to the young. After five years devoted solely to Dialectic, the next fifteen will be spent in acquiring experience of government and practical affairs. At the age of fifty those who have triumphantly passed through every trial, will thenceforward contemplate the Good, descending when their turn comes into the Cave to order human institutions after its likeness. All these regu-

lations apply of course to women as well as to men.

537 D 23 ἐκ τῶν προκρίτων. πρόκριτοι was a familiar term in the organisation of Greek polities: see Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 8. 1 with Sandys ad loc., and cf. also Pl. *Laws* 753 C f.

25 ὁμμάτων—μεθιέμενος. See VI 511 B n.

537 E 29 παρανομίας κτλ. Like Phidippides in Ar. *Clouds* 1399 ff. ὡς ἡδὴ καινοῖς πράγμασιν καὶ δεξιόσι ὀμιλεῖν | καὶ τῶν καθεστῶτων νόμων ὑπερφρονεῖν δύνασθαι κτλ. Schneider retains ἐμπίπλαται (see *cr. n.*), making the subject τὸ διαλέγεσθαι, but the present tense ('they become filled with lawlessness') favours the plural. Or does Plato mean that the dialectic of his day was degenerating? I think not; for that is scarcely a reason for exercising special care in connexion with his own (ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἔργον). αὐτοῖς is not decisive, though it points to the plural, which is also supported by 539 A παράνομος δὴ—δόξει γεγονέναι ἐκ νομίμων.

538 A 2 τῶν φασκόντων γονέων: 'his self-styled parents.' For the omission

μαντεύσασθαι, πῶς ἂν διατεθείη πρὸς τε τοὺς κόλακας καὶ πρὸς  
 5 τοὺς ὑποβαλομένους ἐν ἐκείνῳ τε τῷ χρόνῳ, ᾧ οὐκ ἤδει τὰ περὶ τῆς  
 ὑποβολῆς, καὶ ἐν ᾧ αὐτὸς ἤδει; ἢ βούλει ἐμοῦ μαντενομένου ἀκοῦσαι;  
 Βούλομαι, ἔφη.

XVII. Μαντεύομαι τοίνυν, εἶπον, μᾶλλον αὐτὸν τιμᾶν ἂν τὸν  
 πατέρα καὶ τὴν<sup>1</sup> μητέρα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους δοκοῦντας ἢ τοὺς B  
 10 κολακεύοντας, καὶ ἦττον μὲν ἂν περιδεῖν ἐνδεεῖς τινός, ἦττον δὲ  
 παράνομόν τι δρᾶσαι ἢ εἰπεῖν εἰς αὐτούς, ἦττον δὲ ἀπειθεῖν τὰ  
 μεγάλα ἐκείνοις ἢ τοῖς κόλαξιν, ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ τὸ ἀληθὲς μὴ εἰδείη.  
 Εἰκός, ἔφη. Αἰσθόμενος τοίνυν τὸ ὅν, μαντεύομαι αὖ περὶ μὲν  
 15 τούτους ἀνεῖναι ἂν τὸ τιμᾶν τε καὶ σπουδάζειν, περὶ δὲ τοὺς  
 κόλακας ἐπιτείνειν καὶ πείθεσθαι τε αὐτοῖς διαφερόντως ἢ πρότερον  
<sup>1</sup> καὶ ζῆν ἂν ἤδη κατ' ἐκείνους, ξυνόντα αὐτοῖς ἀπαρακαλύπτως, C  
 πατρὸς δὲ ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ποιουμένων οἰκείων, εἰ μὴ πάνυ  
 εἴη φύσει ἐπιεικής, μέλειν τὸ μηδέν. Πάντ', ἔφη, λέγεις οἷά περ ἂν  
 γένοιτο. ἀλλὰ πῇ πρὸς τοὺς ἀπτομένους τῶν λόγων αὕτη φέρει ἢ  
 20 εἰκόν; Τῇδε. ἔστι που ἡμῖν δόγματα ἐκ παίδων περὶ δικαίων καὶ

13. αἰσθόμενος A<sup>1</sup> cum ceteris, excepto M, ubi secundum Rostagno legitur αἰσθό-  
 μων: idem ut videtur corr. A<sup>2</sup>.

of εἶναι see Schanz *Nov. Comm. Pl.* p. 34.  
 γονέων <εἶναι>, which Herwerden pro-  
 poses, is weaker and less emphatic.

5 ὑποβαλομένους is the reading of  
 A and Cesenas M; whereas all, or nearly  
 all, the other MSS have ὑποβαλλομένους.  
 "Ac nescio an qui suppositum sibi ali-  
 quando filium pro suo habere et venditare  
 pergunt, ὑποβαλλόμενοι dici potuerint"  
 (Schneider, comparing καθιστάντες in III  
 410 B). This is true, and the present  
 may be right, especially as in v 469 E, A  
 has βαλόντος (wrongly, as I think) for the  
 βάλλοντος of all the other MSS. But M  
 may here perhaps be allowed to turn the  
 scale.

ἦδει. εἰδείη (suggested by Richards)  
 would be more regular (as in B below),  
 but cf. δύναται 515 E n.

538 B 11 εἰς αὐτούς. εἰς (which  
 Herwerden brackets) is used as in  
 ὁρρίξεν εἰς.

13 αἰσθόμενος. αἰσθόμενον, which is  
 read by Hermann and others, has no MS  
 authority except a variant, perhaps an  
 early variant, in A, and apparently also  
 M. The anacoluthon will of course be  
 scouted by many scholars; but although  
 it is ungrammatical, no doubt, it is scarcely

harsher than many anacolutha in Plato;  
 see Schneider on IV 430 E and Engel-  
 hardt *Anac. Pl. Spec.* III p. 40, where  
 numerous examples of the *nominativus  
 pendens* are given. Plato begins as if he  
 were going to write δοκέ μοι instead of  
 μαντεύομαι: compare *Ap.* 21 C διασκοπῶν  
 οὖν τοῦτον—καὶ διαλεγόμενος αὐτῷ, ἔδοξέ  
 μοι κτλ., where ἔδοξέ μοι is substituted for  
 ἔγνων or the like. Here the nominative  
 seems to me to emphasize the contrast  
 with ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ—εἰδείη better than the  
 accusative could have done; but in any  
 case it is safer to retain than to expunge  
 such echoes of conversational style in  
 Plato wherever the weight of MS evidence  
 is in their favour. For this reason I now,  
 with Schneider and others, revert to  
 αἰσθόμενος.

538 C 17 πατρὸς δὲ ἐκείνου κτλ.:  
 'his former father' etc. i.e. the reputed  
 father of his earlier days. ποιουμένων  
 'reputed' (J. and C.), lit. 'made out to  
 be,' is scarcely different from δοκοῦντων  
 (τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκείους δοκοῦντας in B).  
 Cobet conjectures προσποιουμένων, but  
 the text is sound: ci. VI 498 A n.

20 ἔστι που κτλ. Plato, as Bosanquet  
 points out (*Companion* p. 305), seems to



καλῶν, ἐν οἷς ἐκτεθράμμεθα ὥσπερ ὑπὸ γονεῦσι, πειθαρχοῦντές τε  
 D καὶ τιμῶντες αὐτά. "Εστι γάρ. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἄλλα ἐναντία  
 τούτων ἐπιτηδεύματα ἡδονὰς ἔχοντα, ἃ κολακεύει μὲν ἡμῶν τὴν  
 ψυχὴν καὶ ἔλκει ἐφ' αὐτά, πείθει δ' οὐ τοὺς καὶ ὀπηροῦν μετρίους·  
 ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνα τιμῶσι τὰ πάτρια καὶ ἐκείνοις πειθαρχοῦσιν. "Εστι 25  
 ταῦτα. Τί οὖν; ἦν δ' ἐγὼ ὅταν τὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα ἐλθὼν ἐρώτημα  
 ἔρηται, τί ἐστι τὸ καλόν, καὶ ἀποκριναμένου ὃ τοῦ νομοθέτου  
 ἤκουεν ἐξελέγχῃ ὁ λόγος καὶ πολλάκις καὶ πολλαχῇ ἐλέγχων εἰς  
 E δόξαν καταβάλλῃ, ὥς τοῦτο ἰ οὐδὲν μᾶλλον καλὸν ἢ αἰσχρόν, καὶ  
 περὶ δικαίου ὡσαύτως καὶ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ἃ μάλιστα ἦγεν ἐν τιμῇ, 30  
 μετὰ τοῦτο τί οἶε ποιήσῃ αὐτὸν πρὸς αὐτὰ τιμῆς τε πέρι καὶ  
 πειθαρχίας; "Ανάγκη, ἔφη, μήτε τιμᾶν ἔτι ὁμοίως μήτε πείθεσθαι.  
 "Οταν οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγὼ, μήτε ταῦτα ἡγήται τίμια καὶ οἰκεῖα ὥσπερ  
 539 πρὸ τοῦ, τά τε ἀληθῇ μὴ εὐρίσκη, ἔστι πρὸς ὁποῖον βίον ἢ ἄλλον ἢ  
 τὸν κολακεύοντα εἰκότως προσχωρήσεται; Οὐκ ἔστιν, ἔφη. Παρά-  
 νομος δὴ, οἶμαι, δόξει γεγενῆσθαι ἐκ νομίμου. "Ανάγκη. Οὐκοῦν,  
 ἔφη, εἰκὸς τὸ πάθος τῶν οὕτω λόγων ἀπτομένων καί, ὃ ἄρτι ἔλεγον,  
 πολλῆς συγγνώμης ἄξιον; Καὶ ἐλεύου γ', ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν ἵνα μὴ 5  
 γένηται ὁ ἔλεος οὗτος περὶ τοὺς τριακοντούτας σοι, εὐλαβουμένῳ

28. ἤκουεν A<sup>1</sup>Π: ἤκουσεν corr. A<sup>2</sup>.

ἐξελέγχῃ A<sup>1</sup>Π: ἐξελέγξῃ corr. A<sup>2</sup>.

29. καταβάλλῃ Ξ: καταλάβῃ A: καταβάλλῃ (sic) Π<sub>2</sub>.

think it possible enough that the higher education will lead his rulers to criticise the δόγματα of the earlier 'musical' training. "But if this criticism is only the negative side of the deepening grasp with which a mature and steadfast mind lays hold on reality, no harm, he urges, will be done" (Bosanquet l.c.). We may even go farther and say that Dialectic and its ancillary studies are expressly intended to place the Guardians in the same position as the original legislator (VI 497 D) and enable them within limits to modify and reconstruct the authoritative δόγματα of the city (VI 500 E ff.).

538 D 26 ἐλθὼν ἐρώτημα. See IV 434 D n.

27 ἀποκριναμένου. The genitive is defended by Schneider from IX 590 D. ἀποκρινάμενον (Ξ and two other MSS) is obviously a 'correction.'

28 καὶ πολλάκις κτλ. The whole of this passage should be compared with the account of the genesis of μισολογία in *Phaed.* 90 B ff.

538 E 33 μήτε—τε. See on IV 430 B.

539 A 2 τὸν κολακεύοντα is explained by the Oxford editors as 'the life that is flattering him,' with reference to 538 D. It is rather, I think, 'the flattering life' i.e. the life of the κόλαξ (cf. ὁ ἀπολαυστικὸς βίος and the like in Arist. *Eth. Nic.* I 2. 1095<sup>b</sup> 17 ff.). In other words the epithet which properly belongs to the person who lives the life is transferred to the life which he lives. Aristotle reminds us that ὁ δημαγωγὸς καὶ ὁ κόλαξ οἱ αὐτοὶ καὶ ἀνάλογον (*Pol.* Δ 4. 1292<sup>a</sup> 20), and the demagogic life may be taken as one among many illustrations of Plato's meaning, especially as in παράνομος κτλ. he seems to be thinking of Alcibiades: cf. Thuc. VI 15. 4 and 28. 2. See VI 494 C ff. *nn.* and Bosanquet *Companion* p. 306.

3 δόξει. The appearance does not exclude the reality: cf. (with J. and C.) Soph. *O. T.* 402 and Thuc. III 10. 1.

6 εὐλαβουμένῳ refers not to the pupils, but to Glauco as legislator, who

παντὶ τρόπῳ τῶν λόγων ἀπτόεν; Καὶ μάλ', ἢ δ' ὅς. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ  
 μία μὲν εὐλάβεια αὕτη συχνή, τὸ ἴ μὴ νέους ὄντας αὐτῶν γεύεσθαι; B  
 οἶμαι γάρ σε οὐ λεληθέναι, ὅτι οἱ μειρακίσκοι, ὅταν τὸ πρῶτον  
 10 λόγων γεύωνται, ὡς παιδιᾷ αὐτοῖς καταχρῶνται, ἀεὶ εἰς ἀντιλογίαν  
 χρώμενοι, καὶ μιμούμενοι τοὺς ἐξελέγχοντας αὐτοὶ ἄλλους ἐλέγ-  
 χουσι, χαίροντες ὥσπερ σκυλάκια τῷ ἔλκειν τε καὶ σπαράττειν  
 τῷ λόγῳ τοὺς πλησίον ἀεὶ. Ὑπερφυῶς μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν  
 ὅταν δὴ πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτοὶ ἐλέγξωσιν, ὑπὸ πολλῶν δὲ ἐλεγχθῶσι,  
 15 σφόδρα καὶ ἴ ταχὺ ἐμπίπτουσιν εἰς τὸ μηδὲν ἡγεῖσθαι ὦν περ C  
 πρότερον· καὶ ἐκ τούτων δὴ αὐτοὶ τε καὶ τὸ ὅλον φιλοσοφίας πέρι  
 εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους διαβέβληνται. Ἀληθέστατα, ἔφη. Ὁ δὲ δὴ  
 πρεσβύτερος, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τῆς μὲν τοιαύτης μανίας οὐκ ἂν ἐθέλοι  
 μετέχειν, τὸν δὲ διαλέγεσθαι ἐθέλοντα καὶ σκοπεῖν τάληθές μᾶλλον  
 20 μιμήσεται ἢ τὸν παιδιᾷς χάριν παίζοντα καὶ ἀντιλέγοντα, καὶ  
 αὐτός τε μετριώτερος ἴ ἔσται καὶ τὸ ἐπιτήδευμα τιμιώτερον ἀντὶ D  
 ἀτιμοτέρου ποιήσει. Ὁρθῶς, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὰ προειρημένα  
 τούτου ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ πάντα προείρηται, τὸ τὰς φύσεις κοσμίους  
 εἶναι καὶ στασίμους οἷς τις μεταδώσει τῶν λόγων, καὶ μὴ ὡς νῦν ὁ  
 25 τυχῶν καὶ οὐδὲν προσήκων ἔρχεται ἐπ' αὐτό; Πάννυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

XVIII. Ἀρκεῖ δὴ ἐπὶ λόγων μεταλήψει μείναι ἐνδελεχῶς καὶ  
 ξυντόνως μηδὲν ἄλλο πράττοντι, ἀλλ' ἀντιστρόφως γυμναζομένῳ  
 τοῖς περὶ τὸ σῶμα γυμνασίοις, ἔτη διπλάσια ἢ τότε; ἴ Εξ, ἔφη, ἢ E  
 τέτταρα λέγεις; Ἀμέλει, εἶπον, πέντε θές· μετὰ γὰρ τοῦτο κατα-

14. ἐλέγξωσιν A<sup>2</sup>Π: fortasse ἐλέγχωσιν A<sup>1</sup>.

28. ἔτη A<sup>2</sup>q: ἔτι A<sup>1</sup>ΠΞ.

'meddles with Dialectic' by introducing the Guardians to it. This appears clearly both from εὐλάβεια and from ἐνταῦθα δὴ πολλῆς φυλακῆς ἔργον in 537 D. εὐλαβουμένων (Madvig) and εὐλαβουμένων (Baiter) are therefore wrong.

539 B 8 μὴ νέους κτλ. Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* I 1. 1095<sup>a</sup> 2 τῆς πολιτικῆς οὐκ ἔστιν οἰκείος ἀκροατὴς ὁ νέος. It is clear from the present passage that Dialectic is largely concerned with moral and religious questions, as Bosanquet (*Companion* p. 302) and Nettleship (*Lect. and Rem.* II p. 291) remark. See App. III. Grote (III pp. 237—239) has some interesting observations on Plato's exclusion of the young from dialectical debate; but it is scarcely right to say that the *Parmenides* (135 C—136 E) contradicts Plato's precept in the *Republic*, for the disputations in

the *Parmenides* are a preliminary exercise (γυμνασία 135 D) to be undertaken before we attempt to define καλόν τε τι καὶ δίκαιον καὶ ἀγαθόν καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῶν εἰδῶν (135 C).

9 οἶμαι γάρ σε κτλ. The same phenomenon is similarly described in *Phil.* 15 D—16 A: cf. also *Ap.* 23 C and Isocr. *Panaith.* 26.

10 ἀντιλογίαν. See on V 454 A.

539 D 23 τούτου: this provision, viz. that they shall not begin Dialectic in youth (539 B). The genitive depends on προειρημένα (which refers to passages like VI 485 ff., 490, 503 C, VII 535 A ff.), and not, as J. and C. suggest, on εὐλαβεία.

24 ὡς—ἔρχεται. On the construction see III 410 B n.

28 ἔτη—τότε. 537 B.

539 E 29 πέντε θές. Krohn thinks five years very short, compared with the

βιβαστέοι ἔσονται σοι εἰς τὸ σπήλαιον πάλιν ἐκεῖνο, καὶ ἀναγ- 30  
 καστέοι ἄρχειν τά τε περὶ τὸν πόλεμον καὶ ὅσαι νέων ἀρχαί, ἵνα  
 μηδ' ἐμπειρία ὑστερῶσι τῶν ἄλλων· καὶ ἔτι καὶ ἐν τούτοις βασα-  
 540 νιστέοι, εἰ ἐμμενοῦσιν ἐλκόμενοι παν|ταχόσε ἥ τι καὶ παρακινήσουσι.  
 Χρόνον δέ, ἧ δ' ὅς, πόσον τοῦτον τίθης; Πεντεκαίδεκα ἔτη, ἣν δ'  
 ἐγώ. γενομένων δὲ πεντηκοντουτῶν τοὺς διασωθέντας καὶ ἀρισ-  
 τεύσαντας πάντα πάντη ἐν ἔργοις τε καὶ ἐπιστήμας πρὸς τέλος  
 ἤδη ἀκτέον καὶ ἀναγκαστέον ἀνακλίναντας τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐγὴν 5  
 εἰς αὐτὸ ἀποβλέψαι τὸ πᾶσι φῶς παρέχον, καὶ ἰδόντας τὸ ἀγαθὸν  
 αὐτό, παραδείγματι χρωμένους ἐκεῖνῳ, καὶ πόλιν καὶ ἰδιώτας καὶ  
 Β ἑαυτοὺς<sup>1</sup> κοσμεῖν τὸν ἐπίλοιπον βίον ἐν μέρει ἐκάστους, τὸ μὲν  
 πολὺ πρὸς φιλοσοφίᾳ διατρίβοντας, ὅταν δὲ τὸ μέρος ἦκη, πρὸς  
 πολιτικοῖς ἐπιταλαιπωροῦντας καὶ ἄρχοντας ἐκάστους τῆς πόλεως 10  
 ἕνεκα, οὐχ ὥς καλόν τι, ἀλλ' ὥς ἀναγκαῖον πράττοντας, καὶ οὕτως  
 ἄλλους ἀεὶ παιδεύσαντας τοιούτους, ἀντικαταλιπόντας τῆς πόλεως  
 φύλακας, εἰς μακάρων νήσους ἀπιόντας οἰκέειν· μνημεῖα δ' αὐτοῖς  
 C καὶ θυσίας τὴν πόλιν δημοσίᾳ<sup>1</sup> ποιεῖν, ἐὰν καὶ ἡ Πυθία ξυναιρῇ,

9. φιλοσοφία corr. A<sup>2</sup>: φιλοσοφίαν A<sup>1</sup> cum ceteris.  
 A: ξυναίρη (sic) II.

14. ξυναιρῇ Ξq: ξυναίρη

time allotted to the *προπαιδεία*, and suspects that we have here 'a silent confession that there is not so very much to say about the Ideas after all.' (*Pl. St.* p. 187). Five years devoted *ἐνδελεχῶς* καὶ *ξυντόνως* to Dialectic exclusively is a good deal; and we may be sure that Plato does not intend his Guardians to neglect the subject between 35 and 50, although practical duties occupy most of their time. Moreover at 50, Dialectic is resumed, and it is not till then that the Idea of Good is fully apprehended, so that the five years from 30 to 35 were certainly not thought by Plato to exhaust the subject. We must also beware of supposing that there is any break of continuity in the education of the Guardians. The study of each *προπαιδεύτικα* 'art' by itself prepares us for seeing all the 'arts' in their mutual relations and interdependence, and the comparative survey of the 'arts' in turn prepares us for Dialectic (537 C), nor need the subjects of the *προπαιδεία* be finally abandoned after we enter on Dialectic. See Appendices II and III.

540 A 3 *πεντηκοντουτῶν*. We are told that in Chalcis the magistrates had

to be at least 50 years of age: νόμος δὲ ἦν Σαλκιθεῦσι μὴ ἄρξαι μηδὲ πρεσβεύσαι νεώτερον ἑτῶν πενήνκοντα (*Heraclides Fr. Hist. Gr.* II p. 222), but advanced age was rarely a condition of holding office in Greek states. See Whibley *Gk. Olig.* pp. 148 f.

5 τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐγὴν: 'the radiant light of the soul.' αὐγή is highly poetic in this sense: cf. *Soph. Ajax* 70. There is more than a touch of mysticism in this and similar passages throughout Books VI and VII (cf. especially VI 490 A, B), but it is exaggerated by Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 187), who boldly declares that "the only person who correctly understood the later phase of the *Republic* was Plotinus," and that "the so-called Platonic Dialectic is a *Missverständniss*."

7 παραδείγματι κτλ. See VI 484 C, 501 A—C *nn.*

540 B 10 ἐκάστους. See 520 D *n.*

11 οὐχ ὥς καλόν τι κτλ. 520 E *n.*

540 C 14 ἐὰν καὶ ἡ Πυθία κτλ.

See on IV 427 B, C.

ξυναιρῇ. See *cr. n.* The error in A, II, and several MSS besides, is a pretty example of lipography: contrast



- 15 ὡς δαίμοσιν, εἰ δὲ μή, ὡς εὐδαίμοσί τε καὶ θείοις. Παγκάλους, ἔφη, τοὺς ἄρχοντας, ὧ Σώκρατες, ὥσπερ ἀνδριαντοποιὸς ἀπείργασαι. Καὶ τὰς ἀρχούσας γε, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ Γλαῦκων. μηδὲν γάρ τι οἶον με περὶ ἀνδρῶν εἰρηκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ εἰρηκα ἢ περὶ γυναικῶν, ὅσαι ἂν αὐτῶν ἱκαναὶ τὰς φύσεις ἐγγίγνωνται. Ὅρθως, ἔφη, εἶπερ
- 20 ἴσα γε πάντα τοῖς ἀνδράσι κοινωνήσουσιν, ὡς διήλθομεν. Τί<sup>1</sup> οὖν; D ἔφην· ξυγχωρεῖτε περὶ τῆς πόλεώς τε καὶ πολιτείας μὴ παντάπασιν ἡμᾶς εὐχὰς εἰρηκέναι, ἀλλὰ χαλεπὰ μέν, δυνατὰ δέ πη, καὶ οὐκ ἄλλη ἢ εἴρηται, ὅταν οἱ ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλόσοφοι δυνάσται, ἢ πλείους ἢ εἷς, ἐν πόλει γενόμενοι τῶν μὲν νῦν τιμῶν καταφρονήσωσιν,
- 25 ἡγησάμενοι ἀνελευθέρους εἶναι καὶ οὐδεὶν ἄξιας, τὸ δὲ ὀρθὸν περὶ πλείστου ποιησάμενοι καὶ τὰς ἀπὸ τούτου τιμάς, <sup>1</sup> μέγιστον δὲ καὶ E ἀναγκαιότατον τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ τούτῳ δὴ ὑπηρετοῦντές τε καὶ αὖξοντες αὐτὸ διασκευωρήσωνται τὴν ἑαυτῶν πόλιν; Πῶς; ἔφη. "Ὅσοι μὲν ἂν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, πρεσβύτεροι τυγχάνωσι δεκετῶν ἐν τῇ

21. ξυγχωρεῖτε A<sup>2</sup> η : ξυγχωρεῖν τε A<sup>1</sup> Π : ξυγχωρεῖς Ξ. ἐτῶν A.

29. δεκετῶν Π : δέκ'

προσαναίρη in v 461 E, where the temptation is absent and the mss right. Burnet says that A<sup>2</sup> has ξυναναίρη, I know not on what authority: I found no trace in the ms of anything except ξυναίρη.

15 εὐδαίμοσι. If not δαίμοσιν, then εὐ-δαίμοσιν.

16 ὥσπερ ἀνδριαντοποιός. Jowett seems to find an allusion to the fact that Socrates had been a sculptor; but the same words might have been used if he had not: cf. (with J. and C.) II 361 D.

20 ὡς διήλθομεν. v 451 C ff.

540 D—541 B Finally, we repeat, our perfect city is not an idle aspiration, but capable of being realised, when true philosophers become kings and educate the young themselves, after banishing every one above the age of ten. Our account of the perfect city and man is now completed.

540 D 22 εὐχάς. v 450 D n.

χαλεπὰ κτλ. See VI 502 C n.

23 ἢ πλείους ἢ εἷς. See on IV 445 D.

540 E 27 ἀναγκαιότατον. They will admit no compulsion save that of Right; Non civium ardor prava iubentium Non vultus instantis tyranni Mente quatit solida. Contrast VI 492 B—493 D.

29 ὅσοι μὲν ἂν κτλ. Newman (*Aristotle's Politics* I p. 413 n.) thinks this proposal is "a softened version of the sentence

which Heraclitus passed on the Ephesians for expelling Hermodorus" (Bywater's *Heracl. Fr.* 114), but the parallel is not very close. Plato's *καθαρός* is sufficiently explained by the precepts which he himself lays down in VI 501 A: see also *Pol.* 293 D and especially *Laos* 735 B—736 C, where he gives an interesting survey of the various *καθαροί* applicable to commonwealths, and 752 B ff. Whether the *καθαρός* of the *Republic* is itself either possible or adequate is another matter: Grote pronounces it an εὐχή (*Plato* III p. 218 n.). An age which had witnessed the διοικισμός of Mantinea (*Xen. Hell.* v 2.7) might well have regarded it as feasible. 'Possible, but difficult' is perhaps the safest verdict. The purgation, even if successfully applied, might not be sufficient to start the city well, but it would be a useful auxiliary to that "express initiative force, exceptional and belonging to some peculiar crisis," which (according to Grote l. c.) would float the enterprise. Bosanquet raises the question how far the *καθαρός* is seriously meant. To me it appears to be neither more nor less serious than Plato's treatment of the general question as to the possibility of his ideal city: see on VI 502 C and Hirmer *Entstehung u. Komp. d. pl. Pol.* p. 638.

541 πόλει, πάντας ἐκπέμψωσιν εἰς τοὺς | ἀγροὺς, τοὺς δὲ παῖδας αὐτῶν 30  
 παραλαμβάντες ἐκτὸς τῶν νῦν ἡθῶν, ἃ καὶ οἱ γονεῖς ἔχουσι, θρέψων-  
 ται ἐν τοῖς σφετέροις τρόποις καὶ νόμοις, οὓσιν οἷοις διεληλύθαμεν  
 τότε, καὶ οὕτω τάχιστα τε καὶ ῥᾶστα πόλιν τε καὶ πολιτείαν, ἣν  
 ἐλέγομεν, καταστᾶσαν αὐτὴν τε εὐδαιμονήσειν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος, ἐν ᾧ ἂν 5  
 B ἐγγένηται, πλείστα ὀνήσειν; Πολύ γ', ἔφη· ἢ καὶ ὥς ἂν γένοιτο,  
 εἴπερ ποτὲ γίγνοιτο, δοκεῖς μοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, εὖ εἰρηκέναι. Οὐκοῦν  
 ἄδην ἤδη, εἶπον ἐγώ, ἔχουσιν ἡμῖν οἱ λόγοι περὶ τε τῆς πόλεως  
 ταύτης καὶ τοῦ ὁμοίου ταύτῃ ἀνδρός; δῆλος γάρ που καὶ οὗτος,  
 οἷον φήσομεν δεῖν αὐτὸν εἶναι. Δῆλος, ἔφη· καὶ ὅπερ ἐρωτᾷς, 10  
 δοκεῖ μοι τέλος ἔχειν.

τέλος πολιτείας ζ'.

30 ἐκπέμψωσιν—θρέψωνται. Stephanus (with some inferior MS authority) reads the future, which Liebhold also would restore; but ὅταν is carried on. Cf. II 359 B n.

541 A 31 θρέψωνται κτλ. J. and C. accuse Plato of barely considering "how the provision, which he here abruptly introduces, is to be reconciled with what precedes. For how are the children to be taught music and gymnastic when all their elders have been sent away? From what other State are the new teachers to be brought?" Plato is perfectly consistent. The new teachers are οἱ ὡς ἀληθῶς φιλόσοφοι δυνάσται ἐν πόλει γενόμενοι (540 D: cf. VI 499 B, 502 A ff.), and they rusticate the parents etc. just *because* their presence makes it impossible to bring up children on the new lines. If 'their elders' could

teach the young children, it would be unnecessary and wrong to send them into the country. Jowett seems to forget for the moment that Plato is not here speaking of his own city, but of an actual city which he wishes to transform into his καλλίπολις.

4 καὶ οὕτω κτλ. The infinitives still depend on συγχωρεῖτε.

5 ἐλέγομεν. Liebhold's λέγομεν is harmless, but unnecessary: cf. διεληλύθαμεν τότε above.

541 B 7 εἴπερ ποτὲ γίγνοιτο. Cf. VI 502 C n.

10 ὅπερ ἐρωτᾷς refers to Socrates' question οὐκοῦν—ἀνδρός; Cf. x 595 C ἀλλ' ὃ λέγω, ῥητέον. "The present inquiry is, I believe, concluded" (D. and V.) is an erroneous translation.

## APPENDICES TO BOOK VII.

### I.

#### ON THE SIMILES OF THE LINE AND THE CAVE.

The famous similitudes in Books VI and VII have claimed the attention of every writer who has seriously attempted to expound the philosophy of Plato. It must suffice to refer generally to Ueberweg-Heinze *Grundriss*<sup>s</sup> etc. pp. 167—174: and in particular to Whewell, *Philosophy of Discovery*, pp. 429—448; Sidgwick, *Journal of Philology*, II pp. 96 ff.; Jackson *ib.* x pp. 132 ff.; and Shorey *On the Idea of Good in Plato's Republic* (Chicago Studies in Classical Philology I pp. 188—239). The aim of the present Appendix is not polemical, but explanatory, and its scope is limited to an exposition of the difficulties of the subject in a more consecutive and reasoned manner than was possible in the notes.

An interpreter ought in the first instance to confine himself to such express statements, hints, and indications as are furnished by Plato himself in the *Republic*. The evidence of other Platonic dialogues and of Aristotle is certainly admissible, and may prove extremely useful in supplementing and confirming our results; but it ought not to be appealed to until the testimony of the *Republic* has been heard.

I will try to conform to these canons of interpretation.

The line is divided into two unequal parts, each of which is sub-

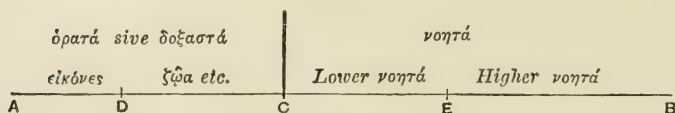


FIG. i. THE LINE.

divided according to the proportions of the original section. Thus (Fig. i.)  $AD:DC::AC:CB$ , and  $CE:EB::AC:CB$ .

$CB$  represents the *νοητόν*: and  $AC$  is called sometimes *ὁρατόν*, sometimes *δοξαστόν*.

$AD$  stands for *εἰκόνες*, i.e. *πρῶτον μὲν τὰς σκιὰς, ἔπειτα τὰ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι φαντάσματα καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὕδασι πυκνὰ τε καὶ λεῖα καὶ φανὰ ξυνέστηκεν*,



καὶ πᾶν τὸ τοιοῦτον: *DC* for τὰ περὶ ἡμᾶς ζῶα καὶ πᾶν τὸ φυτευτὸν καὶ τὸ σκευαστὸν ὅλον γένος (509 D—510 A *nn.*). It is clear, therefore, that if Plato means what he says, the objects represented by *AD* are distinct from those represented by *DC*, though they are each of them *ὄρατά* (δοξαστά).

*CE* stands for one part of τὸ νοητόν, *EB* for the other: see 510 B τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ—τὸ δ' αἰ ἕτερον and 511 C σαφέστερον εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ διαλέγεσθαι ἐπιστήμης τοῦ ὄντος τε καὶ νοητοῦ θεωρούμενον ἢ τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν τεχνῶν καλουμένον. Here again, if Plato's words are to be taken strictly, the objects represented by *CE* are distinct from those represented by *EB*. This conclusion is confirmed by 516 A compared with 532 A ff., where the objects of the lower intellectual method are compared with shadows of so-called real things (*AD*), whereas the higher νοητά correspond to ζῶα etc. (*DC*): cf. 511 E ἐφ' οἷς ἔστιν and 534 A.

So far, it will scarcely, I think, be denied that Plato's language points to a fourfold division, in which there are two main segments, each with two subsections. This view, which had hitherto been generally approved, was attacked by Jackson on the ground that "the introduction of the first segment is unmeaning and worse than unmeaning, on the assumption that 'the universe is compared to a quadripartite line'" (see *Journal of Philology* x pp. 132—150). Let us therefore examine the evidence of the *Republic* on the subsection *AD*.

*AD* is part of *AC*, and *AC* is called by Plato sometimes *δοξαστόν* and sometimes *ὄρατόν*: see 510 A and the other passages cited in my note ad loc. What then is the meaning of *δοξαστόν*? The word is certainly not synonymous with *ὄρατόν*, and we are surely bound to interpret its meaning here by the meaning which Plato has already given to it in the *Republic*. Now according to the explanation of *δόξα* in V 476 B—480 A, *δοξαστόν* includes not only the objects of sight and the other senses, but also, for example, τὰ τῶν πολλῶν πολλὰ νόμιμα καλοῦ τε περί καὶ τῶν ἄλλων (479 D, with note ad loc.). It would appear therefore that *AC* embraces not only *ὄρατά*, but other *δοξαστά* also, and that among these *δοξαστά* are contained *inter alia* popular canons or opinions on the subject of what is beautiful, ugly, right, wrong etc., as explained in 479 D. If Plato intended us to restrict *AC* to *ὄρατά*, it is reasonable to suppose that he would have used the term *ὄρατά* throughout, instead of employing a word which he has already defined as including not only visibles, but other opinables as well. That visible *εἰκόνας* of *ὄρατά* are of little or no metaphysical importance, is doubtless true; but there are other *δοξασταὶ εἰκόνας* besides those which are visible, and some of these are by no means destitute of significance and value.

For examples of such *εἰκόνας* we have not far to seek. Plato himself appears to recognize them in 517 D, 520 C, D (see the notes on these passages, and on 514 A, 517 A). They include the *νόμιμα* on subjects of taste, morality, truth etc. expressed or embodied in the works of poets, painters, and artists generally, sophists and rhetoricians, demagogues, statesmen, and others, in so far as these canons and

opinions are copied from τὰ τῶν πολλῶν πολλὰ νόμιμα καλοῦ τε περί καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, or from any other opinions and 'appearances' whatsoever: see VI 492 A—493 E, III 401 B ff., 402 B ff. and X 595 B—602 B. Much the same view is held by Nettleship (*Lect. and Rem.* II pp. 242—246) and others, although they have not, I think, sufficiently insisted on the fact that Plato stamps this interpretation as legitimate and correct by calling *AC* δοξαστόν, and including among δοξαστά (in Book V) not only ὁρατά but also τὰ τῶν πολλῶν πολλὰ νόμιμα καλοῦ τε περί καὶ τῶν ἄλλων.

If we now look for confirmations in other dialogues, the *Sophist* is ready at hand with its elaborate amount of εἰκαστική and φανταστική (233 E—236 C, 264 C ff.). The objects with which these two arts are concerned cannot be placed in any segment of the line except *AD*. In the *Sophist* Plato distinguishes between θεία ποιητική and ἀνθρωπίνη ποιητική (θήσω τὰ μὲν φύσει λεγόμενα ποιεῖσθαι θεία τέχνη, τὰ δ' ἐκ τούτων ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ξυνιστάμενα ἀνθρωπίνη, καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν λόγον δύο ποιητικῆς γένη, τὸ μὲν ἀνθρώπινον εἶναι, τὸ δὲ θεῖον 265 E), and between θεία εἰδωλοποιική and ἀνθρωπίνη εἰδωλοποιική (266 B ff.: see on VII 532 C). Now the works of ἀνθρωπίνη (as well as θεία) ποιητική are expressly recognized in *DC*, which includes σκευαστά as well as φυτευτά. It is therefore reasonable to suppose that *AD* includes the works of ἀνθρωπίνη (as well as θεία) εἰδωλοποιική. And the sophistic art is one among several varieties of ἀνθρωπίνη εἰδωλοποιική, being a subdivision of δοξομίμησις. Compare also, for Poetry, Music, and the imitative arts in general, *Laus* 669 D ff. It may be noted that this is not the only part of the *Republic* in which we meet with doctrines and ideas which are more fully developed in the *Sophist* and other dialogues which are now commonly considered to be relatively late: see on V 476 A.

On these grounds I am unable to look upon the first section of the line as in any way otiose or destitute of importance. It would be strange if in an enumeration of the objects of knowledge and opinion Plato should have left no room for the whole domain of 'imitation,' with which, in the *Republic* and elsewhere, he is continually concerned. In the analogous classification of *Phil.* 55 D—58 A μουσική is similarly placed in the lowest of the four divisions: cf. Bosanquet *Companion* p. 262.

The second division of the line need not detain us long. In so far as it is ὁρατόν, it includes the originals, whether natural or artificial, of the ὁραταὶ εἰκόνες in *AD*. Regarded in its wider meaning, it embraces all the other δοξαστά of which *AD* presents us with δοξασταὶ εἰκόνες, and doubtless also more; for we need not suppose that everything in *DC* has its counterpart in *AD*. The corresponding state of mind is πίστις, or 'belief': cf. *Tim.* 26 C ὃ τί περ πρὸς γένεσιν οὐσία, τοῦτο πρὸς πίστιν ἀλήθεια and *Gorg.* 454 D ff., from which and other passages it is clear that πίστις (in the widest sense) is the normal attitude of the ἀπαίδευτος towards his δοξαστά in general as well as his αἰσθητά in particular. The difference between πίστις and εἰκασία, both of which are here regarded as varieties of δόξα, is a varying quantity; for πίστις may be right or wrong. I think the particular contrast which Plato

has in view is best illustrated by such a case as he himself describes in X 601 D—602 B, where the maker of a σκεῦος is said to have πίστις ὀρθή, ξυνὸν τῷ εἶδοτι καὶ ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀκούειν παρὰ τοῦ εἶδότης, whereas the imitator οὔτε εἴσεται οὔτε ὀρθὰ δοξάσει, so that his state of mind can only be εἰκασία. In view of this passage in Book X, we may also (with Bosanquet, *Companion*, p. 262) compare *Phil.* 56 B ff. The arts of carpentry, ship-building, house-building etc., as well as ‘popular’ ἀριθμητική, μετρητική etc. (56 E—57 D: cf. VII 526 A n.) are placed in the second lowest category of the *Philebus*. They are all of them concerned with objects belonging to the second division of the line, and we may therefore take it that the intellectual condition of those who profess and practise these arts is also, according to Plato, πίστις.

It is about the third division of Plato's line that the greatest disputes have raged.

We have already seen that Plato verbally distinguishes between the contents of *CE* and those of *EB*. It is difficult to conceive why he should have done so unless he meant them to be really distinct; for the resources of his language were certainly equal to expressing his real view, whatever it was. There is moreover an exact correspondence between the objects of the different psychical affections or states (παθήματα ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ) and the states themselves; and διάνοια, which Plato regularly uses in connexion with *CE* (510 D, 511 A, 511 C, 511 D, 511 E, 526 A, 529 D, 533 D, 533 E, 534 A), is expressly distinguished from νόησις or νοῦς in 511 D. We are, therefore, prepared to find a similar distinction between the objects of the two mental states. What is the positive evidence on the subject? That the lower νοητά are the subjects of Plato's propaedeutic studies, viz. mathematical numbers, mathematical plane surfaces, mathematical βάθος, mathematical φοραὶ βάθους, and ‘consonant’ mathematical numbers, appears from 510 C—E, 511 A, B, 511 C (τεχνῶν), 525 C—526 A, 527 B, 532 C (τεχνῶν) 533 D συνειρητοῖς καὶ συμπεριαγωγαῖς χρωμένῃ αἰς διήλθομεν τέχναις. ἃς ἐπιστήμης μὲν πολλάκις προσείπομεν διὰ τὸ ἔθος, δέονται δὲ ὀνόματος ἄλλου, ἐναργεστέρου μὲν ἢ δόξης, ἀμυδροτέρου δὲ ἢ ἐπιστήμης. διάνοιαν δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν γὰρ τῷ πρόσθεν που ὠρισάμεθα, and 534 A. They are αἱ ὄντα (see 527 B and cf. 529 C, D n.), but nevertheless πολλά, i.e. there are many mathematical units etc. (526 A n.), many mathematical triangles, squares<sup>1</sup> etc., many mathematical cubes etc., many specimens (if the word may be allowed) of each mathematical φορά, many of each particular set of ἑξήφωνοι ἀριθμοί. Finally these μαθηματικά occupy an intermediate position between αἰσθητά (δοξαστά) and Ideas. We learn this (1) from their position in the line, (2) from the statement that the mathematical intelligence or διάνοια, which cognizes them, is μεταξύ τι δόξης τε καὶ νοῦ 511 D, (3) from the constantly repeated observation that such studies ‘tend to drag us towards Being’ (i.e. towards *EB*) etc. 523 A, 525 A, 527 B: cf. also 525 C, 526 B, (4) from the fact that while αἰσθητά are perishable

<sup>1</sup> A hasty perusal of 510 D might lead us to suppose that there is but one ‘mathematical’ square, and even to identify it with the Idea; but see the notes ad loc.



and πολλά, μαθηματικά are πολλά (526 A) and αἰὲ ὄντα (527 B), whereas the Idea is αἰὲ ὄν and ἓν.

Aristotle's evidence is in complete accord with these statements of Plato himself in the *Republic*. The relevant passages are cited by Bonitz on *Met.* A 6. 987<sup>b</sup> 14 ff. ἔτι δὲ παρὰ τὰ αἰσθητὰ καὶ τὰ εἶδη τὰ μαθηματικὰ τῶν πραγμάτων εἶναι φησι (sc. Πλάτων) μεταξύ, διαφέροντα τῶν μὲν αἰσθητῶν τῷ αἰδία καὶ ἀκίνητα εἶναι, τῶν δ' εἰδῶν τῷ τὰ μὲν πόλλ' ἅττα ὅμοια εἶναι, τὸ δὲ εἶδος αὐτὸ ἐν ἑκάστων μόνον. "Tria rerum genera posuisse Platonem, sensibilia mathematica ideas, constanter multis locis refert Aristoteles, cf. 9. 992<sup>b</sup> 14, B 1. 995<sup>b</sup> 16, 2. 997<sup>b</sup> 12, 6. 1002<sup>b</sup> 12 sqq., Z 2. 1028<sup>b</sup> 19, K 1. 1059<sup>b</sup> 4 sqq., Λ 1. 1069<sup>a</sup> 34. Et a sensibilibus quidem rebus differre mathematicas aeterna et immutabili natura (ἀκίνητα <sup>b</sup> 16...), ab ideis autem eo, quod mathematicae quidem res eiusdem formae indefinitae numero sunt, idea vero quaelibet simpliciter est una, cf. B 6. 1. l.: τὰ μὲν μαθηματικὰ τῶν δεῦρο (i.e. τῶν αἰσθητῶν) ἄλλῃ μὲν τινι διαφέρει, τῷ δὲ πόλλ' ἅττα ὁμοειδῆ εἶναι οὐθὲν διαφέρει. Ita quum sua natura in medio posita sint mathematica inter sensibilia et ideas (μεταξύ <sup>b</sup> 16), saepe ea Platonico sensu significat hoc ipso vocabulo τὰ μεταξύ, cf. 9. 991<sup>b</sup> 29, 992<sup>b</sup> 16, B 2. 997<sup>b</sup> 2, 13, 998<sup>a</sup> 7, 6. 1002<sup>b</sup> 13, 21, K 1. 1. l., M 2. 1077<sup>a</sup> 11" (Bonitz). It may be desirable to quote one of the numerous criticisms which Aristotle makes on Plato's view of μαθηματικά, because it appears to allude directly to the educational curriculum of the *Republic*: ἔτι δὲ εἴ τις παρὰ τὰ εἶδη καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ τὰ μεταξύ θήσεται, πολλὰς ἀπορίας ἔξει. δῆλον γὰρ ὡς ὁμοίως γραμμαὶ τε παρ' αὐτὰς καὶ τὰς αἰσθητὰς ἔσονται καὶ ἑκάστων τῶν ἄλλων γενῶν· ὥστ' ἐπεὶ περὶ ἡ ἀστρολογία μία τούτων ἐστίν, ἔσται τις καὶ οὐρανὸς παρὰ τὸν αἰσθητὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ ἡλίος τε καὶ σελήνη καὶ τᾶλλα ὁμοίως τὰ κατὰ τὸν οὐρανόν (cf. 529 C, D *nn.*)—ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ ὧν ἡ ὀπτική πραγματεύεται καὶ ἡ ἐν τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἀρμονική (531 C *n.*) κτλ. (*Met.* B 2. 997<sup>b</sup> 12 ff., cf. M 2. 1076<sup>b</sup> 11—1077<sup>b</sup> 14). These words are, in my judgment, an altogether just and relevant criticism on Plato from the standpoint of a man of science, and one with which Plato himself, when he wrote the *Republic*, would not have quarrelled.

In spite of this body of evidence, Shorey speaks of "futilissima illa hariolatio de numeris mathematicis inter numeros sensiles et numeros ideales positus" (*de Pl. id. doct.* p. 33), refuses to attribute the doctrine to Plato, and is surprised that Zeller should have been led astray. The entire theory, according to the American critic, arose from a mistaken interpretation of 523 D—526 E, where αὐτοὶ οἱ ἀριθμοὶ (525 D), he declares, are "nihil aliud quam ideae numerorum, sicut αὐτὸ τὸ μέγα est ipsius magnitudinis idea" (l.c.). I have stated my view of αὐτῶν τῶν ἀριθμῶν in the notes on 525 D. Here it need only be said that if αὐτῶν τῶν ἀριθμῶν, about which mathematicians converse, means Ideas of numbers, then αὐτὸ τὸ ἓν (525 D), i.e. the ἓν about which mathematicians converse (526 A), is the Idea of 'one.' But Plato speaks of a multiplicity of mathematical units: περὶ ποίων ἀριθμῶν διαλέγεσθε, ἐν οἷς τὸ ἓν οἶον ὑμεῖς ἀξιοῦτέ ἐστιν, ἴσον τε ἑκάστων πᾶν παντὶ καὶ οὐδὲ σμικρὸν διαφέρον (526 A). Are we then to suppose that there are many Ideas of 'one'? It may be added that in his later treatise on 'The

Idea of Good in Plato's Republic,' Shorey still adheres to his old view.

The explanation which I am advocating has the support of Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1. pp. 679 ff., Trendelenburg *Plat. de id. et num. doct.* pp. 70—80, Bonitz *l.c.* and a majority of scholars. To me it appears fully demonstrated by the evidence of the *Republic* alone; and Aristotle's testimony is a welcome confirmation from a source which is only second in value to Plato's own writings.

The ontological theories of the *Philebus* and *Timaeus* are, I believe, in harmony with the position here assigned to μαθηματικά. In the *Republic*, τὰ μαθηματικά are the link between αἰσθητά and εἶδη, regarded as objects respectively of sensible apprehension and knowledge; in the *Philebus* and especially the *Timaeus*, they are the cosmological μεταξύ τι. The αἰτία τῆς μίξεως of the *Philebus* (23 c ff.) is the Idea, and πέρας in that dialogue is τὰ μαθηματικά. Professor G. Schneider has pointed out that Plato "machte für alle Erscheinungen der Welt und des Geistes das Mathematische zum Gesetze für die Verwirklichung des Guten," and the *Timaeus* is an elaborate commentary on his remark. We see the soul and body of the Universe and Man built up by means of the μεταξύ or μαθηματικά of the *Republic*, ἀριθμητική supplying numbers (32 B et al.), Plane Geometry ἐπίπεδα (53 D ff.), Stereometry βάθη (54 B ff.), Astronomy φοραὶ βάθους (36 c ff., 39 A ff., 40 c ff.), and Harmonics the ξύμφωνοι ἀριθμοί (35 B ff.), according to which the Souls of the world and man are framed. The εἰσιόντα καὶ ἐξιόντα, τῶν ὄντων αἰὲ μμήματα, τυπωθέντα ἀπ' αὐτῶν τρόπον τινὰ δίσφραστον καὶ θαυμαστόν (50 C), which enter into the ἐκμαγεῖον and leave it according as mortal things arise and perish, are nothing but mathematical forms—the contents of CE. It is impossible to pursue the subject farther here; but reference may be made to F. Schmitt's Dissertation on *die Verschiedenheit d. Ideenlehre in Pl. Rep. u. Phil.* (Giessen 1891) and G. Schneider's admirable work on *Das Princip d. Muasses in d. Pl. Philos.* (Gera 1878), where this interpretation of the *Philebus* and *Timaeus* is expounded and justified in detail.

There remains the further question whether these μαθηματικά have, like the Ideas themselves, a real and substantial existence, apart from, as well as in, sensible particulars. Plato speaks of the object of geometrical study as αἰὲ ὄν, οὐ ποτέ τι γινόμενον καὶ ἀπολλύμενον (527 B n.: cf. 529 C, D nn.), and in the *Timaeus* (l.c.) they are εἰσιόντα καὶ ἐξιόντα. In the passages already referred to, Aristotle states or implies that Plato regarded them as χωριστά, not merely in thought, but actually, although in *Met.* B 2. 998<sup>a</sup> 7 ff. he informs us that another interpretation of τὰ μεταξύ was current, according to which they do exist, οὐ μὴν χωρὶς γε τῶν αἰσθητῶν, ἀλλ' ἐν τούτοις. The evidence of the *Republic* and *Timaeus* is in my opinion altogether in favour of the view which Aristotle attributes to Plato.

The Platonic theory on this subject will be most easily apprehended if we contrast it with that of a very different school of Philosophy. According to John Stuart Mill "there exist no real things exactly conformable to the definitions" (of geometrical science). "There exist no

points without magnitude; no lines without breadth, nor perfectly straight; no circles with all their radii exactly equal, nor squares with all their angles perfectly right." The "really existent" lines, angles, and figures are those which we apprehend through the senses, and "the definitions, as they are called, must be regarded as some of our first and most obvious generalisations concerning those natural objects" (*Logic*, Book II ch. 5 § 1). To Plato, on the other hand, the "really existent" straight lines are just those of which the definition speaks: whereas visible lines and magnitudes do not exist, but only 'become.' It is the true μαθηματικά described in his definitions of mathematical science which the γεωμετρικός investigates, and if they do not correspond with the forms which we see, so much the worse for Nature! The fault lies not with them nor with the δημιουργός, but with the conditions of finite existence: μεμιγμένη γὰρ ἡ τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου γένεσις ἐξ ἀνάγκης τε καὶ νοῦ συστάσεως ἐγενήθη (*Tim.* 48 A).

If the interpretation which I have given is correct, we can at once see why Plato makes the study of μαθηματικά his προπαιδεία. τὰ μαθηματικά are, objectively and *de facto*, according to Plato, the 'golden chain' between Ideas and particulars, and he who would ascend to Ideas must climb by the ladder which the Architect of the Universe—θεὸς αἰεὶ γεωμετρῶν—has himself provided. Cf. Schneider l.c. P. 54.

If the question is asked 'What is the element of truth embodied in Plato's theory of τὰ μαθηματικά as μεταξύ?', the answer is not far to seek. "All objects in the world," says Whewell, "which can be made the subjects of our contemplation are subordinate to the conditions of Space, Time, and Number; and on this account, the doctrines of pure mathematics have most numerous and extensive applications in every department of our investigation of nature" (*Philosophy of the Inductive Sciences*, p. 153). It is an admitted fact that "all causes operate according to mathematical laws" (Mill, *Logic*, Book III, ch. 24 § 9). The position which Plato assigns to τὰ μαθηματικά as intermediates between Ideas and sensible things is at once an affirmation of this fact and an explanation, from the Platonic point of view, of the reason which underlies it. The supreme Cause of the Universe, according to Plato, is the Idea of Good, of which, in the last analysis, the other Ideas are special determinations, and τὰ μαθηματικά are the instruments by means of which that Idea works in Nature. This and nothing else is the meaning of Plato's profound and famous text θεὸς αἰεὶ γεωμετρεῖ, on which the bulk of the *Timaeus* is only an elaborate commentary. Why is it, to take an obvious illustration, that the laws of physical science are habitually expressed in terms of mathematics? Plato's reply would be: simply because God made use of μαθηματικά in constructing the world, and we must interpret the Universe as God made it. The Laws of Kepler have been described as "three Laws of Divine Working in Nature, discovered by Kepler," and the description is in full harmony with Plato's conception. For the rest it should be noted that such a view of μαθηματικά appeals in its broader outlines with peculiar force to the religious and poetical imagination, as is often the case with the



speculative flights of Plato. We may compare not only the lines of Milton (*Paradise Lost*, VII 221 ff.)

“Him all his train  
Followed in bright procession, to behold  
Creation, and the wonders of his might.  
Then stayed the fervid wheels, and in his hand  
He took the golden compasses, prepared  
In God’s eternal store, to circumscribe  
This Universe, and all created things.  
One foot he centred, and the other turned  
Round through the vast profundity obscure,  
And said, ‘Thus far extend, thus far thy bounds;  
This be thy just circumference, O world!’”;

but also the famous passage in Isaiah xl 12 “Who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out heaven with the span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance?”

For special discussions on ‘The propaedeutic studies of the Republic’ and ‘On Plato’s Dialectic’ see Appendices II and III.

The view which I take of the simile of the Cave and its connexion with that of the Line is fully explained in the notes on Book VII (514 A, B, 515 A, 515 C, 516 A—C, 517 A, 517 D, 519 B, C, 520 C, 532 A—C). It is only necessary to add here that Jowett and Campbell’s interpretation (Vol. II pp. 14—18, III pp. 315—317 and elsewhere) appears to me somewhat seriously wrong in regard to the *ἀγάλματα* or *εἰδῶλα* of the allegory, which, according to Campbell, “constitute a lower stage of the ideal which in Plato’s language is alone the real, not the immediately visible, but the truth of phenomena, the *ἐν ἐπὶ πολλῶν ἐκάστων τῶν αἰσθητῶν*, the *infima species*, the first intention of the *ἐν λογισμῷ ξυναιρούμενον*” (II p. 17). Jowett, if I understand him rightly, goes even farther, and apparently regards some of the propaedeutic studies as symbolized by the *εἰδῶλα* (III pp. 316, 317). It seems to me quite clear from the general proportions of the simile (514 A n.) that the *εἰδῶλα* in the cave represent nothing beyond the higher *ὁρώμενα* and the higher *δοξαστά* (517 A, 532 B, c n.), which are emphatically *πολλά* and not *ἐν ἐπὶ πολλῶν*, still less “the world as conceived of by the mathematician” (Jowett), which might possibly be figured as a *φάντασμα θεῖον* (532 C n.), but certainly not as a *σκευαστὸν εἰδῶλον*: τοῦ γὰρ αἰὲν ὄντος ἢ γεωμετρικῇ γνῶσιν ἐστίν (527 B).

## II.

### ON THE PROPAEDEUTIC STUDIES OF THE REPUBLIC.

Plato’s higher scheme of education has formed the subject of a large number of dissertations and articles, besides the attention which it has received at the hands of commentators and historians of philosophy. The best and ablest discussion of the method and general principles of the system is still, I think, Nettleship’s article in *Hellenica* (pp. 135—180), to which the second volume of his *Lectures and Remains*

(pp. 238—294) is a welcome supplement. Tannery's articles in the *Revue Philosophique* (x pp. 517 ff. and xi pp. 283 ff.) are concerned chiefly with the scientific aspect of Plato's curriculum. The mathematical difficulties have been to a large extent cleared up by historians of mathematics, and other authors of special monographs mentioned in the notes. Theo's treatise *περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ μαθηματικὸν χρησίων εἰς τὴν Πλάτωνος ἀνάγνωσιν*, which Dupuis has edited and translated (Paris 1892), will be found extremely useful, all the more so that it is largely a compilation from earlier sources.

In this appendix I propose to touch on some questions which could not be adequately treated in the notes.

The novelty of Plato's curriculum lies in the interpretation which he puts upon the subjects prescribed, and in his conception of scientific method, rather than in his selection of studies to be pursued. It will be observed that he confesses his debt to the Pythagoreans (530 E n.); and, as Tannery points out (l.c. x pp. 521 ff.: cf. Diels *Dox. Gr.* 555. 17), there is no reason to doubt that the Pythagoreans made use of a *quadrivium* embracing (1) ἀριθμητική, (2) μουσική, (3) γεωμετρία, (4) σφαιρική (see *Theol. Ar.* 4. 19 Ast and Hippolytus in Diels l.c., where the order is (1) <ἀριθμητική>, (2) μουσική, (3) γεωμετρία, (4) ἀστρονομία). See also [Archytas] quoted on 530 D. The allusions in Isocrates (*Panath.* 26, *Antid.* 261 ff., 266) to an educational curriculum of this kind may of course be aimed at Plato, but it is, I think, more probable, in view of some passages in the Platonic dialogues, that ἡ ἐφ' ἡμῶν κατασταθεῖσα παιδεία (*Panath.* l.c.) has a wider reference. In *Theaet.* 145 A Theodorus is said to be γεωμετρικὸς—καὶ ἀστρονομικὸς καὶ λογιστικὸς τε καὶ μουσικὸς καὶ ὅσα παιδείας (liberal education) ἔχεται, and Theaetetus professes to have learnt from him γεωμετρίας ἅπτα—καὶ τῶν περὶ ἀστρονομίαν τε καὶ ἁρμονίας καὶ λογισμούς (ib. 145 C, D). The studies in question were called 'Arts,' and Hippias was one of those who professed to teach them under this name, as appears from *Prot.* 318 E (see 511 C n. and *Hipp. Mai.* 285 B ff.). From these passages we are justified in drawing the inference that the Pythagorean *quadrivium* was in some form or another becoming recognized in the early part of the fourth century B.C., and even earlier (cf. Grasberger *Erziehung u. Unterr.* II p. 340). The addition of Stereometry as a separate and independent branch of study is doubtless due to Plato, as may indeed be inferred from his own remarks (528 B ff.); but stereometrical problems had been handled before his time not only by the Pythagoreans, but also by Anaxagoras and Democritus (528 B, C nn.), and were probably reckoned as part of γεωμετρία.

The studies are arranged by Plato in the sequence, Theory of Numbers, Geometry, Stereometry, Astronomy and Harmonics. It is not, of course, to be supposed that each of the earlier subjects is dismissed as soon as its successor comes upon the stage; Plato indeed implies the opposite in 531 C ff. and elsewhere. The order which he prescribes is the order in which the subjects are to be begun. I have touched on the principle underlying the sequence of studies in the notes on 526 C and 528 A. We proceed from number, which is presumably the

first 'increase,' to plane geometry and stereometry, which are concerned respectively with the second and third 'increases,' and thence to *φωρὰ βάθος*, taking Astronomy, the intellectual counterpart of visible *φωρὰ*, before Harmonics, which deals with the intellectual counterpart of audible *φωρὰ*, viz. 'consonant' and 'dissonant' numbers. The general principle plainly is that we should progress from the less to the more complex (Nettleship *Lect. and Rem.* II p. 269), each successive study adding a fresh element to those which have preceded it and presupposing them all. Plato would not, I think, allow that his intention was 'to arrange the sciences according to their object-matter in a direction from abstract to concrete' (Bosanquet *Companion* p. 288), for the Platonic sciences of Astronomy and Harmonics are, to say the least, as 'abstract' as the sciences of Number. But inasmuch as a solid concrete thing is after all an embodiment, though only an imperfect embodiment, of mathematical *βάθος*, Plato's curriculum, so far, and only so far, as it does in reality teach us to understand the visible concrete universe, may, if we are so minded, be held to proceed, in Aristotelian language, from the *πρότερα φύσει* to the *πρότερα πρὸς ἡμᾶς*.

Except in the position ascribed to 'Music' or 'Harmonics,' the order of studies in the *Republic* agrees with that of the Pythagorean *quadri-rium*. The phraseology of 526 c and 528 A makes it probable that the principle of the Pythagorean arrangement was the same. 'Second increase' can only mean 'second increase' of the point or unit, the 'first increase' being the line or number. Now the Pythagoreans, as is well known, built up the line out of points, the plane out of lines, and the solid out of planes: see RP.<sup>7</sup> § 64. (This is equally true whether we suppose that they consciously or unconsciously regarded the cosmogonical unit or point as having μέγεθος, though for my own part I agree with Burnet, *Early Greek Philosophy* pp. 312—315, that they consciously so regarded it, at all events in the earlier and more original form of their theory: see Arist. *Met.* M 6. 1080<sup>b</sup> 20, 32 and N 1091<sup>a</sup> 15 with *Phys.* Z 1. 231<sup>a</sup> 24, 10. 241<sup>a</sup> 3, and other passages cited in Burnet, l.c. p. 315 n.) It may therefore be inferred that the expressions 'second' and 'third increase' are in their origin Pythagorean, and, if so, we cannot doubt that Plato's principle of arrangement agrees on the whole with that of his predecessors.

The position of Harmonics in the Platonic scheme is however a remarkable divergence, especially as the study, according to 531 c, is concerned with numbers. In discussing this point Theo, who himself expounds the *σύμφωνοι ἀριθμοί* in connexion with *ἀριθμητική*, distinguishes between three kinds of *ἁρμονία*, viz. *ἡ ἐν ὀργάνοις αἰσθητή*, *ἡ ἐν ἀριθμοῖς νοητή*, and *ἡ ἐν κόσμῳ ἁρμονία* (pp. 16, 47 ed. Miller). Plato's *ἁρμονική* deals of course with the second of these *ἁρμονίαι*. The first would have seemed to him educationally useless except by way of illustration, like mathematical diagrams (cf. 527 A, 529 D). *ἡ ἐν κόσμῳ ἁρμονία*, which is described in x 616 D ff., *Tim.* 35 B ff. and by Theo 139—147, could not serve this purpose, because it is inaudible. If we take Plato at his word, we are bound to suppose that the Music of the Spheres, though more beautiful and perfect than any audible 'harmonies,' is nevertheless inferior to that which the student of harmonics



apprehends in his mind (cf. 529 C, D with 531 C), because it is produced by the movements of visible and corporeal stars; but it is permissible to suppose that the sublime Pythagorean conception of the Universe as 'God's organ' (Censor. *de die nat.* 13) may have induced him to crown his προπαίδεια with the study of those numerical 'consonances' whose grandest expression in time and space is the harmony of heaven. See also on X 617 B.

The most characteristic and essential feature of the Platonic curriculum is, as I have already remarked, its method: see on 523 B, C, 528 E, 529 C, D, 530 C. Plato himself obviously claims it as new (523 A, 530 C, 530 E ff.), and there can be little doubt that the claim is just. The modern scientific reader cannot fail to be surprised and perhaps shocked by Plato's unconcealed distrust of observation and the use of the senses. In the Theory of Numbers and pure mathematics generally, this is natural and right; but what hope, he will ask, is there for Astronomy if we 'dispense with the starry heavens' (530 B)? And how can Harmonics be advanced if we prohibit all inquiry into οἱ ἐν ταύταις ταῖς συμφωνίαις ταῖς ἀκουομέναις ἀριθμοί (531 C)? It has, indeed, been maintained that 'the discovery of Neptune is a fulfilment of Plato's anticipations' (Bosanquet *Companion* p. 293), and that 'the mathematical treatment of the analysis of wave-forms (see Helmholtz, *Popular Lectures*, E.T. 175) seems to be an example of research which would have been after Plato's own heart' (ib. p. 294). There is something to be said in favour of such a view, and Bosanquet and Nettleship plead their case valiantly and well. But was it possible to discover the perturbations of Uranus without observation? And even supposing they had been observed, would Plato, at the time when he wrote 530 A ff., have suspected that they were due to the influence of an unknown planet, and betaken himself to his desk? If Professor Adams' calculations had failed, Plato might have called him ἄτοπος for thinking γίγνεσθαι τε ταῦτα αἰεὶ ὡσαύτως καὶ οὐδαμῇ οὐδὲν παραλλάττειν and seeking παντὶ τρόπῳ τὴν ἀλήθειαν αὐτῶν λαβεῖν, although he would have emphatically approved of the algebra. The fact is that Plato and Professor Adams began at different ends—Plato with problems, Adams with observation. That which is only an orrery to the former (529 D f.) is to the latter the reality which calls for explanation. It is true, of course, that Plato makes the primary impulse to reflection come from contradictory sense-perceptions (523 A ff.), but as soon as the intellect is fairly roused, the senses are dispensed with as much as possible, because they thwart and debilitate the operations of the mind, rendering its conclusions less scientific and exact (525 D, 529 C, 531 A, 532 A). Nor does this conclusion rest on a few isolated passages, which may well be tinged with exaggeration, owing to Plato's contempt for the empiric sciolism of certain Sophists. The whole of the seventh book breathes a spirit of uncompromising hostility to the senses, and the same attitude is characteristic of many other dialogues, and, in particular, of the *Phaedo* (65 A—67 B).

The fact is that the Astronomy and Harmonics of the *Republic* are fundamentally different from the Astronomy and Harmonics of modern, as well as of ancient science. The objects which they investigate are

not sensible phenomena, but intelligible realities occupying an intermediate position between sensibles and Ideas, and resembling Ideas much more than they resemble sensibles. Plato's whole conception of these sciences is idealistic; nor need we wonder if some light from the land of Ideas irradiates the path of the pilgrim as he nears the end of his propaedeutic journey. Platonic Science, like Platonic Metaphysics, can of course be arrayed in modern attire; but it may be doubted whether Plato does not lose more than Science, or even the cause of liberal education gains, by having his philosophy called down from heaven to earth. See also Appendix III. The famous words of Goethe, which I have already quoted on 486 A, express the true spirit of Plato's teaching in Books VI and VII, and are a loftier and juster tribute to his genius than any panegyric on his contributions to the cause of science: "Er bewegt sich nach der Höhe, mit Sehnsucht seines Ursprungs wieder theilhaft zu werden. Alles, was er äussert, bezieht sich auf ein ewig Ganzes, Gutes, Wahres, Schönes, dessen Forderung er in jedem Busen aufzuregen strebt. Was er sich im Einzelnen von irdischem Wissen zueignet, schmilzt, ja man kann sagen, verdampft in seiner Methode, in seinem Vortrag" (*Farbenlehre* Vol. III p. 141 Weimar 1893).

Plato's error lies in an undue extension of the method of pure mathematics to Astronomy and Harmonics: see on 529 D ff. His theory of these sciences is geometrical, and the heavens are actually compared to a mathematical diagram or orrery. It is not the visible movements of the visible heavens, but the intelligible movements of certain mathematical heavens which the pupil is to investigate. Even apart from his unquenchable idealism, we shall not find it difficult to account for Plato's attitude, if we remember the extraordinary value which he attached to Geometry (see on 526 C), and if we also accept his assurances that the astronomy and acoustics of his day were grossly empirical. It should likewise be borne in mind that his primary aim throughout the whole of this *προπαιδεία* is to discipline the intellectual powers and prepare the student to enter on the higher dialectic, in which all employment of the senses is rigidly proscribed. The goal is never for a moment lost sight of, and to a large extent affects the method by which the preliminary studies are to be themselves pursued. If his aim had been to make his pupils merely specialists in mathematics or astronomy, he might have taught them these subjects on other lines, but the man who is a mathematical specialist and nothing more is unfitted to be a Guardian, for we cannot allow 'our children' ἀλόγους ὄντας ὥσπερ γραμμὰς ἄρχοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει κυρίους τῶν μεγίστων εἶναι (VII 534 D). Plato endeavours to treat the study of mathematics and the mathematical sciences not as an end in itself, but as a means whereby to "revolutionize the whole state of mind"<sup>1</sup> of his pupils; and his vindication of the 'Arts' as the indispensable basis of a liberal training has been justified by history. Even the very name survives in the degrees which our Universities confer (see my article in *Cl. Rev.* xv p. 220). After Stereometry resumed its place as a department of Geometry, the four Sciences, Arithmetic, Music, Geometry and Astronomy, gradually established themselves as

<sup>1</sup> The phrase is applied by Herbert Spencer (*Education*, p. 86) to the effects of mathematics as an educative discipline, provided the teacher knows how to teach.

the *Quadrivium* of the Middle Ages, and room was also found for a pale and ghostly shadow of Dialectic in the *Trivium* (see Grasberger *Erzieh. u. Unterricht* pp. 235—237). Finally it is clear from some notable passages in his later writings (see on 530 B) that Plato's feeling about the visible heavens underwent a change as he grew older. In the *Laws* the very name of 'planets' or 'wanderers' sounds blasphemous in his ear (821 c). Such a change of sentiment is characteristic of his later dialogues in general, and in the *Laws*, perhaps, there is an added touch of the old man's feeling 'ἐν εὐφημίᾳ καὶ τρυφῇ' But Plato may also have felt that his magnificent dream of a starry firmament more beautiful and perfect than the visible sky had served its purpose in the stimulus which it had given to a more theoretical and educative interpretation of physical science within the Academy. See Cantor *Gesch. d. Math.* pp. 202—216.

But, when all is said and done, the abiding value of Plato's theory of Education is not affected by his misconception, if such it be, of the sciences of Astronomy and Harmonics. It may be doubted whether any writer has ever held so inspiring and profound a view of the aim and scope of education. Regarding man's reasoning faculty as the element of God within him, Plato makes it the supreme and only duty of education to foster and develop this element, not by feeding it with dull and lifeless dogma, but by emancipating it from the noxious influences which impede its growth. Nothing is admitted into his scheme except what tends to keep alive humanity's most precious heritage, the love of truth and knowledge. By nurturing and cherishing this instinct, Education, according to Plato, turns the moral as well as the intellectual nature of man from darkness to light, until he becomes 'like God as far as it is possible for man to be.' Nor is the horizon of the educator limited to this life. The soul is but a sojourner on earth, and its union with a particular body only a single episode in a life which reaches through 'both eternities.' Plato believes that the teacher can influence the pupil for hereafter as well as for life here, and that the soul which is once smitten with the love of truth may still advance from knowledge to more knowledge throughout unnumbered lives and phases of existence on earth and elsewhere. The sea of knowledge stretches wide, its waves unharvested as ever.

"Nay, come up hither.....

Unto the furthest flood-brim look with me;  
Then reach on with thy thought till it be drown'd.  
Miles and miles distant though the last line be,  
And though thy soul sail leagues and leagues beyond,  
Still leagues beyond those leagues there is more sea."

### III.

#### ON PLATO'S DIALECTIC.

Although Socrates professes to decline the invitation of Glauco to expound Dialectic (532 E n.: cf. 506 E), he gives us in Books VI and VII plentiful indications of its method and content, and an editor of



the *Republic* is bound, I think, to face the task of reconstructing, in its general outlines, the science as it appeared to Plato when he wrote that dialogue. The literature of the subject is immense, as may be seen from the notes in Zeller<sup>1</sup> II 1. pp. 614—632, pp. 643—718: cf. also Lutoslawski *Plato's Logic* pp. 21—27.

It will be convenient to separate, as far as possible, the discussion of the objects of dialectical study from that of its method. Its supreme object, the Idea of the Good, is treated of in VI 504 E—509 B: VI 510 B, 511 B, C, and VII 531 D—534 E, 537 D—540 B are concerned chiefly with the method, although the objects are occasionally mentioned. Other passages in the *Republic* which throw light upon Plato's theory will be mentioned in the course of the discussion.

It is hardly necessary to say that Dialectic is concerned with the Ideas. What Plato meant by the 'Ideas,' is a question which has been, and in my opinion always will be, much debated. I have explained my general view in the note on v 476 A; and it is only necessary to add here that the *Republic*, as I interpret it, nowhere indicates that the Ideas are only thoughts, whether of the divine or human mind<sup>1</sup>, and lends no support whatever to any of the "mildere Auslegungen" by means of which certain modern philosophers try to reconcile their own doctrines with those of Plato (see on x 597 B). Each Idea, according to the *Republic*, is a single independent, separate, self-existing, perfect and eternal essence, forming the objective correlate of our general notion (596 A), which may or may not, and usually does not, reproduce it with accuracy and completeness. Any milder interpretation cannot be reconciled either with Plato's language or with the evidence of Aristotle. It may be well to take as an illustration the view of Lotze. "The truth which Plato intended to teach is no other than that which we have just been expounding, that is to say, the validity of truths as such, apart from the question whether they can be established in relation to any object in the external world, as its mode of being, or not....But the Greek language then, as afterwards, was wanting in an expression for this Validity (*Gelten*) as a form of Reality not including Being or Existence; and this very expression Being came, often indeed quite harmlessly, but in this instance"—viz. in the interpretation of Plato's Theory of Ideas—"with momentous consequences, to fill the place."... "The reality of Being, indeed, they"—the Platonic Ideas—"have or have not, according as transient things of sense are clothed with them or not; but that reality which consists in Validity, which is a reality all their own, remains untouched by all this change."... "It seems incredible that the most acute of Plato's disciples, informed by personal intercourse with their master, should have misunderstood him in a point of such

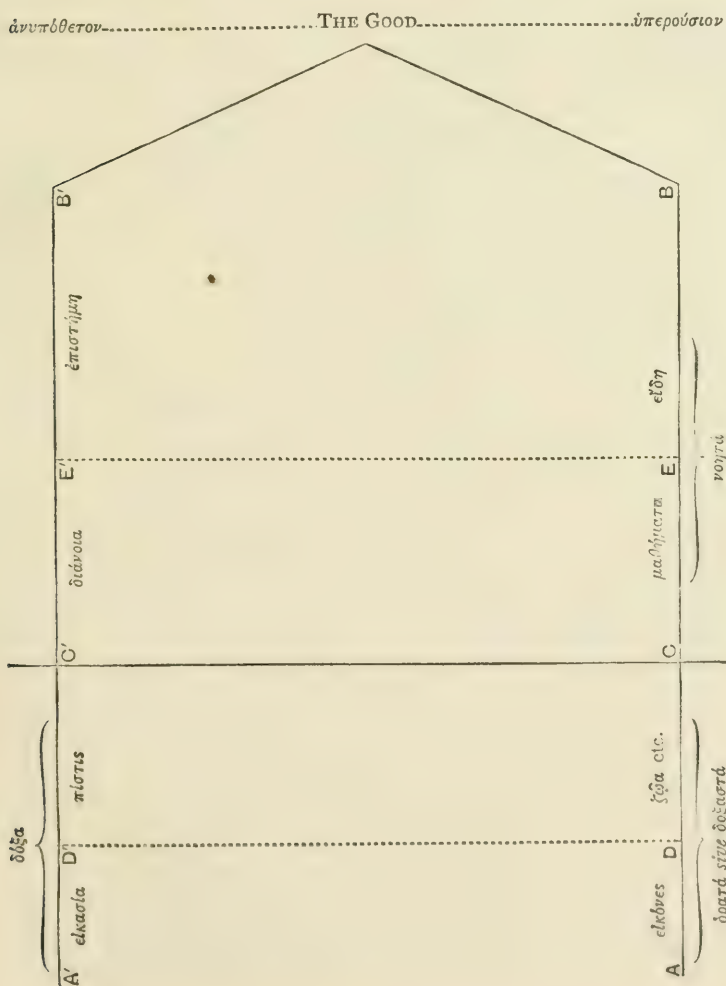
<sup>1</sup> Lutoslawski's formidable array of authorities who support the view that the Ideas are "a kind of notions of the human mind" (l.c. 26, 27) is not always accurate, and I suspect that some of the authors whom he cites would disown the interpretation which he puts upon their works. Among others, Shorey is claimed as holding this view, although he expressly repudiates it in the treatise referred to in App. I, and also in his *De Plat. idearum doctr. atque mentis humanae notionibus comment.*, the very treatise which Lutoslawski refers to in support of his assertion: see p. 22, n. 2: "Opinio—ideas Platonicas meras mentis humanae notiones fuisse iamdudum explosa est."

serious moment as this" (*Logic* E. T. pp. 441, 444). We may fairly reply that it does not seem, but is, incredible that Aristotle should have been guilty of so gross a blunder. It is far less incredible that Lotze is himself mistaken; nor indeed can I believe that any scholar who is capable of understanding Greek could read Books v—vii of the *Republic* and still agree with Lotze. "The truth which Plato intended to teach is *no other than that which we have just been expounding*." In this we have, I think, the key to a whole school of interpreters of Plato. "Hic liber est, in quo quaerit sua dogmata quisque: Invenit et pariter dogmata quisque sua." It is perhaps the highest tribute which can be offered to the strength and vitality of Plato's influence that successive generations of idealists rejoice to discover themselves anew in him: but only by employing the methods of Procrustes can we force Plato into the habiliments of modern philosophy. Even if it were granted that the transcendence of the Ideas is, philosophically speaking, absurd (see Lotze l.c. p. 440), we cannot too strongly insist that Plato's thought is steeped in poetical and religious fervour: "Verlangen zum Guten und Göttlichen pulsirt durch alle seine Adern" (Krohn *Pl. St.* p. 191): and I confess that Plato, without transcendent Ideas to fire the imagination and generate philosophical and even religious enthusiasm, appears to me perhaps an eagle still, but chained. Those critics who deny the transcendence of the Platonic ideas are compelled to discredit the authority of Aristotle, who assures us that the Ideas were *χωρισταί*: but in reality such writers resemble Aristotle far more than Plato, for their eagerness to acquit Plato of such a 'poetical absurdity' (Lutoslawski *Plato's Logic*, p. 447) springs from the same scientific instinct which made Aristotle attack the doctrine, as in Aristotle's day they also would assuredly have done. Zeller's discussions, with the results of which I in the main agree, appear to me both temperate and sound<sup>1</sup>.

It is clear that in the *Republic* Plato believes in the existence of an Idea corresponding to every class or group of particulars, artificial as well as natural. See on v 476 A and x 596 A ff. If we are mainly concerned in that dialogue with Ideas like Justice and its sister Virtues, the sole and sufficient reason is that the *Republic* is an ideal city, and the institutions of an ideal city must be regulated chiefly by ethical and political principles: see on vi 484 C and 501 A ff. The totality of Ideas forms an hierarchy reaching in just and well-ordered sequence to the Idea of the Good, of which each individual Idea must be held to be one particular form, aspect, or determination. The hints which the *Republic* furnishes as to the place of the several Ideas in this hierarchy are enumerated in the notes on vi 510 B, 511 B. On the supremacy of the Good, there is little to add beyond what the notes contain: see on vi 506 E ff. The Idea of the Good transcends Knowledge and is its source and fountain, as well as the ultimate cause of whatsoever shadow of Truth still clings to the lower grades of intellectual apprehension enumerated in the simile of the Line. Itself above and beyond Being,

<sup>1</sup> In edition 4, Vol. II 1. pp. 658-679. See also Krohn *Pl. St.* pp. 188-192, and Kramm *De Ideis Platonis a Lotzei iudicio defensio* Halae 1879. The last-named writer appears to me to have completely refuted Lotze's interpretation of Plato's theory of Ideas.

the Good is the author of the other Ideas, and through them of the realities which the mathematician studies: it is also the cause of that image or semblance of reality which remains in the objects comprehended under the name of *γένεσις*. We may therefore call the Idea of Good the 'Maker and Father of all' (cf. *Tim.* 28 c), and identify it, in this aspect, as in others, with the supreme God (505 A n.). Its relation to the Universe of Mind and the objects which are apprehended by mind may be expressed by the following diagram, in which the lines *A'B'* and *AB* are divided according to the proportions of the simile of the Line:





A further and perhaps still more significant presentation of the Good in the *Republic* is as the true and ultimate object of all creation—the *οὐ ἐνεκα* of the whole universe and every part thereof, and consequently at once the regulating law of everything which exists, so far as it exists, both organic and inorganic, and the *πρῶτον φίλον* for which the whole of Nature, with greater or less degree of consciousness, for ever yearns and strives. See on VI 505 D f. It is, I think, scarcely more than half the truth to say that the Idea of Good, “means, when stripped of its poetic vesture, a rational consistent conception of the greatest possible attainable human happiness, of the ultimate laws of God, nature or man that sanction conduct, and of the consistent application of those laws in legislation, government and education” (Shorey *On the Idea of Good* etc. p. 239). Man is not the whole of creation, though its highest product; and the Good is the final as well as the efficient cause, not only of human institutions, but also of the rest of nature—the *ἀρχὴ ἀφ’ ἧς ἡρτῆται ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις* (cf. Arist. *Met.* A 7. 1072<sup>b</sup> 14). The reason why in the *Republic* Plato deals, not indeed by any means exclusively, but chiefly perhaps, with the bearings of the Good on human life and interests, is because that aspect of the Idea is more relevant than any other for the founder of a city. In the *Timaeus* Plato completes his account of the Good by tracing its operation in the works of Nature. It helps us to understand the many-sidedness of Plato’s conception if we remember that ‘good’ was a term of wide application among the Greeks in general, and that the Socratic school in particular regarded things as good in proportion as they fulfilled their proper office in the economy of Nature and Society. See I 353 A—E, V 457 B and the suggestive remarks of Nettleship *Lectures and Remains* II pp. 221—225.

There remains the further question: How does the Supreme Cause operate in the Universe? or in other words, What is the mode or kind of relationship existing between the Idea of Good and the particular of which it is the cause? The subject is full of difficulties, and it must be premised at the outset that the relation between the eternal and self-existent and the derivative and transient cannot be otherwise expressed than by a metaphor. Cf. A. E. Taylor in *Mind* N. S. v pp. 309 f. But we are none the less bound to examine the metaphors employed in describing the connexion if we would see how the relationship was figured by Plato in his own mind. If we follow the indications furnished in our dialogue, we may suppose that Plato, when he wrote the *Republic*, conceived of the matter somewhat in the following way. The Idea of Good is the principle from which the other Ideas derive their existence (VI 509 B ff. *uu.*), and may therefore be regarded as the ultimate cause of everything which they in their turn produce. The immediate cause accounting for the existence of a particular is the ‘presence’ (*παρουσία*) of an Idea. Thus for example the cause which enables us to say that Socrates is a just and pious man is the ‘presence’ in Socrates of the Ideas of Justice, Piety, and Man. The Ideas are therefore the immanent causes of particulars, each of which is the meeting-ground of as many Ideas as there are predicables rightfully belonging to it. Thus much may be

inferred from *Republic* v 476 A ff., not to mention other dialogues; but the difficulties attending such a theory of Causation, if it is strictly interpreted, are great and numerous, and in particular the immanence of the Ideas can hardly be reconciled with their self-existence and unity. Plato was well aware of this objection, at all events when he wrote the *Parmenides*<sup>1</sup> (see *Parm.* 130 E—132 B, and Waddell's edition of that dialogue pp. xliii f. and lxix), but in the *Republic*, whether because he had not yet realised the difficulty, or because he was occupied with other and more fruitful topics, he ignores it altogether. The more poetical and figurative conception of the Idea as a *παράδειγμα*, whereof the particular is an image or likeness or shadow, visible beauty, for example, being only, in the words of Shelley, the "shadow of Beauty unbeheld," is also found in the *Republic*, as in other dialogues, side by side with the doctrine of *παρουσία*, *μέθεξις*, or *κοινωνία*. See on V 476 D and A. E. Taylor in *Mind* l.c. pp. 308—311. This view, like the other, is by no means free from philosophical difficulties, as has been pointed out by, among others, Waddell l.c. pp. li f., and Taylor l.c. pp. 307, 312, but the paradeigmatic relation of the Idea to the particular is more in keeping with the Platonism of Books VI and VII than the theory of participation, and it is the form in which the relationship presented itself to Plato in the last of his great metaphysical dialogues, the *Timaeus*. Finally, it should be remarked that in applying his doctrine of causation to sensible or concrete numbers and numerical relations, concrete mathematical figures and the like, Plato introduced a fresh link between the Idea and the particular in the shape of *τὰ μαθηματικά*. See on this subject App. I to Book VII.

I pass now to the subject of dialectical method, as expounded in the *Republic*. Formally considered, it proceeds, like the Socratic cross-examination, by question and answer (534 D). Dialectic is above all things synoptical, striving everywhere to see the one in the many (531 D, 537 B, C). Hence the coordination of the Sciences is a good preparation for the higher study (ll. cc.: cf. also Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1. p. 616 n. 1). This synoptical faculty is akin to the *συναγωγή* of the *Phaedrus* and other dialogues (see on 537 C), although the word *συναγωγή* does not occur with this meaning in the *Republic*. But whereas the dialectic of the *Phaedrus* includes the combination of particular sense-perceptions *εἰς ἐν λογισμῷ ξυναιρούμενον* (249 B, cf. 265 D), that of the *Republic* aims at combining different Ideas under yet higher and higher Ideas, and all of them finally under the Idea of the Good. Cf. [Archytas] in Mullach *Frag. Phil. Gr.* I p. 599 ὅστις ὄν ἀναλῦσαι οἷός τ' ἐντὶ πάντα τὰ γένηα ὑπὸ μίαν τε καὶ τὰν αὐτὰν ἀρχάν, καὶ πάλιν συνθεῖναι τε καὶ συναρθρῆσαι, οὗτος δοκεῖ μοι καὶ σφώτατος ἡμεῖν καὶ παραλαθέστατος, ἐτι δὲ καλὰν σκοπιὰν εἰρηκέναι, ἀφ' ἧς δυνατὸς ἐστείηται τὸν θεὸν κατοφείσθαι καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν τῇ συστοιχείᾳ καὶ τάξει τὰ ἐκείνῳ κατακεχωρισμένα, καὶ ταύταν τὰν ἀρματήλατον ὁδὸν ἐκπορισάμενος τῷ νόῳ κατ' εὐθείαν ὁρμαθῆμεν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> I assume that the theory of Ideas which the Platonic *Parmenides* criticises is that which appears in the *Republic* and the *Phaedo*. The resemblance is so exact that I cannot see how we can escape from this assumption. Cf. Jackson in *J. of Phil.* xi p. 296. A different view is maintained by Taylor l.c. p. 317.

τελεοδρομᾶσαι τὰς ἀρχὰς τοῖς πέρασι συνάψας τε καὶ ἐπιγνούς, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς ἀρχὰ τε καὶ τέλος καὶ μέσον ἐντὶ πάντων τῶν κατὰ δίκαν τε καὶ τὸν ὀρθὸν λόγον περαινομένων. Neither in his ascent nor in his descent does the dialectician have anything to do with sense-perception, or 'particulars' in the ordinary acceptation of the term (511 B f.). It is clear therefore, as Oldenberg has pointed out<sup>1</sup>, that the dialectic of Books VI and VII is a higher dialectic, to be compared in some respects with the intellectual discipline recommended in the *Parmenides* (135 C—136 E, especially 135 E οὐκ εἶας ἐν τοῖς ὁρωμένοις οὐδὲ περὶ ταῦτα τὴν πλάνην ἐπισκοπεῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐκείνα ἃ μάλιστα τις ἀνὴρ λόγῳ λάβοι καὶ εἶδῃ ἀνὴρ ἡγήσαιο εἶναι). In taking this view I do not mean to deny that dialectic in the *Phaedrus* embraces the higher as well as the lower branches of the study; but in the stricter dialectic of VI 510 B—511 B the lower variety is expressly excluded. Of διαίρεσις the *Republic* says comparatively little. There is a casual reference to the process in V 454 A, and it is of course represented in an idealized form by the descent of the dialectician from the Idea of the Good (511 B, C: cf. 534 B n.). But the full development of this side of Dialectic belongs to a later period of Plato's life, if, as is now widely believed, the *Sophist* and *Politicus* are later than the *Republic*. It should also be remarked that definition, which belongs to Dialectic (534 D) and depends on grasping the Essence of the object to be defined (533 B, 534 B: cf. 531 E), involves διαίρεσις in a certain sense as well as συναγωγή.

We have still to discuss the most serious difficulty in Plato's description of the dialectician's progress, viz. the ascent ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἐπὶ ἀρχὴν ἀνυπόθετον (510 B, 511 B, 533 C). Socrates gives no precise explanation of this part of the subject, although it is not, in my opinion, this particular difficulty which makes him say that Glauco will be unable to follow him any farther (532 E).

The principal passages in other dialogues which appear to throw light on Plato's meaning are *Men.* 86 E ff. and *Phaed.* 100 A ff. In the *Meno* Socrates proposes ἐξ ὑποθέσεως σκοπεῖσθαι εἴτε διδακτὸν ἔστιν (sc. ἡ ἀρετή) εἴτε ὁπωσοῦν, and proceeds as follows. We will, he says, assume (ὑποτίθεσθαι) that Virtue is Knowledge, and see what follows. On this assumption Meno at once admits that Virtue is teachable. Thereupon Socrates says we must examine his original ὑπόθεσις of Virtue, viz. that Virtue is Knowledge, and begins the examination by propounding a fresh ὑπόθεσις, viz. that Virtue is good. From this second ὑπόθεσις he arrives by a series of steps at the conclusion that Virtue is Knowledge and thus proves that Virtue can be taught. We may compare Aristotle's συλλογισμὸς ἐξ ὑποθέσεως, on which see Wallace *Outlines of the Philosophy of Aristotle* pp. 41 f., and Waitz

<sup>1</sup> *De Plat. arte dialectica* (1873) p. 48. Lutoslawski must himself have read this work very superficially before he could have described it as "very superficial" (*Plato's Logic* p. 21 n. 58). The judgment of Peipers, though he frequently disagrees with Oldenberg, is very different: "quae Herm. Oldenberg egregie disputat in commentatione de Platonis arte dialectica" (*Ontol. Plat.* p. 402 n.). So also is that of Zeller<sup>4</sup> II 1. pp. 619, 620 *mm.* et al. I am far from accepting the whole of Oldenberg's results, but his treatise is anything but superficial, and a large part of it is in my judgment true and admirable.



on Arist. *Analyt. Pr.* A 23. 40<sup>b</sup> 25 This method is parallel to that described in Book VI in so far as the original *ὑπόθεσις* is not left *ἀκίνητος* (533 C), but itself deduced from something higher. It is not parallel in so far as this 'higher something' is itself only a *ὑπόθεσις* and not an *ἀρχή ἀνυπόθετος*. Much the same is true of the well-known passage in the *Phaedo*. That which Socrates *ὑποτίθεται* is his conception or definition of *αἰτία* as the presence of the Idea in the particular thing making it what it is (100 B, C). From this he deduces the immortality of the Soul. So far, I agree, in the main, with Jackson (*J. of Ph.* x p. 149) and Archer-Hind that the *δύτερος* *πλοῦς* of the *Phaedo* follows the same method as the *διάνοια* of Book VI, although, as already stated in Appendix I, *διάνοια* in the *Republic* is, I believe, occupied with *τὰ μαθηματικά* alone. But when in 101 D, E Plato writes *ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐκείνης αὐτῆς δέοι σε δίδόναι λόγον, ὥσαύτως ἂν διδοίης, ἄλλην αὖ ὑπόθεσιν ὑποθέμενος, ἣτις τῶν ἄνωθεν βελτίστη φαίνεται, ἕως ἐπὶ τι ἱκανὸν ἔλθοις*, he has in mind a possible defence of the original *ὑπόθεσις* by deducing it, as in the *Meno*, from some *ὑπόθεσις* still higher, and the *διάνοια* of the *Republic*, *quā* *διανοια*, never defends its *ὑποθέσεις* at all (510 C, 533 C), not even by any other hypothesis. There is also in 107 B an express direction to examine the *ὑποθέσεις* themselves: *τὰς ὑποθέσεις τὰς πρώτας, καὶ εἰ πιστὰ ὑμῖν εἰσὶν, ὅμως ἐπισκεπτέαι σαφέστερον· καὶ ἐὰν αὐτὰς ἱκανῶς διέλεγτε, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, ἀκολουθήσετε τῷ λόγῳ, καθ' ὅσον δυνατόν μάλιστ' ἀνθρώπων ἐπακολουθήσασθαι· κὰν τοῦτο αὐτὸ σαφὲς γένηται, οὐδὲν ζητήσετε περαιτέρω*. These two passages of the *Phaedo* therefore resemble the dialectic of the *Republic* inasmuch as they contemplate and prescribe an examination of the *ὑποθέσεις* with which we start. In the first, however, no hope is held out of ever rising above *ὑποθέσεις*, for *ἱκανόν τι* is not the unhypothetical Idea, although it may very well happen in any given case to be a *ὑπόθεσις*, of Good. The exhortation in 107 B is different, and seems to hint at something like the dialectic of VI and VII, for the original *ὑποθέσεις* cannot be satisfactorily proved (*κὰν τοῦτο αὐτὸ σαφὲς γένηται*) except by connecting them with the Idea of Good, and this involves an exhaustive survey of the whole field of *νοητά* such as Plato sketches in the end of Book VI.

It appears, therefore, that the *ὑποθέσεις* of Dialectic are not, like those of Mathematics, immovable and fixed, and that we may be called upon to render an account of them, nay more, that it is our duty to submit them to examination ourselves. To this extent the *Meno* and *Phaedo*, taken together, are in agreement with the *Republic* on the nature of Dialectic. But by what means is the dialectician to scrutinize his *ὑποθέσεις*? In what way is he to ascend from *ὑποθέσεις* to the *ἀνυπόθετος ἀρχή*? The passages in the *Republic* which help us to answer these questions are VI 511 B *τὰς ὑποθέσεις ποιούμενος οὐκ ἀρχάς, ἀλλὰ τῷ ὅντι ὑποθέσεις, οἷον ἐπιβάσεις τε καὶ ὁρμάς*, VII 533 C *ἡ διαλεκτικὴ μέθοδος μόνῃ ταύτῃ πορεύεται, τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀναιροῦσα, ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἵνα βεβαιώσῃται*, and 534 B, C *ὅς ἂν μὴ ἔξη διορίσασθαι τῷ λόγῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀφελὼν τὴν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ ἰδέαν, καὶ ὥσπερ ἐν μάχῃ διὰ πάντων ἐλέγχων διεξιὼν μὴ κατὰ δόξαν ἀλλὰ κατ' οὐσίαν προθυμούμενος ἐλέγχειν, ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἀπώττι τῷ λόγῳ διαπορεύεται, οὔτε*

αὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθὸν φήσεις εἶδέναι τὸν οὕτως ἔχοντα οὔτε ἄλλο ἀγαθὸν οὐδὲν κτλ. With the substance of these extracts the student should carefully compare the intellectual discipline recommended in the *Parmenides* (135 C—136 E) as an indispensable preliminary for the dialectical study of καλόν, δίκαιον, ἀγαθόν and the other Ideas, noting in particular 136 A—C and 136 E: Πῶς λέγεις; φαίται. Οἶον, ἔφη, εἰ βούλει περὶ ταύτης τῆς ὑποθέσεως ἣν Ζήνων ὑπέθετο, εἰ πολλά ἐστι, τί χρή ξυμβαίνειν καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς πολλοῖς πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐν καὶ τῷ ἐνὶ πρὸς τε αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς τὰ πολλά· καὶ αὖ εἰ μὴ ἐστι πολλά, πάλιν σκοπεῖν τί ξυμβήσεται καὶ τῷ ἐνὶ καὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα· καὶ αὖθις αὖ ἐὰν ὑποθῇ, εἰ ἔστιν ὁμοιότης ἢ εἰ μὴ ἐστι, τί ἐφ' ἑκατέρας τῆς ὑποθέσεως ξυμβήσεται καὶ αὐτοῖς τοῖς ὑποτεθείσιν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλα. καὶ περὶ ἀνομοίου ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος, καὶ περὶ κινήσεως καὶ στάσεως, καὶ περὶ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς, καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ εἶναι καὶ τοῦ μὴ εἶναι. καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ, περὶ ὅτου ἂν αἰεὶ ὑποθῇ ὡς οἶτος καὶ οὐκ ὄντος καὶ ὀτιοῦν ἄλλο πάθος πάσχοντος, δεῖ σκοπεῖν τὰ ξυμβαίνοντα καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ πρὸς ἐν ἑαστον τῶν ἄλλων, ὅτι ἂν προέλη, καὶ πρὸς πλείω καὶ πρὸς ὑμπαντα ὅσα αὐτῶς· καὶ τὰλλα αὖ πρὸς αὐτὰ τε καὶ πρὸς ἄλλο ὅτι ἂν προαιρῇ· αἰεὶ, ἐάν τε ὡς ὃν ὑποθῇ ὁ ὑπετίθεσο, ἐάν τε ὡς μὴ ὄν, εἰ μέλλεις τελέως γυμνασάμενος κυρίως διοψεσθαι τὸ ἀληθές... ἀγνοοῦσι γὰρ οἱ πολλοὶ ὅτι ἄνευ ταύτης τῆς διὰ πάντων διεξόδου τε καὶ πλάνης ἀδύνατον ἐντυχόντα τῷ ἀληθεῖ νοῦν ἔχειν.

The key to the solution of the difficulty is furnished by the words ὑποθέσεις ἀναιροῦσα 533 C, and διὰ πάντων ἐλέγχων διεξιὼν 534 C. In my notes on these two phrases I have tried to indicate the general character of the dialectician's ascent ἐξ ὑποθέσεως ἐπ' ἀρχὴν ἀνυπόθετον. He begins by offering a ὑπόθεσις on the subject to be discussed, and then proceeds to test his ὑπόθεσις by the conclusions to which it leads. If these conclusions are untenable, the original ὑπόθεσις is cancelled or annulled (ἀναιρεῖται), and a new suggestion takes its place, only to suffer the same fate. The process is repeated again and again, until at last we reach an ἀρχή which will withstand every test (ὥσπερ ἐν μάχῃ διὰ πάντων ἐλέγχων διεξιὼν κτλ. 534 C). Thus each successive ὑπόθεσις serves as an additional step in the stair by which we ascend, and is useful to the dialectician just because he is willing to leave it and mount higher. Cf. Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers*, 1 pp. 303—306, where the scientific value and importance of this method is very clearly explained. In the completed Dialectic which Plato adumbrates in Books VI and VII, we are invited to suppose that the whole kingdom of knowables, in the spheres alike of Nature and of Man, has been surveyed and mapped out by this method, of which the intellectual γυμνασία of the *Parmenides* is a kind of example on a lower plane. The result is a number of true and irrefragable ἀρχαί, apprehended not only in their mutual coherence and interdependence, but also in their relationship to the supreme Idea, which is itself, when we have climbed to the summit, no longer a ὑπόθεσις, but an ἀρχὴ ἀνυπόθετος, because the exhaustive scrutiny of all νοητά has demonstrated that the Universe of thought and things is in reality nothing but the expression or embodiment of the Good. See on VI 510 B. If it be urged against Plato that we have no right to assert that the Universe and all its

parts are only the expression of the Good unless and until we have found it to be so by such an exhaustive scrutiny as Plato describes, Plato might reply: 'True, we have not as yet complete scientific knowledge of this fact; but knowledge is not everything; we have ἀνάμνησις also.'

"Not in entire forgetfulness  
And not in utter nakedness,  
But trailing clouds of glory do we come  
From God, who is our home."

The progress of human knowledge from generation to generation will help to demonstrate the supremacy of the Good, of which, by virtue of the θεῖόν τι ἐν ἡμῖν, we are already well assured.

The later stages in the dialectician's journey belong to an ideal which human investigation can hardly hope to reach (VI 511 B n.), but, as I have hinted on 533 C, the general character of his progress may be illustrated from many Platonic dialogues. In the *Laches*, for example, we have several ὑποθέσεις of courage, each of which is treated as a stepping-stone—οἷον ἐπίβασίς τε καὶ ὁρμή—on the way to a better and truer conception of the virtue. The first definition given by Laches, that courage is καρτερία τις ψυχῆς, Socrates attacks with the elenchus and overthrows (192 C, D), but a new and better ὑπόθεσις rises on its ruins, viz. that courage is φρόνιμος καρτερία ψυχῆς (192 D). A further application of the Socratic weapon shews that this ὑπόθεσις must also be revised (192 E—193 D), and Nicias suggests a third, defining courage as τὴν τῶν δεινῶν καὶ θαρραλέων ἐπιστήμην καὶ ἐν πολέμῳ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασιν (195 A). In the sequel, this definition is widened into ἡ περὶ πάντων ἀγαθῶν τε καὶ κακῶν καὶ πάντως ἐχόντων ἐπιστήμη (199 C), whereby courage becomes, no longer a specific part of virtue, ἀλλὰ σύμπασα ἀρετή (199 E), and the unity of virtue is affirmed. The final definition is not refuted on its merits, although Socrates declares it to be inconsistent with the position already assigned to courage as one of the parts of virtue. It will be observed that each ὑπόθεσις owes something to its predecessor, that in the progress of the argument courage is brought into connexion with other ὑποθέσεις, such as τὸ δεινόν and τὸ θαρραλέον, and that the last ὑπόθεσις is wider and more comprehensive than any which has preceded. A cursory glance at the course of the argument in the *Charmides* and *Euthyphro* will provide many illustrations of the process which Plato calls τὸ ἀναρῆν τὰς ὑποθέσεις, and a more careful analysis will reveal a gradual advance in both dialogues from the accidental and superficial to the essential and profound. See for the *Euthyphro* my edition of that dialogue pp. vii—xxii. These distinguishing characteristics of Plato's method are easiest to trace in his simpler and less elaborate dialogues, but nearly all his writings shew analogous features, and the *Republic* is itself a conspicuous example of the same method. It is not too much to say that the true unity of the *Republic*, as of many other dialogues of Plato, consists in a continuous ascent from stage to stage, each successive elevation not only revealing new and wider prospects, but also enabling us to modify, correct and enlarge our apprehension of that which we have seen before.



It lies beyond the scope of this Appendix to discuss the origin of Plato's dialectical method, and I must here content myself with saying that although it owes not a little to the Eleatics, still more to Socrates, and something perhaps to geometrical analysis, which Plato is said to have invented (see Hardie in *Mind* N.S. v p. 180), the full development of the method must be ascribed to Plato himself. Rightly understood and practised, the method is extraordinarily valuable and fruitful, not merely for purposes of education, but as a weapon of scientific discovery. Every teacher who is worthy of the name employs it to kindle and feed the love of knowledge in his pupils. It is the method which an editor of necessity adopts in endeavouring to explain and expound the text of an ancient writer. The conjectural emendations and interpretations by which his pathway is beset are all of them *ὑποθέσεις* of more or less value, and the very process of testing and rejecting these *ὑποθέσεις* frequently brings to light the true interpretation. An editor, in short, *ἀναιρεῖ τὰς ὑποθέσεις, ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχὴν πορευόμενος, ἵνα βεβαιώσῃται*, and ought not to rest content until *διὰ πάντων ἐλέγχων διεξιὼν—ἀπτόῳ τῷ λόγῳ διαπορεύηται* (534 c). And that which takes place on a small scale in the exposition of an ancient text is reproduced on a larger scale in the history of investigation and discovery not only in the humanities, but also in natural science. Speaking of the part played by hypotheses in the progress of scientific discovery, Professor Rücker in his Presidential Address at the British Association, 1901, remarks: "The wraiths of phlogiston, caloric, luminiferous corpuscles, and a crowd of other phantoms haunt the investigator, and as the grim host vanishes into nothingness he cannot but wonder if his own conceptions of atoms and of the ether

‘shall dissolve

And, like this unsubstantial pageant faded,  
Leave not a rack behind.’”

But though science, like Bunyan's hero, has sometimes to pass through the 'Valley of Humiliation,' the spectres which meet it there are not really dangerous if they are boldly faced. The fact that mistakes have been made, that theories have been propounded and for a time accepted, which later investigations have disproved, does not necessarily discredit the method adopted. For scientific theories, as in the world around us, there is a survival of the fittest, and Dr James Ward's unsympathetic account of the blunders of those whose work, after all, has shed glory on the 19th century, might, *mutatis mutandis*, stand for a description of the history of civilisation. "The story of the progress so far," he tells us, "is briefly this—divergence between theory and fact one part of the way, the wreckage of abandoned fictions for the rest, with an unattainable goal of phenomenal nihilism, and ultra-physical mechanism beyond" (James Ward, *Naturalism and Agnosticism*, Vol. 1 p. 154). "The path of progress," says Professor Karl Pearson, "is strewn with the wreck of nations. Traces are everywhere to be seen of the hecatombs of inferior races, and of victims who found not the narrow way to the greater perfection. Yet these dead peoples are, in very truth, the stepping-stones on which mankind has arisen to the

higher intellectual and deeper emotional life of to-day" (Karl Pearson, *National Life from the Standpoint of Science*, p. 62). When hypotheses are mistaken for established and unquestionable truths, the love of knowledge gives place to the love of dogma, and progress is arrested. In Plato's way of thinking, the path of knowledge is and must be paved out of the ruins of generalisations, if we are to tread firmly on the road to

"That untravelled world whose margin fades  
For ever and for ever as we move."

## IV.

VII 515 B. εἰ οὖν διαλέγεσθαι οἰοί τ' εἶεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, οὐ ταῦτα ἡγεῖ  
ἀν τὰ παριόντα αὐτοὺς νομίζειν ὀνομάζειν, ἅπερ ὀρῶεν;

ταῦτά appears for ταῦτα in A and some other MSS. Instead of παριόντα, all the MSS except Flor. T have παρόντα, while Iamblichus (*Protrept.* 15) and Proclus (*in remp.* i p. 293 Kroll) appear to have read ὄντα.

The following are the principal solutions which have been proposed.

(1) With ταῦτα—τὰ παρόντα. "Hoc rogat Socrates—an haec, quae viderent, tamquam res praesentes, non tamquam umbras appellare, de praesentibus, non de absentibus loqui sese opinaturi essent?" (Schneider). "Do you not suppose that they would believe that they were naming those things that they actually saw before them?" (J. and C.). This interpretation separates ταῦτα from τὰ παρόντα, and makes the whole force of τὰ παρόντα depend upon its antithesis ('non de absentibus'), which is not expressed, and difficult to supply. Other objections are urged by Vermehren *Plat. Stud.* p. 105. Prantl (after Schleiermacher) takes νομίζειν as "für üblich halten" (cf. *Laus* 637 E), translating "glaubst du nicht, dass sie es für üblich halten würden, eben die je anwesenden Dinge, welche sie sehen, mit Namen zu nennen?" (So also D. and V.) Prantl's view has been demolished by Schneider: "non hoc rogat Socrates, an nomina umbris imponenda existimaturi aut re vera imposituri essent, *quippe quod citra errorem facere eis liceret.*" The progress of the argument, as well as the close parallelism with the next sentence, makes it clear that the prisoners *are* in error. The same criticism applies to the view of Ast, who reads ταῦτα—τὰ παριόντα, and translates "Nonne censet eos res praeterlatas arbitratos esse nominandas quas viderent?"

(2) With ταῦτα—τὰ παριόντα (Hermann, Stallbaum). Stallbaum translates "nonne putas eas res, quae praeterveherentur, iisdem nominibus atque quae viderent nominare solituros esse?", explaining ταῦτα (predicative after: ὀνομάζειν) ἅπερ ὀρῶεν as equivalent to ταῦτα τοῖς αἵπερ ὀρῶεν. "Sententia igitur haec est: vinctos illos nonne putas nomina rerum, quas conspicerent (conspicere sibi viderentur) ad umbras illarum praeterreutes esse de more transluros?" But what objects at all except shadows can the prisoners see?

(3) Emendations. (a) Cobet (*Mnem.* xi p. 173 and *V. L.*<sup>2</sup> p. 531) proposes οὐ ταῦτα ἡγείαν—τὰ παριόντα νομίζειν [ὀνομάζειν] ἅπερ ὀρώων. The word ὀνομάζειν is rejected also by Baiter, who further changes οὐ ταῦτα to οὐκ αὐτά, following Vermehren and Madvig: see below. Neither of these critics appears to have noticed that εἰ οὖν διαλέγεσθαι οἰοί τε εἶεν becomes altogether superfluous if ὀνομάζειν is omitted. For this reason Richards' insertion of καί between νομίζειν and ὀνομάζειν (*Cl. Rev.* viii p. 192) is preferable to the suggestion of Cobet. (b) Vermehren, in an elaborate and careful examination of the passage (*Plat. Stud.* pp. 103—106), argues that the sense required by the context is "dass die Höhlenbewohner die vorüberziehenden Schatten für die Gegenstände selbst nehmen und sie demgemäss benennen würden, gerade wie sie die vernommenen Töne vermöge des Widerhalls den Schattenbildern, nicht aber den sie erzeugenden Originalen zuschreiben würden." He therefore conjectures οὐκ αὐτὰ—τὰ παριόντα κτλ. "glaubst du nicht, dass sie in ihrer Lage die vorüberziehenden Gegenstände selbst zu benennen meinen würden, die sie—ihrer Meinung nach—sähen?" According to this view, τὰ παριόντα denotes the real παραφερόμενα: but how could the prisoners suppose themselves to be naming the real παραφερόμενα, of which, *ex hypothesi*, they know nothing whatever?

The interpretation given in the notes appears to me to give the sense required, without attributing to the prisoners any knowledge from which their situation excludes them. I have not seen it anywhere in print, but I am glad to say that Dr Jackson writes as follows: "So I have long taken this passage. I copy my old note. 'Read ταῦτα, retain ὀνομάζειν, and translate: Don't you think they would suppose the names which they used to belong to the passing objects which they saw before their eyes?'"

## V.

VII 519 A, B. τοῦτο μέντοι, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, τὸ τῆς τοιαύτης φύσεως εἰ ἐκ παιδὸς εὐθὺς κοπτόμενον περιεκόπη τὰς τῆς γενέσεως ξυγγενεῖς ὥσπερ μολυβδαῖδας, αἱ δὲ ἐδωδαῖς τε καὶ τοιούτων ἡδοναῖς τε καὶ λιχνείαις προσφνεῖς γιγνόμεναι περικάτω στρέφουσι τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ὄψιν.

This passage has been strangely misunderstood by many editors and critics.

γενέσεως is taken as 'birth' by (among others) Schneider, Stallbaum, Jowett ('attached to them at their birth'—an impossible construction), although the correct translation (which has recently been reaffirmed by Seymour in *Cl. Rev.* x p. 325) was already given by Schleiermacher and afterwards by Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 161). Others, such as Schneider and D. and V., make the weights adhere to the pleasures of eating etc. It is, however, obvious that they must adhere to that from which they are to be knocked off (περιεκόπη), and it is τὸ τῆς τοιαύτης φύσεως from which they have to be removed (κοπτόμενον περιεκόπη). Moreover x 611 E—612 A, quoted in the notes, conclusively disproves this view.



As regards the text, τὰ τῆς γενέσεως συγγενῇ is read by many editors on the authority of some inferior mss. To me the neuter appears a manifest 'correction,' and far less elegant and expressive than the feminine, which has the support (among other mss) of A, Π and γ. See also on III 401 c. It is strictly true, according to Plato, that the leaden weights of appetite and self-indulgence are 'kindred with,' 'of the family of' γένεσις (see especially, in addition to the evidence adduced in the note, IX 585 B—586 B), so that the adjective ought to agree with μολυβδίδας.

Instead of the περὶ κάτω of the best mss, Hermann, who is followed by Burnet, reads κάτω, adopting a suggestion of Schneider's. Schneider himself, with Stallbaum and other editors, chose the reading of γ (περὶ τὰ κάτω), which is unexceptionable in point of sense, and which I also once thought right. Longer reflection has however convinced me that Madvig is right in restoring περικάτω. The strongest evidence (other than that of the best mss) in its support is furnished by Photius (see note) and Plutarch. The latter certainly read περικάτω or περὶ κάτω (the reading of A): see *de fac. quae in orb. lun. app.* 943 D ἐνίας δὲ (sc. ψυχὰς) καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ περὶ κάτω τρεπομένης (v.l. τερπομένης) οἷον εἰς βυθὸν αὐθις ὁρῶσι καταγινομένης, an obvious imitation of this passage of Plato. J. and C. object that περικάτω could only mean 'upside down.' Such a translation is of course ridiculous here, but it does in point of fact accurately represent the situation. The eye of the soul, according to Plato in this passage, naturally looks up; so that when forced to look down, it is itself, strictly speaking, turned 'upside down.' The fact is that περικάτω στρέφειν (τρέπειν) simply means 'turn round downwards,' and the translation 'upside down' is suitable only when it is applied to goblets (as in Strattis ap. Ath. XI 467 E) and similar objects which can *themselves* be said to have an 'up' and 'down,' or perhaps in cases like Lucian *Adv. ind.* I (where Cobet restores περικάτω). The word is discussed by Madvig *Adv. Cr.* I p. 27 and by Cobet *Mn.* N.S. XI p. 174 and *V. L.*² p. 90. It is doubtless better (with Photius) to write περικάτω as one word, than (with A, Π, etc.) as two. The analogy of ὑποκάτω, ἐπάνω, ὑπεράνω etc. favours this accentuation: cf. Lobeck *Phrygn.* p. 48. For other instances of prepositions combined with adverbs see Küllner-Gerth *Gr. Gr.* II I, pp. 538—540.

## VI.

VII 521 c. τοῦτο δὲ, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐκ ὁστράκου ἀν εἷη περιστροφή, ἀλλὰ ψυχῆς περιαγωγὴ ἐκ νυκτερινῆς τιнос ἡμέρας εἰς ἀληθινήν, τοῦ ὄντος οὐσαν ἐπάνοδον, ἣν δὲ φιλοσοφίαν ἀληθὴ φήσομεν εἶναι.

The proverb ὁστράκου περιστροφή was variously explained by the ancients as (1) ἐπὶ τῶν ταχέως τι ποιούντων: (2) ἐπὶ τῶν εὐμεταβόλων: (3) ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ κρείττωνων εἰς τὸ ἐναντίον μεταβαλλόντων: (4) ἐπὶ τῶν ἀθρόως καὶ ἀνελπιδίως ὑφισταμένων: (5) ἐπὶ τῶν διὰ τάχους εἰς φυγὴν ὁρμώντων or the like (Schol. l.c. and on ὁστράκου μεταπεσόντος in *Phaedr.* 241 B). See Leutsch und Schneidewin *Paroem. Gr.* I p. 285 f., II p. 84.

The last of these explanations touches on an essential feature of the game, which was itself also (according to Pollux ix 112 and the Scholiast on this sentence of the *Republic*) called *δοτράκον περιστροφή*, but does not fully elucidate the meaning of the phrase when it is used as a proverb. None of the ancient interpretations is exactly suited to the present passage, and it is clear from their number and diversity that the phrase was not clearly understood. As the proverb is believed to have originated with Plato (Leutsch und Schneidewin l.c. i p. 285 n.), we are bound to interpret it as the context requires, and Schleiermacher's solution appears to me to come nearest to the truth: "hier ist mehr zu denken theils an die Flüchtigkeit, mit welcher solche Spiele überhaupt behandelt werden, theils an die Zufälligkeit, mit welcher die Scherbe auf diese oder jene Seite zu fallen scheint" (*Translation of the Republic* p. 577 n. 372). This view combines the first and second explanations, and is in no way invalidated by the criticisms of Schück (*de Schol. ad Pl. civ. pertinentibus* p. 31). Plato is perhaps aiming a taunt at the educational theory and practice of contemporary sophists (cf. 518 B n.).

The details of the game itself have been often discussed, and are now tolerably clear. See (besides Grasberger quoted in the notes) Blümner *Privatalt.* p. 298 and Förster in *Rh. Mus.* 1875, pp. 287 ff. The latter was, I believe, the first to point out the allusion in *νυκτερινῆς τινος ἡμέρας* to 'νύξ ἡμέρα.'

I think that the placing of a comma after *ἀληθινὴν* restores sense to the latter part of the passage. The reading in the text has the support of A, Π, and a great majority of MSS; and the comparison with 517 c seems to me conclusive in favour of the view taken in the notes. Hermann and others have pointed out that *ἡμέραν* should be supplied with *ἀληθινὴν*, but those who take this view have hitherto (with, so far as I know, the single exception of Jackson) connected *τοῦ ὄντος* with *ἀληθινὴν* (*ἡμέραν*). It was perhaps on this ground that Schneider peremptorily declined to admit such an explanation. In any case the emphatic opposition between *νυκτερινῆς* and *ἀληθινὴν* invites us to supply *ἡμέραν*, and the transition from the metaphor to its interpretation would be too abrupt if *ἀληθινὴν* were connected with *ἐπάνοδον*. *οἶσαν* is a further difficulty on this view; and Ξ accordingly omitted the word, while γ boldly changes it to *ιούσης*. Schneider, with whom J. and C. are inclined to agree, joins *ἀληθινὴν* with *ἐπάνοδον*, and argues that *οἶσαν* is added partly on account of *ὄντος*, but more "ad augendam veritatis significationem." But, as J. and C. remark, *οἶσαν* still drags, "and *ἐπάνοδον* gives a feeble antithesis to *ἡμέρας*." The passage from the *Laus* (728 B) which Schneider quotes in support of his interpretation is not parallel.

Of emendations there has been no lack. *ιούσης* is adopted by Stephanus, Bekker, Ast and Stallbaum, the last of whom construes *ιούσης ἐπάνοδον* by 'adscendentis' and supplies *ἡμέραν* with *ἀληθινὴν*, as Schleiermacher also did. This yields a better sense than the old view, which connected *ἀληθινὴν* with *ἐπάνοδον*, but is harsh in point of syntax, and *ιούσης* has been demolished on its own merits by Schneider. Hermann read *οἶσα ἐπάνοδος*, quoting Iamblichus in Villosion's *Anecd.* ii p.

194, where οὔσα ἐπάνοδον (not ἐπάνοδος, as J. and C. assert) is found. But the περιαγωγή ψυχῆς is not itself the ἐπάνοδος, and οὔσα ἐπάνοδος drags unpleasantly.

Cobet's emendation, which is partially adopted by Baier, changes οὔσαν to οὐσίαν, inserts καὶ before ἐκ νυκτερινῆς, and reads ἐπάνοδος for ἐπάνοδον. But, apart from other objections, τοῦ ὄντος οὐσίαν, in spite of *Soph.* 262 c, is extremely displeasing. Jowett and Campbell's otherwise excellent note appears to me fatal to their own as well as to every other solution proposed before they wrote, and overthrows all the emendations except ἄγουσα for οὔσαν, which I suggested in 1897. I take this opportunity of withdrawing so hasty a proposal, and restoring the text of the best mss, which I am glad to say that Jackson also defended when in a letter to me some years ago he remarked "I have been in the habit of putting a comma after ἀληθινήν, and otherwise keeping the reading of A."

## VII.

VII 527 D. τὸ δ' ἔστιν οὐ πάνυ φαῦλον, ἀλλὰ χαλεπὸν πιστεῦσαι, ὅτι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἐκάστου ὄργανόν τι ψυχῆς ἐκκαθαίρεται τε καὶ ἀναζωπυρεῖται ἀπολλύμενον καὶ τυφλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, κρείττον ὃν σωθῆναι μυρίων ὀμμάτων· μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀλήθεια ὁράται.

This eloquent sentence was deservedly famous in antiquity, and is constantly quoted or alluded to by many authors: see the references in Ast, Schneider, Wex (*Fleck. Jb.* 1864 p. 381), and Hiller (on Theo Smyrn. 3).

An attempt has been made by Cobet (*Mnem.* xi p. 177) to remodel the text in accordance with Theo's citation, which is as follows: τὸ δ' ἔστιν οὐ πάνυ φαῦλοις, ἀλλὰ πᾶσι χαλεπὸν πιστευθῆναι, ὅτι ἐν τούτοις τοῖς μαθήμασιν ἐκάστου οἷον ὄργανοις τὸ ψυχῆς ἐκκαθαίρεται καὶ ἀναζωπυρεῖται ὅμμα τυφλούμενον καὶ ἀποσβεννύμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπιτηδευμάτων, κρείττον ὃν σωθῆναι μυρίων ὀμμάτων· μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀλήθεια ὁράται (ed. Hiller p. 3). Wex (l.c. 1863 pp. 692 ff.) had maintained, strangely enough, that ὄργανον ψυχῆς would mean something bodily, e.g. the bodily eye; and Cobet accordingly adopts Theo's version οἷον ὄργανοις—ὅμμα. Neither of these critics appears to have remembered ταύτην τὴν ἐνούσαν ἐκάστου δύναμιν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ τὸ ὄργανον ᾧ καταμανθάνει ἕκαστος in 518 c, a passage to which, as ἐκάστου shews, this sentence expressly refers. ὄργανον ψυχῆς was also, as Wex admits, the reading of Plutarch (*Conv. Disp.* viii 718 E). ἀποσβεννύμενον, which Cobet substitutes for ἀπολλύμενον, is in itself good, and may point to an early variant, but ἀπολλύμενον is supported by the evidence of Plutarch (l.c.) and Alcinous (*Isag.* c. 27).

Nothing could be a more instructive lesson on the almost utter worthlessness of early citations of Plato for determining the text of the *Republic* than to compare A's readings in this passage with its reproduction by Theo and Nicomachus (*Intr. Ar.* i 3. 7). Even the meanest and most corrupt of our mss is, from the literary point of view, superior; and there is not in these citations a single variant to which any of our mss here lends support.



## VIII.

VII 528 c. ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀτιμαζόμενα καὶ κολουόμενα, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ζητούντων, λόγον οὐκ ἔχόντων καθ' ὃ τι χρήσιμα, ὁμως πρὸς ἅπαντα ταῦτα βία ὑπὸ χάριτος αὐξάνεται.

I have returned in this edition to the reading of the best mss, which is kept also by Schneider, Hermann, Stallbaum, and J. and C.

The explanation in the notes appears to me required by the grammatical construction, as well as suitable in point of meaning if we remember that the mode in which stereometricians 'dishonour' their subject has already been explained. The Many dishonour Stereometry negatively, ὅτι οὐδεμία πόλις ἐντίμως αὐτὰ ἔχει, and thereby negatively clip or curtail the study, for until it receives public support, it will not attain to its natural and proper growth. The students of stereometry dishonour and curtail their study positively by prosecuting it feebly and in a slight degree, because they do not know its real utility, and (as was said before) have no public encouragement to support them in so difficult a subject. The omission of μέν before τῶν πολλῶν was apparently a stumbling-block, for it is replaced in  $\Xi$  and some other mss of second-rate authority. See however I 340 D n. If ὑπὸ μέν τῶν πολλῶν were read, we should, I think, expect another passive participle to be present in the balancing clause. As it is, δέ merely marks the formal contrast between οἱ πολλοί and οἱ ζητούντες.

Schneider understands ζητούμενα or the like after χρήσιμα, and takes ὑπὸ τῶν ζητούντων with αὐξάνεται. This explanation is too tortuous, nor is δέ accounted for by calling it "quasi primitivae orationis monumentum." Stallbaum's solution is in principle the same as Schneider's. According to the Oxford editors, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ζητούντων "may depend on some general idea of disadvantage, e.g. κωλύμενα understood from the previous clause." The zeugma is however difficult, and ἀτιμαζόμενα καὶ κολουόμενα are just as true of the ζητούντες as of the πολλοί.

The following emendations have been proposed. (1) ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἀτιμαζόμενα καὶ κολουόμενα ὑπὸ τῶν ζητούντων ('dishonoured by the many and curtailed by students'). I formerly accepted this change, which is due to Voegelin, and has the support of Madvig and Baiter. The sense is excellent, but the intrusion of δέ into all the mss is very difficult to account for satisfactorily. (2) ὑπὸ—κολουόμενα, τῶν δὲ ζητούντων κτλ. (Cobet). This correction, which (with the addition of μέν before τῶν πολλῶν) commends itself to a reviewer of my *Text of the Republic* in *Lit. Centralblatt* 1898 pp. 296 f., is much too drastic. The same criticism applies to (3) Badham's ἀτιμαζόμενα, κολουόμενα δ' ὑπὸ κτλ., and also (4) to Liebhold's ὑπὸ μέν τῶν πολλῶν—ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ζητούντων <ἀμελοῦμενα> κτλ.

## IX.

VII 529 C. *κἂν ἐξ ὑπτίας νέων ἐν γῇ ἢ ἐν θαλάττῃ μαθηθῆναι.*

The MS tradition in this difficult passage points to the existence of two early variants, viz. *ὑπτίας μὲν* and *ὑπτίας νέων*. The former is read by A, Cesenas M, and two other MSS; probably also *μῆν* (Vind. B) is a corruption of *μὲν*, and *μῆ* (Vind. E) of *μῆν*. *ὑπτίας νέων* has the authority of Π, q and other MSS. *ναίων* and *νεῶν*, which some MSS read, are corruptions of *νέων*.

No one, so far as I know, has defended *μὲν*. For the obnoxious particle Madvig proposes *ἤ*, Richards *θεώμενος* or *κείμενος*, while J. J. Hartman ejects it altogether. None of these conjectures is in the least degree convincing. By far the best suggestion on these lines is Marin-din's *ἐξυπτιασμένος* for *ἐξ ὑπτίας μὲν* (*Cl. Rev.* viii p. 193 n.): cf. *ἐξυπτιά-ζοιται τὴν κεφαλὴν* in Arist. ap. Ath. i 34 B and *ἐξυπτιάζων ὄμμα* (Schütz's conjecture for *ὄνομα*) in Aesch. *Sept.* 577. The active is three times used by Lucian intransitively for throwing the neck or body back (*Gall.* 12, *Herac.* 3, *Adv. ind.* 21), and once with *ἑαυτόν* in the same sense (*Catapl.* 16). But the accidental omission of *-ος* is not easy to explain in a MS of the ninth century or its progenitors, though natural enough at a later date (see Bast *Comm. Pal.* p. 772 and *Tab.* iv 18).

If *μὲν* and *νέων* each contain an element of truth (a very improbable supposition), it may be thought that *μένων* is what Plato wrote. But the word is much too feeble and pointless.

The editors, except Baiter, unanimously and (I think) rightly, read *νέων*. A confirmation of this reading is supplied by Pollux vii 138 *νέιν δ' ἐξ ὑπτίας μάθημα κολυμβητῶν Ἀριστοφάνης εἶπε καὶ Πλάτων*: for it is unlikely that Pollux is thinking of the more artificial passage in *Phaedr.* 264 A *οὐδὲ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τελευτῆς ἀνάπαλιν διανεῖν ἐπιχειρεῖ τὸν λόγον*. Schneider's translation "und wenn er auch auf dem Rücken schwimmen in Landes- oder in Meeresgewässern lernt" is in harmony with his note "in ea orbis terrarum parte, quae γῇ vocatur, non minus quam in altera natari potest. γῇ non idem est, quod χέρσος." But even if we allow that *ἐν γῇ* may bear this meaning, there must be some more specific reference, or else the phrase is pointless; for there is no object in swimming on one's back in a river with a view to watching the heavens, when the adjoining bank affords a more secure and stedfast post of observation. Stallbaum avoids the difficulty, merely translating "etiamsi (more urinatorum) resupinus natans in terra vel mari discat," with the note "dictio ἐξ ὑπτίας νέιν vel διανεῖν ab arte urinatorum petita." J. and C. see in Plato's phrase "a piece of extravagance" and nothing more; but even the extravagance of Plato is never destitute of point. To understand *νέων ἐν γῇ* as no more than *lying* on the land (with some older translators, including Ficinus), and to transpose *ἐν γῇ* and *ἐν θαλάττῃ* (with q and Flor. U) are of course wholly illegitimate resources. I have sometimes suspected that *ἐξ ὑπτίας νέων (ἐν γῇ)* may be a slang phrase borrowed from the language of Greek athletics: sometimes it has seemed to me to refer to the story of Thales in the well (*Theaet.* 174 A and cf.

D. L. I 34). That it has some peculiar and specific meaning I am convinced; and the explanation offered in the notes appears to me far more probable than any other. The Aristophanic instance of ἐξ ὑπτίας νέιν does not occur in any of the extant plays. It should be added that ἐπὶ γῆς μὴ πλείν was a Pythagorean σύμβολον (Clement *Strom.* v 5. 49 A Migne), but I do not think there is any allusion to the maxim here. See also my article in *Cl. Rev.* XIII p. 11.

## X.

VII 529 C, D. ταῦτα μὲν τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ ποικίλματα, ἐπεὶπερ ἐν ὁρατῷ πεποικίλται, κάλλιστα μὲν ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ ἀκριβέστατα τῶν τοιούτων ἔχειν, τῶν δὲ ἀληθινῶν πολλὸν ἐνδεῖν, ἃς τὸ δὴν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὐσα βραδυνὴς ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἀριθμῷ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀληθέσι σχήμασι φορὰς τε πρὸς ἄλληλα φέρεται καὶ τὰ ἐνόητα φέρει· ἃ δὲ λόγῳ μὲν καὶ διανοίᾳ ληπτὰ, ὅψει δ' οὐ.

This famous and difficult sentence has occasioned a vast amount of debate. I may refer in particular, besides the editors, to Schleiermacher in his Translation pp. 580 f., Steinhart *Einleitung* pp. 691 f., Susemihl *Gen. Entw.* II p. 209, Krohn *Pl. St.* pp. 170 ff., Cohen *Ideenlehre u. die Mathematik* pp. 22 ff., Richards *Cl. Rev.* VIII p. 194, Nettleship *Lectures and Remains* II p. 275 and Bosanquet *Companion* p. 290. Krohn's discussion, though not free from errors, is particularly able and suggestive.

A large majority of editors and critics approve the MS tradition, but there is no consensus of opinion as to the meaning among those who have seriously attempted to grapple with the unusual difficulties of the sentence.

On grammatical grounds, there should be no doubt that τῶν ἀληθινῶν means τῶν ἀληθινῶν ποικιλμάτων. It is difficult, if not impossible, to understand φορῶν after ἀληθινῶν (with Steinhart and Susemihl), or to take τῶν ἀληθινῶν absolutely in the sense of 'the true' sc. system, as Bosanquet desires to do. The accusative ἃς—φορὰς is believed by Schleiermacher and others to be equivalent to κατὰ τὰς φορὰς, but the construction, to say the least, is difficult and obscure. Schneider, who as usual is clear and precise, repeats ποικιλμάτων with ἀληθινῶν, and holds that ἃς—φορὰς κτλ. defines the true ποικίλματα "quasi dicat τῶν ἀληθινῶν ποικιλμάτων, τοῦτ' ἔστι τῶν φορῶν ἃς" etc. This view, which I have adopted in the notes, appears to me unquestionably correct.

Schneider interprets the whole passage as follows:—"quemadmodum—sensibilis coeli varietas eo efficitur, quod stellas in coelo conspicuas alias celerior, alias tardior motus per definita temporis spatia certasque figuras circumagat, qui motus est non verae, sed sensibilis celeritatis tarditatisque et per numeros atque figuras item sensibiles decurrit, ita veram varietatem vera celeritas et tarditas efficiunt eo, quod veras stellas secundum verum numerum verasque figuras movent, qui motus partim ipsarum est, quia celeritas et tarditas motu carere non possunt, partim ad res motas seu veras stellas pertinet, quae τὰ ἐνόητα dicuntur quia celeritas et tarditas cum eis sese coniungentes eas amplectuntur et



continent." It will be observed that Schneider identifies τὰ ἐνόντα with 'verae stellae,' 'die intelligiblen Analogen' of the visible stars (Krohn), and τὸ ὄν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὐσα βραδυτής with 'vera celeritas et tarditas'; whereas, according to my interpretation, τὸ ὄν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὐσα βραδυτής represent the 'verae stellae,' and τὰ ἐνόντα the mathematical ὄντα which they contain, analogous to the sensible γιγνόμενα which are present in visible stars. Others, such as Steinhart and Susemihl, have actually recognised in τὰ ἐνόντα the visible stars themselves. To the latter view there are many objections, and it may be urged against both Schneider and Steinhart that neither intelligible nor visible stars can reasonably be said ἐνεῖναι τῷ ὄντι τάχει etc. τὰ ἐνόντα is a precise and definite expression which Plato ought not to have employed if he merely meant that 'celeritas et tarditas cum eis' (i.e. according to Schneider 'veris stellis') 'scse coniungentes eas amplectuntur et continent.' The meaning which I have given to τὰ ἐνόντα appears to me the only one which assigns its full and proper connotation to the word.

It has been thought by some critics that τὸ ὄν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὐσα βραδυτής are the self-existent Ideas of Speed and Slowness. Apart from other objections to this view (see Zeller<sup>1</sup> II 1, p. 697 n. 3), we must insist that the astronomer as such is not yet concerned with the Ideas at all, but only with τὰ μεταξύ i.e. τὰ μαθηματικά, which, though πολλά, are nevertheless both ὄντα (hence τὸ ὄν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὐσα βραδυτής) and αἰδία: see 527 B n., with App. I and Zeller<sup>1</sup> II 1, p. 701 n. 1 and Susemihl l.c. p. 209. The whole structure of the sentence in my opinion compels us to find the mathematical analogues of the visible stars not in τὰ ἐνόντα, but in τὸ ὄν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὐσα βραδυτής, and I have tried in the notes to indicate the reason which induced Plato to express his meaning in this particular way.

The text has of course often been called in question. The first to suspect corruption was apparently Ast, who suggested ὦν τὸ ὄν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὐσα βραδυτής <καὶ> ἐν κτλ., and Richards accepts the principle of this proposal, merely substituting οἷς for ὦν. I was myself once inclined to read αἰ ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ κτλ., omitting τὸ ὄν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὐσα βραδυτής as well as the final s of αἷς, but τὸ ὄν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὐσα βραδυτής is in all the MSS and was read by Proclus (*in Tim.* 244 c and elsewhere), and it is hardly necessary to say that 'emendations' on passages of this kind are peculiarly liable to error. I see no good reason for doubting the accuracy of the MSS.

## XI.

VII 531 B. σὺν μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τοὺς χρηστοὺς λέγεις τοὺς ταῖς χορδαῖς πράγματα παρέχοντας καὶ βασανίζοντας, ἐπὶ τῶν κολλόπων στρεβλοῦντας· ἵνα δὲ μὴ μακροτέρα ἡ εἰκὼν γίγνηται πλήκτρῳ τε πληγῶν γιγνομένων καὶ κατηγορίας περὶ καὶ ἐξαρτήσεως καὶ ἀλαζονείας χορδῶν, παύομαι τῆς εἰκόνος κτλ.

I take ἡ εἰκὼν with περὶ in the sense virtually of λέγουσα περὶ. This construction appears to be generally accepted, but there is considerable diversity of opinion as to the meaning of κατηγορίας κτλ. Many inter-

preters understand κατηγορίας as something which is done by the strings, and not by the musicians, in which case χορδῶν is a subjective genitive going with κατηγορίας as well as with the other two nouns. Grammatically, this view is defensible enough: but whom, and how, do the strings κατηγορεῖν? Is it the musician? If so, the tortured slave should 'accuse' the executioner, but he does not, although he may revile him. The slave upon the rack may denounce or accuse his accomplices, but the strings can hardly be said κατηγορεῖν in any sense analogous to this. Others, as for example Schneider, suppose that κατηγορία is a technical term in music ("hoc quoque artis vocabulum esse liquet"). For this idea there is no authority in any ancient writer, so far as I can discover. D. and V. translate "the peevishness, reserve and frowardness of the strings," but the word κατηγορίας does not mean peevishness, but 'accusation.' On the other hand the contrast between κατηγορίας and ἐξαρνήσεως is strongly in favour of holding that it is the musicians who accuse, and the strings that deny. Stallbaum and others think ἐξαρνήσεως means giving out no sound, and ἀλαζονείας 'nimis acute sonant.' This too is in my judgment far-fetched and weak. Plato's words should be taken in their full sense. The musician accuses the strings; the strings protest their innocence like an obstinate slave upon the rack. If more point is needed, we should remember that if the strings are innocent, the musician is guilty.

Jowett apparently makes κατηγορίας govern ἐξαρνήσεως: "they have a controversy with the strings and torture them: they accuse them of refusing to speak or of speaking too much." But the grammatical construction is harsh and the sense inadequate. The alternative view in J. and C. is in my opinion correct, except that ἀλαζονείας is rather 'effrontery,' 'swagger,' than 'exaggeration.'

## XII.

VII 532 A. οὕτω καὶ ὅταν τις τῷ διαλέγεσθαι ἐπιχειρῇ ἄνευ πασῶν τῶν αἰσθησέων διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐπ' αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον ὁρμᾶν, καὶ μὴ ἀποστῇ, πρὶν ἂν αὐτὸ ὃ ἔστιν ἀγαθὸν αὐτῇ νοήσῃ λάβῃ, ἐπ' αὐτῷ γίγνεται τῷ τοῦ νοητοῦ τέλει κτλ.

The ms reading ὁρμᾶ is retained by J. and C., as well as by Richter in *Fleck. Jb.* 1867 p. 145. The Oxford editors treat ἄνευ—ἀποστῇ as explanatory of οὕτω—ἐπιχειρῇ, remarking, truly enough, that such an asyndeton is "not without parallel in Plato." But the objection is not so much to the asyndeton in itself, as to the misunderstanding which it would occasion. No one would readily imagine that ὁρμᾶ is a subjunctive dependent upon ὅταν: it would naturally be construed as an indicative, and the words ἄνευ—ὁρμᾶ would almost inevitably be taken as the apodosis corresponding to ὅταν—ἐπιχειρῇ. Richter is certainly wrong in supposing that ἂν can be understood before ἄνευ πασῶν κτλ. out of ὅταν.

Ast's emendation is in my opinion all but certain. Other proposals are (1) ἐπιχειρῇ, ἄνευ—ὁρμᾶ, καὶ ἐὰν μὴ ἀποστῇ κτλ. (Stephanus, with

whom Hermann and Stallbaum, reading *κᾶν*, virtually agree): (2) *ἐπιχειρῇ*, <ᾶν> ἄνευ—*ὀρμᾶ*, καὶ μὴ ἀποστῇ (Baiter): (3) *ἐπιχειρῶν* for *ἐπιχειρῇ* (mentioned in J. and C.). The last conjecture is too drastic; of the others, (2) is better than (1), but neither is satisfactory. On the one hand, if ἄνευ—*ὀρμᾶ* is in the apodosis, it is too prominent, and looks too much like a definition of the dialectical method; on the other hand, Baiter's remedy seems to imply that it is or may be possible to attempt dialectic without dispensing with *πᾶσαι αἱ αἰσθήσεις*. Neither of these objections applies to Ast's conjecture, which is also more in harmony with the previous sentence than any other emendation.

## XIII.

VII 532 B, C. ἡ δὲ γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, λύσις τε ἀπὸ τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ μεταστροφῇ ἀπὸ τῶν σκιῶν ἐπὶ τὰ εἶδωλα καὶ τὸ φῶς καὶ ἐκ τοῦ καταγείου εἰς τὸν ἥλιον ἐπάνοδος, καὶ ἐκεῖ πρὸς μὲν τὰ ζῶα τε καὶ φυτὰ καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἡλίου φῶς ἔτι ἀδυναμία βλέπειν, πρὸς δὲ τὰ ἐν ὕδασι φαντάσματα θεῖα καὶ σκιὰς τῶν ὄντων, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰδῶλων σκιὰς δι' ἑτέρου τοιούτου φωτὸς ὡς πρὸς ἥλιον κρίνειν ἀποσκιαζομένης κτλ.

The reading *ἐπ' ἀδυναμία* has the support of the best mss and is retained by Schneider, Stallbaum, and J. and C., not to mention older editors.

According to Schneider's explanation (with which the Oxford editors agree), *βλέπειν* is a substantival infinitive, parallel to *ἐπάνοδος*, and *ἐπ' ἀδυναμία* is adverbial ('with inability' or the like), while *ἐπὶ δυνάμει βλέπειν* (or something of the kind) is to be supplied with the contrasting clause. But *ἐπ' ἀδυναμία*, if taken adverbially with *βλέπειν*, is an extraordinary phrase, and none of the instances cited—chiefly from the tragedians—by Schneider and J. and C. is comparable to it. Stallbaum makes *βλέπειν* depend on *ἀδυναμία* ("bei dem Unvermögen hinzublicken nach" etc.), and supplies *ἐπὶ δυνάμει* to govern the *βλέπειν* which has to be supplied in the next clause. This explanation does more justice to the Greek, as far as *ἐπ' ἀδυναμία* is concerned, but 'bei dem Unvermögen' etc. could not be coupled with *ἐπάνοδος* unless we admit an extremely offensive anacoluthon. Schneider appears to have felt that a nominative was needed, and would have liked to write *ἀδυναμία* (with *ν* and two other mss). This is also Herwerden's proposal, but *ἔτι* is a great improvement, and fitly reminds us of the continuity of the prisoner's progress. Other and older emendations, mentioned by Schneider, in which *ἐπ' ἀδυναμία* is retained, are none of them in the least degree probable, and it may now, I think, be taken as certain that Iamblichus was right.

The words *ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρὸς φαντάσματα*, which formerly appeared between *φαντάσματα* and *θεῖα*, were rightly rejected by Schneider. They occur in no ms except *Ξ*, which is the basis of the Aldine and Stephanus' text. *ἐνταῦθα δέ* in this connexion could only mean the region of intelligibles, as Schneider points out; and the whole passage is plunged into confusion if these words are introduced. It is remark-



able that Herwerden alone of recent critics has proposed this reinsertion, beguiled, perhaps, by the homoioteleuton, which Schneider thinks was a deliberate artifice of the forger ("quis non glossema ex male intellecto adverbio ἐκεῖ vel undelibet oriundum et de industria homoeoteleuton factam agnoscat?").

The adjective *θεῖα* has caused a great deal of discussion. I once unhappily proposed to read <καὶ ἐν τοῖς ὅσα πυκνά τε καὶ λ>εῖα, comparing VI 510 A. The correct view was pointed out by Shorey in his severe though just denunciation of my remedy (*Cl. Rev.* iv p. 480). Schneider takes *φαντάσματα θεῖα* as virtually *φαντάσματα θεοῦ*, supposing that *φαντάσματα* of the sun alone are meant (cf. 516 B), but this is scarcely adequate. Against Stallbaum, who (without quoting the *Sophist*) bracketed *θεῖα*, Richter (*Fleck. Jb.* 1867 p. 145) rightly argued that the epithet was indispensable "um den Unterschied zu markieren zwischen den *φαντάσματα* und den im *κατάγειον* vorkommenden εἰδωλα." Ast's conjecture *θεά* is neat, and has won considerable favour (see E. J. Palmer in *Cl. Rev.* v p. 278 and Apelt in *Fleck. Jb.* 1891 p. 556, where Apelt makes the same proposal independently), while Madvig's *ἄδεια* has been deservedly ignored. I have no longer any doubt that the text is sound. Some may find a difficulty because the *Sophist* is now believed by many to be later than the *Republic*; but *θεῖα* in this sense may have been familiar in the Platonic school, and in any case (see note ad loc.) the meaning can be inferred from the context, even without the aid of the *Sophist*, whose theory of a *θεία* and an *ἀνθρωπίνη εἰδωλοποιική* may, if we think fit, be viewed as a further development of the expression in the *Republic*. There are also other traces in the *Republic* of doctrines supposed to be especially characteristic of the so-called 'dialectical dialogues': see App. VII to Book V. Finally, it should be noted that Herwerden's excision of *σκιάς* after *εἰδῶλων* is not only unnecessary but wrong, because *ἀποσκιαζομένας* would then be most naturally taken with *σκιὰς τῶν ὄντων*.

#### XIV.

VII 533 B. τόδε γοῦν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν ἀμφισβητήσει λέγουσιν, ὥς αὐτοῦ γε ἐκάστου περί, ὃ ἔστιν ἕκαστον, ἄλλη τις ἐπιχειρεῖ μέθοδος δὲ περὶ παντὸς λαμβάνειν, ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πᾶσαι κτλ.

The ordinary explanation of this passage takes *ὥς* with *ἀμφισβητήσει* and not with *λέγουσιν*, interpreting *ἄλλη* as 'other than dialectic' (Schneider in *Addit.* p. 58, Stallbaum and J. and C.). But it is scarcely possible to separate *ὥς* from *λέγουσιν*, and for this reason J. J. Hartman (who understands *ἄλλη* in the same way as Schneider) cuts *λέγουσιν* out.

If *λέγουσιν* is retained, and connected, as it must be, with *ὥς*, either *ἄλλη* does not mean 'other than dialectic,' or else we must read <οὐκ> ἄλλη. The latter alternative was adopted by Stephanus, Ast, and Bekker, whose *apparatus criticus* stated by implication that *οὐκ* was actually written in Paris A. Recent editors have rightly rejected *οὐκ*

after it was found to have no MS authority. It is clear, therefore, unless we resort to unjustifiable emendation or excision, that ἄλλη does not mean 'other than dialectic.' The only other possible explanations are (1) other than all the arts spoken of in ἀλλ' αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι—αὐτῶν, (2) that given in the notes. Against (1) it might be urged that ἄλλη does not easily look forward in a sentence of this kind, and (2) is in every way simpler and more natural, provided we observe that the stress falls on αἱ δὲ λοιπαί rather than on αἱ μὲν ἄλλαι πᾶσαι etc. ('while all the other arts—the remainder' etc.).

## XV.

VII 533 c. οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἡ διαλεκτικὴ μέθοδος μόνη ταύτῃ πορεύεται, τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀναιρούσα, ἐπ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἀρχήν, ἵνα βεβαιώσῃται.

The mss without exception have ἀναιρούσα, which a majority of editors retain. ἀνάγουσα was read by Canter (Stob. II p. 157), and is found as a correction in one MS of Stobaeus (*Ecl.* II 2. 1 Wachsmuth). I formerly printed ἀναφέρουσα, which Oldenberg (*de Pl. arte dial.* p. 38 n.) had already (as I have since found) mentioned as possible, though he himself preferred ἀνάγουσα. On an earlier occasion I conjectured ἀνιούσα (*Cl. Rev.* IV p. 357), thinking of *Symp.* 211 B: cf. also Alcibiades *Isag.* 5 and 7. Schneider's ἀναίρουσα is an excessively rare word, and has met with little favour from critics; but ἀνάγουσα has been approved by various writers, among others Oldenberg (l.c.) and Richards (*Cl. Rev.* VIII p. 194).

Further investigation into Plato's 'hypothetical method' has now convinced me that the reading and punctuation of Paris A represent the truth. See App. III, where the subject is discussed at length.

The expression τὰς ὑποθέσεις ἀναιρούσα throws a much-needed light on the real nature of the process described here and in VI 511 B, VII 532 A. It is not, as has been asserted, inconsistent with the description of Book VI, for although we demolish our ὑποθέσεις and must do so if we are ever to rise above them, they are none the less τῷ ὄντι ὑποθέσεις, οἷον ἐπιβάσεις τε καὶ ὄρμαί, without which we cannot even make a start. The path of knowledge is strewn with the wrecks of hasty generalisations, which have served as stepping-stones to students in the very act of their demolition: and in this sense, if in no other, it is true that "Error in the round of time Still fathers Truth."

It is perhaps necessary briefly to advert to some erroneous interpretations of the authoritative text. Steinhart (*Einleitung* p. 693) translates "die Voraussetzungen aufhebend, um das Princip zu gewinnen," taking ἐπὶ with ἀναιρούσα: but ἐπὶ cannot be separated from πορεύεται, and such a sense of ἐπὶ in this connexion is harsh and unnatural. Stallbaum's attempt to shew that ἀναιρούσα ἐπὶ can mean 'taking up to' is unsuccessful, for all the parallels which he quotes are cases of ἀναφέρειν ἐπὶ. Finally Jowett and Campbell remark "The hypotheses are done away with; that is, when seen in their relation to

the good they cease to be *ὑποθέσεις*": but *ἀναιρεῖν* cannot be thus pared down, and should be taken in its full force as explained in the note.

## XVI.

VII 533 E. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν, ἔφη [ἄλλ' ὃ ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ πρὸς τὴν ἕξιν<sup>15</sup> σαφήνεια λέγει ἐν ψυχῇ]. Ἀρέσκει οὖν κτλ.

The words within brackets are printed as they appear in A. II agrees, except that it has ἄλλο (corrected to ἄλλ' ὃ) and ἕξιν (*sic*). In *q* and Flor. U we find ἄλλ' ὃ ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ πρὸς τὴν λέξιν σαφήνεια (i.e. σαφήνεια) ὃ λέγει ἐν ψυχῇ, and this reading is adopted by Bekker. There is also some slight authority (in addition to II') for ἄλλο instead of ἄλλ' ὃ, for σαφήνεια instead of σαφήνεια, and for λέγειν instead of λέγει.

Jowett and Campbell remain faithful in their allegiance to A, except that with *q* they insert ὃ before λέγει. "The words in the text," they remark, "are very possibly genuine and may be rendered—'we only require' (the verb is gathered from οὐ περὶ ὀνόματος ἀμφισβήτησις) 'an expression which may indicate *with a clearness proportioned to the mental condition*, that of which it speaks *as existing* in the mind. For example, *διάνοια* may not be a very clear or definite expression, but the state of mind which it expresses is also far from clear." But they do not explain how the words which I have italicised represent the Greek, and few will find themselves able to accept the translation which they offer.

The reading of *q* is carefully examined by Schneider, who justly characterises it in these words "sententia mihi tam absona videtur, ut eam vix interpolatori mediocri, nedum Platoni tribuere audeam."

The chief emendations are (1) ἄλλ' ὃ ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ πρὸς τὴν ἐξέτασιν σαφήνεια <ὃ> λέγεις ἐν ψυχῇ (Winckelmann), (2) ἄλλ' ὃ ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ πρὸς τὴν ἕξω σαφήνεια <ἃ> λέγει ἐν ψυχῇ <ἀρκέσει> (Hermann, and Badham, except that the latter writes ἔχει for λέγει, and begins the next sentence with Ἀρκέσει), (3) ἄλλ' ὃ ἂν ὄνομα δηλοῖ πρὸς τὴν λέξεως σαφήνεια <ὃ> λέγει (or ἂν λέγοι) ἐν ψυχῇ <ἀρκέσει> (Steinhart), (4) ἄλλο ἂν ὄνομα δηλοῖ πρὸς τὴν ἕξιν σαφήνεια, <ἄλλο> λέγοι ἂν ψυχῇ (Richter in *Fleck. Jb.* 1867, p. 146), (5) ἄλλ' ὃ—ἕξιν σαφήνεια, λέγ', εἰ ἐν ψυχῇ (Madvig, Baiter), (6) ἄλλ' ὃ ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ τὴν ἕξιν <πὼς ἔχει> σαφήνειας <ἃ> λέγεις ἐν ψυχῇ (Bywater), (7) ἄλλ' ὃ ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ πὼς αὐτὴν ἔχειν σαφήνειας λέγεις ἐν ψυχῇ <ἀρκέσει>. Ἀρκέσει (or ἀρέσκει) γοῖν κτλ. (Richards), (8) ἄλλ' ὃ ἂν μόνον δηλοῖ πὼς τὴν ἕξιν σαφήνεια λέγειν ἐν ψυχῇ <ἀρκέσει; Ναί. > Ἀρκέσει κτλ. (Burnet).

Some of these conjectures are ingenious and scholarly, but none of them, nor any other which I can devise, is altogether satisfactory in point of sense, or diplomatically probable. (The last remark does not apply to Madvig's correction, which is easy enough, but *κακὸν κακῶ ἰᾶται* and does not attempt to cure πρὸς τὴν ἕξιν σαφήνεια at all.)



The independent reasons for holding the clause to be interpolated are:—(1) it is absent in  $\Xi$ , which the Aldine edition and Stephanus as usual follow: (2) “in Platonis dialogis quum negationi assensus per formulam οὐ γὰρ οὖν praebetur, nusquam assentiens quicquam addit, quod ex contrario petitam negati descriptionem contineat idque per affirmationem cum particula ἀλλά definiat” (Schneider). Little weight need be attached to the first argument, in view of the general character of  $\Xi$ , but if (as I believe in opposition to Schanz *Platocod.* etc. p. 81)  $\Xi$  is sometimes independent of A, it is possible enough that the words were omitted in the MS (or MSS) from which  $\Xi$  was copied in this passage. The second consideration, which Schneider establishes by a vast number of instances, is extremely weighty.

As regards the origin of the gloss Schneider observes (*Addit.* p. 59) “ceterum primitivam formam et originem glossematis investigaturos contulisse iuvabit Platonis verba *Leg.* I p. 633 A: περὶ τῶν τῆς ἀλλης ἀρετῆς εἴτε μερῶν εἴτε ἅττ’ αὐτὰ καλεῖν χρεῶν ἐστὶ, δηλοῦντα μόνον ἃ λέγει, et haec Galeni *Εἰσαγωγῆς διαλεκτικῆς* p. 12: οὐδὲν γὰρ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν διαφέρει συμπεπλεγμένην λέγειν ἀποφατικὴν ἢ συμπλοκὴν ἀποφατικὴν, ἔχοντός γέ σου σκοπὸν ἐν ἀπάσῃ λέξει τὸ δηλωσάσαι τοῖς πέλας, ὅτι περ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐννοῆς.” Cf. also *Theaet.* 177 D, E, *Soph.* 218 B, *Hipp. Mai.* 296 D. The sentence is evidently an attempt to say that we should be content if the words we use express our meaning clearly. In λέγει (and still more λέγεις) ἐν ψυχῇ we may detect an allusion to the Platonic theory of thought as the conversation of the soul (see on III 400 D) and perhaps also to the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος of the Stoics. On this account, and also because of ξῆν, I am inclined to attribute the interpolation to some adherent of the Stoic school, of which, in point of style, it is not unworthy.

## XVII.

VII 534 D. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τοὺς γε σαντοῦ παῖδας, οὓς τῷ λόγῳ τρέφεις τε καὶ παιδεύεις, εἴ ποτε ἔργῳ τρέφοις, οὐκ ἂν εἴσαις, ὥς ἐγώμαι, ἀλόγους ὄντας ὥσπερ γραμμάς, ἄρχοντας ἐν τῇ πόλει κυρίους τῶν μεγίστων εἶναι.

Schneider was the first to discover in this passage a punning reference to mathematical ἄλογοι γραμμαί, as defined by Euclid x *Def.* 5—11. The same explanation, although it did not commend itself to Stallbaum, is apparently accepted by the Oxford editors, who aptly quote *Theaet.* 146 A προθυμούμενος ἡμᾶς ποιῆσαι διαλέγεσθαι καὶ φίλους τε καὶ προσηγόρους ἀλλήλοις γίνεσθαι. It is to Theodorus the mathematician that these words are spoken, and Campbell is, I believe, right in thinking that προσηγόρους is quasi-mathematical: cf. VIII 546 B πάντα προσήγορα καὶ ῥητὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλα ἀπέφηναν.

It is better, I think, and more pointed to connect ἀλόγους directly with γραμμαί (cf. 519 A τὰς τῆς γενέσεως ἐξηγενεῖς ὥσπερ μολυβδίδας with note ad loc.), than to translate “incapable of reason, like irrational lines” (with Schneider and J. and C.). In order to extract this meaning from the Greek, we must understand γραμμάς as = ἀλόγους γραμμαί, which is doubtless possible, but less natural than the view given in the notes.

J. and C.'s translation also gives to ὥσπερ γραμμάς a certain otiose appearance, as if Plato had deliberately gone out of his way to drag in a mathematical allusion. On this account we may wonder that none of the Dutch critics has hitherto proposed, so far as I know, to excise ὥσπερ γραμμάς.

There is little to be said in favour of the non-mathematical interpretations, though perhaps the following contain an element of truth: "unvernünftig wie Figuren" (Schleiermacher), "unvernünftig wie todte Striche" (Prantl), "lineae penecillo praeformatae" (Stallbaum). γραμμάς has, I think, a non-mathematical as well as mathematical meaning in this place, and the former is fairly expressed by Prantl's "todte Striche." Ast thought of "literae s. scriptiones," remembering the well-known passage about dumb books in *Phaedr.* 275 ff.; but γραμμάς cannot be thus interpreted. Others have thought of pictures, as for example Stallbaum, who refers to Plut. *Lycurg.* 10. 3 ὥσπερ γραφὴν αἰσυχον καὶ ἀκίνητον, and is inclined to read γραφάς instead of γραμμάς. The correction γεγραμμένων is suggested by Steinhart (*Einleitung* p. 694) and γράμμα or γράμματ' (with reference to v 472 D) by Apelt (*Fleck. Jb.* 1893 p. 556). The eccentric proposal ὡς Φρύγας Μίδας ἄρχοντας is due to Cornarius, who remarks "coniectura est nostra, qua falli possum: sed tolerari poterit donec rectior occurret" (*Eclog.* p. 101). Stallbaum's conjecture is neat and elegant, but the text is indubitably sound.

## H.

**543 A—545 C** Socrates now returns to the point at which the digression occupying Books V—VII began. There are, as we observed, four leading varieties of States and individuals, in addition to the perfect polity and perfect man. In order of merit they are (1) Timarchy, or the Cretan and Laconian State, (2) Oligarchy, (3) Democracy, (4) Tyranny. All other kinds of commonwealths, such as dynasties etc., lie somewhere between these primary and conspicuous varieties. Furthermore, inasmuch as the specific character of States is determined by that of individuals, there will be five leading types of individual character, embodied respectively in (1) the aristocratic, (2) the timarchical, (3) the oligarchical, (4) the democratical, (5) the tyrannical man. The first of these we have already described; but we must review the others also, in order that, by contrasting the best and worst, we may apprehend the relation between undiluted justice and undiluted injustice in respect of the happiness and misery of their possessors. As before, we will examine the commonwealths first, and afterwards the individuals.

**543 A ff.** The description of the philosopher and the philosophic city is at last complete, and the argument returns to the point at which the 'digression' began, viz. V 449 A: see note ad loc. Plato has already said repeatedly, and reminds us yet again in 544 A, that the aim of our whole investigation was to decide εἰ ὁ ἀρίστος εὐδαιμονέστατος καὶ ὁ κάκιστος ἀθλιώτατος, ἢ ἄλλως ἔχει (cf. II 368 E, 369 A *nn.*). With the character of the perfect man we are now familiar, but we have still to discover and describe τὸν κάκιστον, in order that we may institute our comparison and pronounce our verdict. This is the task to which Plato addresses himself in VIII and IX (down

to 576 B). The method which he follows resembles that adopted in II 369 B ff.—IV. In the first place, he retains throughout the former analogy between the Soul and the City, and his account of the imperfect man is in every instance preceded by an account of the imperfect State. Secondly, instead of going straight to the mark and giving us a single ready-made sketch of total and complete depravity, Plato draws an elaborate and quasi-historical picture of the gradual descent of the perfect State and the perfect Man through successive phases of ever-growing degeneration down to the lowest depth of wickedness and crime. In the same way, as Nettleship observes (*Lect. and Rem.* II p. 295), "in describing a perfect state, or certain steps in the process of forming a perfect state," he sometimes wrote "as if one step of that process succeeded another in a historical order." See on II 369 B, 372 D, 373 D et al. The question has often been discussed whether the sequence of polities in VIII and IX was intended to be really historical or not: see for example Zeller<sup>1</sup> II pp. 923—925, Henkel *Studien zur Gesch. d. Gr. Lehre v. Staat* p. 56 and Krohn *Pl. St.* pp. 204 ff. Aristotle seems to have understood Plato's account as an attempt to describe the actual facts of Greek history, and severely criticizes it from his usual standpoint in *Pol.* E 12. 1316<sup>a</sup> 1—b 27; but Plato himself must of course have known as well as Aristotle that the historical development of Greek constitutions did not by any means always correspond with his scheme. See Whibley *Gk Olig.* pp. 62—88 and Greenidge *Gk Const. Hist.* pp. 12—35. The fact is that Aristotle altogether ignores the real object of Plato, which is, as we have seen, to arrive at the worst State and the worst man, and treats him as if he had undertaken to exhibit a full





οὐδὲν οὐδένα φόβου δεῖν κεκτῆσθαι ἄν τῦν οἱ ἄλλοι, ὥσπερ δὲ  
 C ἀθλητὰς τε πολέμου καὶ φυλάκας, μισθὸν τῆς φυλακῆς ἔχο-  
 μένους εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν τὴν εἰς ταῦτα τροφήν παρὰ τῶν ἄλλων, αἰτῶν  
 τε δεῖν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης πόλεως ἐπιμελείσθαι. Ὀρθῶς, ἔφη, λέγεις.  
 ἀλλὰ γ' ἐπειδὴ τοῦτ' ἀπετελέσαμεν, ἀναμνησθώμεν πόθεν εἰναι  
 ἐξετραπόμεθα, ἵνα πάλιν τὴν αὐτὴν ἴωμεν. Οὐ χαλεπὸν, ἔφη.  
 σχεδὸν γάρ, καθάπερ τῦν, ὡς διεληλυθὼς περὶ τῆς πόλεως τοῦς  
 λόγους ἐποιού, λέγων, ὡς ἀγαθὴν μὲν τὴν τοιαύτην, οἴαν τὸτε  
 D εἰληθεῖς, τιθείης πόλιν καὶ ἀνδρά <sup>1</sup> τὸν ἐκείνη ὁμοίον, καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς

Tielhold's conjecture *ἐπὶ κεκαί* is an undesired reflection on Glauco's powers of memory.

11 οἱ ἄλλοι, *al* ἀσθῆναι, which I once suggested (*CJ*, *Lzv*, IV p. 357), would be more exact, and ΑΛΛΟΙ and ΑΝΟΙ are pretty easily confused in ancient mss (Collet *P. L.*,<sup>2</sup> p. 431; cf. Heindorf on *Phil.* 354 B). Owing to τῦν, *al* ἄλλοι can only mean 'the rest of mankind,' and the Guardians are therefore virtually spoken of as a section of living men. This kind of looseness is not uncommon, though here it has no stylistic effect. An alternative view might be to understand *al* ἄλλοι of the rest of the citizens (*τῶν ἄλλων* below) and τῦν as 'in point of fact' or 'in our present discussion'; but this explanation is much less satisfactory. *ds*, which some inferior mss write for *dr*, does not remove the inaccuracy in *al* ἄλλοι: *non* is *utrum* ἄλλοι in IV 419 A precisely parallel, though it supports the view that *al* ἄλλοι means 'the rest of mankind.'

12 ἀθλητὰς πολέμου, VII 521 D H.

543 C 13 *ds* ἐνιαυτόν. Nothing is to remain open at the end of the year (III 416 E).

*ds* ταῦτα; viz. *ds* τὰ τῆς φυλακῆς etc. For the use of the pronoun *ds*, VII 520 A and *utrum* 525 E *utrum*. *Μαδύγ' ds* *ταῦτα* is unnecessary, and *ταῦτα* *utrum* in III 416 B means something quite different.

15 ἀλλὰ γ' ἐπειδὴ οὐκ, 'yes, but after we finished that subject, let us recall where we disagreed to come here, then we may resume the old path.' " *per ad sequentia ἐπειδὴ τοῦτ' ἀπετελέσαμεν* per-  
 tinet et prius recte quidem dicta a Glaucone, sed nonne idcirco non bene  
 referuntur esse signata, quod non sit in  
 conversatione conversatio, ut relictum vixit  
 denum capessere possint" (Schneider).

The mss fluctuate between ΑΛΛΑ γ' (the reading of A), ΔΝ' ἀγ' and ΔΝ' δγ' (B), the last of which readings is adopted by all editors except Schneider. ΑΛΛΑ γε, though rare, is, I believe, firmly established in Plato: see on I 331 B. It fits the situation in this passage exactly, whereas ΔΝ' δγ' does not, if we translate *ἐπειδὴ τοῦτ' ἀπετελέσαμεν* correctly, and not (with D, and V, Jowett etc.) by 'now that we have concluded the subject.' *ταῦτα* is not Books V—VII, but the arrangements of the earlier city of II—IV, as described in 513 B, C, and *ἀπετελέσαμεν* is aorist, not perfect. *ἀναμνησθώμεν* (as Schneider observes) is necessitated by *ἵνα*—*ταῦτα*, otherwise *ἐκείνη* might easily have said ΑΛΛΑ γ' ἐπειδὴ τοῦτ' ἀπετελέσαμεν, πόθεν δεῖμα ἐξετραπόμεθα; There is consequently no need for so vigorous an exhortation to exercise the memory as would be conveyed by ΔΝ' δγ' ἀναμνησθώμεν, especially as Glauco's recollection had left nothing to be desired in B and C above.

17 καθάπερ τῦν. *τῦν* refers to 511 B, *ὡς* διεληλυθὼς πόλεως: "quasi disputatione de civitate absolutum" (Schelling); cf. V 450 A. The mss vary between this reading, and *ds* διεληλυθὼς in 525 A *utrum* *utrum* but A (which which B and several other mss agree) is certainly right.

18 λέγων οὐκ, V 419 A.

543 D 19 καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ, 'and that too, though, as it seems, you would have told us of a still more beautiful city and men like the city of the philosophers, to wit, and the philosophers like himself, afterwards described by Socrates in V 472 B—VII. The city of V—VII is spoken of as a different city from that of II—IV: see on *ds* *μὲν* *τῇ* *πρωτῇ* *ἐκείνῃ* VII 513 C, II 472 D C, and *Philal*

- 20 ἔοικας, καλλίῳ ἔτι ἔχων εἰπεῖν πόλιν τε καὶ ἄνδρα. ἀλλ' | οὖν 544  
 δὴ τὰς ἄλλας ἡμαρτημένας ἔλεγες, εἰ αὕτη ὀρθή. τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν  
 πολιτειῶν ἔφησθα, ὡς μνημονεύω, τέτταρα εἶδη εἶναι, ὧν καὶ πέρι  
 λόγον ἄξιον εἶη ἔχειν καὶ ἰδεῖν αὐτῶν τὰ ἁμαρτήματα καὶ τοὺς  
 5 ἐκείναις αὐτοῖς ὁμοίους, ἵνα πάντας αὐτοὺς ἰδόντες καὶ ὁμολογησάμενοι  
 τὸν ἄριστον καὶ τὸν κάκιστον ἄνδρα ἐπισκεψαίμεθα, εἰ ὁ ἄριστος  
 εὐδαιμονέστατος καὶ ὁ κάκιστος ἀθλιώτατος ἢ ἄλλως ἔχοι· καὶ  
 ἐμοῦ ἐρομένου, τίνας λέγοις τὰς τέτταρας πολιτείας, <sup>1</sup> ἐν τούτῳ B  
 ὑπέλαβε Πολέμαρχος τε καὶ Ἀδείμαντος, καὶ οὕτω δὴ σὺ ἀνα-  
 10 λαβὼν τὸν λόγον δεῦρ' ἀφίξαι. Ὅρθότατα, εἶπον, ἐμνημόνευσας.  
 Πάλιν τοίνυν, ὥσπερ παλαιστής, τὴν αὐτὴν λαβὴν παρέχε, καὶ τὸ  
 αὐτὸ ἐμοῦ ἐρομένου πειρῶ εἰπεῖν, ἅπερ τότε ἐμελλες λέγειν.  
 Ἐάνπερ, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, δύνωμαι. Καὶ μὴν, ἣ δ' ὅς, ἐπιθυμῶ καὶ αὐτὸς  
 ἀκοῦσαι, τίνας ἔλεγες τὰς τέτταρας πολιτείας. <sup>1</sup> Οὐ χαλεπῶς, ἣν C  
 15 δ' ἐγώ, ἀκούσει. εἰσὶ γὰρ ἅς λέγω, αἵπερ καὶ ὀνόματα ἔχουσιν, ἣ  
 τε ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν ἐπαινουμένη, ἣ Κρητικὴ τε καὶ Λακωνικὴ

*Der Dialog* pp. 235 ff. Jowett's translation "although, as now appears, you had more excellent things to relate both of State and man" is a defensible construction, but unnatural, and certainly not what Plato meant. The passage has been curiously misunderstood by some critics, through inattention to the force of the imperfect participle ἔχων. Herwerden, for example, actually proposes to insert <οὐ> before καλλίῳ. Schneider and Stallbaum translate the sentence correctly.

544 A 3 ἔφησθα κτλ. IV 445 C. On the pronouns ὧν—αὐτῶν see II 357 B n. Plato is very careful to make it clear that he does not profess, like Aristotle, to give a complete account of faulty States. From his watch-tower he can descry infinite varieties, but only four on which he need expatiate. We may take it that these are, in Plato's view, the four most conspicuous landmarks in the history of political degeneration, as well as the most important and clearly-outlined varieties of existing States. Cf. IV 445 C and infra 544 D ἥ τις καὶ ἐν εἰδεί διαφανεί τι κείται.

5 ἵνα πάντας κτλ. reminds us of the thread which is the clue to the labyrinthine reasoning of the *Republic*: cf. 545 A, 548 D and II 368 E n.

7 ἔχοι. The optative, for which Ast and Stallbaum needlessly read ἔχει with Ἐγ and some other inferior MSS, is due

to the *oratio obliqua*: cf. VII 515 D n.

8 ἐρομένου. V 449 A.

544 B II ὥσπερ παλαιστής. The Scholiast remarks ἔθος γὰρ τοῖς, ὅταν πέσωσιν ὁμοῦ—πάλιν ἐγερθέντας ἐφ' ὁμοίῳ συμπλακῆναι σχήματι, ὅπερ τὴν αὐτὴν εἴπε λαβὴν. Plato, as Stallbaum points out, uses the same figure in *Phaedr.* 236 B: cf. *Phil.* 13 D, *Laus* 682 E and ἀντιλαμβάνομενος VI 505 A n.

13 ἐπιθυμῶ—ἀκούσαι: 'I am desirous also on my own account to hear' sc. apart from the half-polemical motive suggested by the figure. Herwerden remarks "Iocutus vix sanus," but it is sound enough, although the English translators ("I shall particularly wish" etc. Jowett) miss the meaning.

544 C 15 ἣ τε—ἐπαινουμένη. The Spartan constitution in its palmy days was widely praised for *ἐννομία* and discipline (pseudo-Archytas in Mullah *Frag. Philos. Gr.* I p. 560, Xen. *Mem.* III 5. 15 f., IV 4. 15, Plato *Hipp. Mai.* 283 E, 285 B, *Laus* 692 C and elsewhere), and became on this ground a sort of political ideal in the eyes of many Greeks: see for example Isocr. *Panath.* 108 ff. 200 ff. 216 ff. and the fragments of Critias' *Λακεδαιμονίων πολιτεία* in Müller *Frag. Hist. Gr.* II pp. 68 f. Cf. Nohle *Statslehre Plat.* pp. 108 ff. and Whibley *Gk Olig.* pp. 57 ff.



αὕτη· καὶ δευτέρα καὶ δευτέρως ἐπαινουμένη, καλουμένη δ' ὀλιγαρχία, συχρῶν γέμουσα κακῶν πολιτεία· ἥ τε ταύτη διάφορος καὶ ἐφεξῆς γιγνομένη δημοκρατία, καὶ ἡ γενναία δὴ τυραννὶς καὶ πασῶν τούτων διαφέρουσα, τέταρτον τε καὶ ἔσχατον πόλεως 20 νόσημα. ἥ τίνα ἄλλην ἔχεις ἰδέαν<sup>1</sup> πολιτείας, ἥτις καὶ ἐν εἵδει διαφανεῖ τινι κεῖται; δυναστεία γὰρ καὶ ὠνηταὶ βασιλεῖαι καὶ

19. καὶ πασῶν Π: καὶ ἡ πασῶν Α.

20. διαφέρουσα Ξ: διαφεύγουσα ΑΠη.

17 αὕτη: *ista* 'that of yours,' 'your Cretan and Lacedaemonian constitution.' On their connexion see Arist. *Pol.* B 10. 1271<sup>b</sup> 22 ff. with Susemihl and Hicks's notes. It is, I think, fanciful to see in αὕτη an allusion to Glauco's sympathies for Sparta, in spite of 548 D below.

καὶ δευτέρως. Hermann prints his own conjecture ἡ δευτέρως, but the common confusion of *καὶ* and ἡ (Bast *Comm. Pol.* p. 815) is, I believe, later than the date of Paris A, and the text is free from objection: 'and second in order as in esteem, a constitution fraught with many evils, bearing the name of oligarchy.' δευτέρα agrees with πολιτεία, not with ὀλιγαρχία.

18 διάφορος: not of course 'different' (as Jowett), but 'antagonistic,' *adversaria* (Stallbaum). διάφορος 'different' gives a poor sense, and would take the genitive, which Ast erroneously proposed to read. Greek history furnished only too many proofs of the natural feud between democracy and oligarchy: see Greenidge *Gk Const. Hist.* pp. 208 ff. and Gilbert *Gr. Staatsalt.* II p. 285 n. 2.

19 ἐφεξῆς γιγνομένη. From this and other indications it would appear on a first perusal that the sequence of commonwealths in VIII and IX is intended by Plato to be not merely logical, but historical also; but there is no question that the political evolution of Greek constitutions was far more complex than would appear from Plato's description. See on 543 A. We must above all things remember that it is in order to furnish a picture of the worst city and the worst man that the whole of this enquiry is undertaken, and Plato is at liberty to adopt whatever mode of presentation is best adapted for the object which he has in view. The form which he does in point of fact select is that of a historical narrative (see on 543 A, 548 D), but the real order of the development which he

describes is a 'logical order,' and is primarily determined by psychological, and not by historical considerations. Although there are many points of contact between the development of Greek constitutional history and Plato's arrangement, Plato here employs narration primarily and chiefly as a vehicle or instrument for expressing the results of psychological analysis, and not because he believes that political development always and inevitably follows the same lines. See also on 543 A and *infra* 544 D.

20 διαφέρουσα κτλ. The reading of Ξ—see *cr. n.*—is confirmed by *v* and two other MSS, as well as by Stobaeus (*Flor.* 43. 115) and Ficinus (*ab his omnibus differens*). All other MSS appear to have διαφεύγουσα. "Errori—occasionem pronuntiatio non absimilis dedisse videtur" (Schneider). The word does not mean 'differs' (as Jowett) but 'excels' (ironically, of course, like ἡ γενναία δὴ). Father Rickaby has suggested to me that we should read καὶ ἡ πασῶν τούτων διαφέρουσα, ἡ γενναία δὴ τυραννὶς, τέταρτον κτλ. The conjecture is an attractive one, both on other grounds and also because it enables us to retain the article which appears before πασῶν (see *cr. n.*) in A: but it is perhaps safer to follow Ξ.

21 νόσημα. Greek political theory regards tyrants as νοσήματα τῶν πόλεων (Isocr. *Hel.* 34: cf. Henkel l. c. p. 156). ἥ τίνα. Ast and others write ἥ τίνα (with slight MS support), but τίνα is perfectly good: cf. IX 573 A.

ἐν εἵδει διαφανεῖ τινι. See on 544 A.

544 D 22 δυναστεία. δυναστεία is that form of polity in which the son succeeds the father καὶ ἀρχὴ μὴ ὁ νόμος ἀλλ' οἱ ἄρχοντες (Arist. *Pol.* Δ 5. 1292<sup>b</sup> 5 ff.: cf. *Laus* 680 A, B). Such a πολιτεία might be good, but was of course generally bad: see Susemihl and Hicks on Arist. *Pol.* B 10. 1272<sup>b</sup> 3. Examples are pro-

τοιαῦταί τινες πολιτεῖαι μεταξύ τι τούτων πού εἰσιν, εὔροι δ' ἂν  
 τις αὐτὰς οὐκ ἐλάττους περὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἢ τοὺς Ἑλληνας.  
 25 Πολλαὶ γοῦν καὶ ἄτοποι, ἔφη, λέγονται.

II. Οἷσθ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι καὶ ἀνθρώπων εἶδη τοσαῦτα  
 ἀνάγκη τρόπων εἶναι, ὅσαπερ καὶ πολιτειῶν; ἢ οἷε ἐκ δρυὸς ποθεν  
 ἢ ἐκ πέτρας τὰς πολιτείας γίγνεσθαι, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ ἐκ τῶν ἡθῶν τῶν  
 ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν, ἃ ἂν ὥσπερ ῥέψαντα τᾶλλα ἐφελκῶνται; E  
 30 Οὐδαμῶς ἔγωγ', ἔφη, ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἐντεῦθεν. Οὐκοῦν εἰ τὰ τῶν  
 πόλεων πέντε, καὶ αἱ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν κατασκευαὶ τῆς ψυχῆς πέντε  
 ἂν εἶεν. Τί μὴν; Τὸν μὲν δὴ τῇ ἀριστοκρατίᾳ ὅμοιον διεληλύθαμεν  
 ἤδη, ὃν ἀγαθὸν τε καὶ δίκαιον ὀρθῶς φαμέν εἶναι. | Διεληλύθαμεν. 545  
 Ἄρ' οὖν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο διυτέον τοὺς χείρους, τὸν φιλόνικόν τε καὶ  
 φιλότιμον, κατὰ τὴν Λακωνικὴν ἐστῶτα πολιτείαν, καὶ ὀλιγαρχικὸν

28. ἡθῶν τῶν A<sup>2</sup>Π: ἡθῶν A<sup>1</sup>.

33. ἡδη A<sup>2</sup>Π: δὴ A<sup>1</sup>.

vided by Thessaly (Thuc. IV 78. 3) and (about 480 B.C.) Thebes (Thuc. III 62. 3: cf. Gilbert *Griech. Staatsalt.* II pp. 10, 46). See Whibley *Gk. Olig.* pp. 124—126.

ὠνηται βασιλείαι: like Carthage (Arist. I.c. II. 1273<sup>a</sup> 36 with Susseml and Hicks p. 349). Herwerden sins through ignorance when he proposes αἰρεται for ὠνηται.

23 τοιαῦταί τινες: such as, for example, αἰσυνητεία, and the other specific varieties (as Aristotle reckons them) of Plato's typical πολιτεῖαι: see *Pol.* I, Δ, Ζ *passim*.

εὔροι δ' ἂν κτλ.: whereas Plato confines himself to Greek history throughout VIII and IX.

26 καὶ ἀνθρώπων κτλ. Cf. IV 445 C, and on the principle here laid down see IV 435 E n. The present passage is a clear and emphatic statement of the psychological basis on which Plato's philosophy of History rests. Political ἀδικία, like political δικαιοσύνη (IV 443 B n.), is after all no more than εἰδωλόν τι: injustice in the truest sense is στάσις within the individual soul (IV 444 B), and social and political wrong-doing is but its outward manifestation. The double genitive, which is easy enough (cf. E below and V 449 A n.), has led to the corruption τρόπον τινά in several MSS. Liebhold also suggests καὶ τρόπων instead of τρόπων. The expression εἶδη τρόπων ('specific characters') is treated

as a single word, and should be repeated with πολιτειῶν: cf. IV 445 C ὅσοι πολιτειῶν τρόποι εἰσιν εἶδη ἔχοντες, τοσοῦτοι κινδυνεύουσι καὶ ψυχῆς τρόποι εἶναι (a passage which proves, I think, that Schneider and Stallbaum are wrong in supplying only εἶδη with ὅσαπερ κτλ.).

27 ἐκ δρυὸς κτλ. Hom. *Od.* XIX 162 f. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς μοι εἶπε τέον γένος, ὅππῃθεν οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης, i.e. you have a γένος (cf. *Ap.* 34 D) and are not miraculously sprung ἀγνεαλογήτως out of tree or stone, like the fabled men of old (see Preller-Robert *Gr. Myth.* p. 79 n. 4). In Plato the saying is used much like the German 'es ist doch nicht aus der Luft gefallen' (Schück *de scholiis* p. 32, where the proverb is illustrated).

544 E 29 ἃ ἂν κτλ. *οἱ ἂν* was read till Schneider on the authority of Ξ; but ἃ ἂν (AΠ and a large majority of MSS) is quite satisfactory. "Reipublicae formae eos dicuntur sequi mores, qui in quavis civitate veluti pondere praegravantes ad se suamque regionem attraxerint reliqua" (Schneider, comparing for ῥέψαντα Hdt. VII 139). The word ῥέψαντα (Ξ and some other MSS) is unatic (Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 738): Plato's form is ῥένετα e.g. VI 495 B.

33 ὀρθῶς is more naturally taken with φαμέν (Jowett etc.) than with the adjectives (as Schneider). We rightly call him 'good' etc., because he is ὅμοιος ἀριστοκρατία.

αὐ καὶ δημοκρατικὸν καὶ τὸν τυραννικόν, ἵνα τὸν ἀδικώτατον ἰδόντες  
 ἀντιθῶμεν τῷ δικαιοτάτῳ καὶ ἡμῖν τελέα ἢ σκέψις ᾗ, πῶς ποτὲ ἢ 5  
 ἄκρατος δικαιοσύνη πρὸς ἀδικίαν τὴν ἄκρατον ἔχει εὐδαιμονίας τε  
 περὶ τοῦ ἔχοντος καὶ ἀθλιότητος, ἵνα ἡ Θρασυμάχῳ πειθόμενοι  
 Β διώκωμεν ἰ ἀδικίαν ἢ τῷ νῦν προφαινομένῳ λόγῳ δικαιοσύνην;  
 Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, οὕτω ποιητέον. Ἄρ' οὖν, ὥσπερ ἡρξά-  
 μεθα ἐν ταῖς πολιτείαις πρότερον σκοπεῖν τὰ ἥθη ἢ ἐν τοῖς ἰδιώταις, 10  
 ὥς ἐναργέστερον ὂν, καὶ νῦν οὕτω πρῶτον μὲν τὴν φιλότιμον  
 σκεπτέον πολιτείαν· ὄνομα γὰρ οὐκ ἔχω λεγόμενον ἄλλο· ἢ  
 τιμοκρατίαν ἢ τιμαρχίαν αὐτὴν κλητέον· πρὸς δὲ ταύτην τὸν  
 C τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα σκεψόμεθα, ἔπειτα ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ ἰ ἄνδρα ὀλι-  
 γαρχικόν, αὐθις δὲ εἰς δημοκρατίαν ἀποβλέψαντες θεασόμεθα 15

13. ταύτην Α<sup>1</sup>Π: ταύτη Α<sup>2</sup>.

545 A 4 ἵνα κτλ. See 544 A η.

545 B 9 ἡρξάμεθα. II 368 E η.

12 ὄνομα γὰρ κτλ.: 'for I have no other name in our language for it: we must call it either "timarchy" or "timocracy"' ("Ehrenherrschaft oder Ehrenobmacht" Schneider). Plato called the constitution in question φιλότιμος πολιτεία, which may be cumbrous, but is certainly Greek. If we want a single name, we must, he says, invent: and either τιμαρχία or τιμοκρατία will do. The Oxford editors erroneously suggest that ἢ—κλητέον is interrogative: nor is there any reason to suspect the text, as W. H. Thompson did. Both of Plato's coinages survived, but they never became popular, and were used in another sense from Plato's—τιμοκρατία with the meaning of the vox nihili τιμηματοκρατία or ἡ ἀπὸ τιμημάτων ἀρχή (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* VIII 12. 1160<sup>a</sup> 36) and τιμαρχία for the Roman censorship (Stephanus-Hase *Thes.* s.v.).

13 πρὸς—ταύτην='ad hanc': cf. IX 577 B and *Tim.* 24 A τοὺς μὲν οὖν νόμους σκεπὲς πρὸς τοὺς τῆδε (Schneider).

545 C—547 C How does *Timarchy* arise out of *Aristocracy*? We may lay it down as a universal rule that constitutional change is originated by dissension within the governing class. Socrates invokes the Muses to tell 'how first sedition entered.' Like everything else, our perfect city is subject to Nature's universal law, that whatever is created perishes. Out of the elements of the number which expresses the

shortest period of gestation in the human kind, Socrates builds up a 'geometrical number,' which he calls 'the lord of better and worse births.' When, through ignorance of these, couples are united inopportunely, as one day they will be, a degenerate race of offspring arises. The best of these in due course become rulers; but the mixture of races—golden, silver, copper, iron—waxes greater, and sedition is the result. The contending parties finally, by means of a compromise, effect the transition to *Timarchy*—a form of commonwealth standing midway between *Aristocracy* and *Oligarchy*.

545 C ff. I have discussed the famous 'Number of Plato' at length in Appendix I, and must refer the reader to that Appendix for a fuller justification of views which considerations of space preclude me from defending *totis viribus* throughout the notes. The connexion of the episode with the argument of the *Republic* may be expressed as follows. In accordance with the form of a historical narrative which he employs throughout these two books, Plato invites us to conceive of his perfect city as having actually existed long ago, just as in the *Timaeus* (23 C ff.) and *Critias* (109 B ff.) the Platonic Utopia appears as prehistoric Athens. In making this demand upon the imagination of his countrymen, Plato could count upon the support to be derived from the prevalence of the view that mankind had degenerated from an age of innocence and bliss in the far-distant past: see the references in my



ἄνδρα δημοκρατικόν, τὸ δὲ τέταρτον εἰς τυραννουμένην πόλιν ἐλθόντες καὶ ἰδόντες, πάλιν εἰς τυραννικὴν ψυχὴν βλέποντες, πειρασόμεθα περὶ ὧν προϋθέμεθα ἱκανοὶ κριταὶ γενέσθαι; Κατὰ λόγον γέ τοι ἄν, ἔφη, οὕτω γίγνοιτο ἢ τε θέα καὶ ἡ κρίσις.

20 III. Φέρε τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πειρώμεθα λέγειν, τίνα τρόπον

edition of the *Protagoras* p. xxiii and Rohde *Griech. Roman* pp. 216 ff. What, then, was the originating cause of degeneration? Plato finds the cause, not in anything peculiar to the Ideal city, but in a law which prevails throughout the whole of Nature—the law that *everything created is doomed to decay*. There cannot be any ἴδιος μεταβολή (to quote the phrase of Aristotle *Pol.* E 12. 1316<sup>a</sup> 12) of a perfect City; for a city which carries *within itself* the seeds of decay is not perfect, but imperfect. In the sequel Plato first describes the manner in which degeneration begins to take effect (οὐ μόνον—δὲον 546 A, B), and afterwards proceeds to construct a Number which is the expression of that law of inevitable degeneration to which the Universe and all its parts are subject. The substance of what he has to say on the first head is that a psychologically inferior offspring gradually makes its appearance because children are sometimes begotten inopportunately. It is noteworthy that here, as everywhere in Books VIII and IX, the decline of the constitution or soul of the State (543 A 22.) is traced to the decline of the soul of the individual. In the words ἀνθρωπείῳ δὲ—τριάδος (546 B, C), Plato, copying the method of the Pythagoreans, and closely following their calculations, at all events in the first part of the reckoning, attempts to give an arithmetical expression to the Law of Change in that which he calls the γεωμετρικός ἀριθμός. According to the view which I have endeavoured to establish in Appendix I, the arithmetic, in which each of the factors and processes involved was full of significance to ancient speculators on the theory of numbers, may be thus expressed in modern arithmetical notation:

$$(1) \quad 3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216.$$

$$(2) \quad (3 \times 4 \times 5)^4 = 12,960,000 \\ = 3600^2 = 4800 \times 2700.$$

The first number, 216, is the shortest period of gestation in the human race expressed in days. In the second equation, the number 12,960,000 expresses, also in

days, the duration of a Great Year in the life of the Universe. Expressed in years, the number is 36,000, if we count, as Plato here does, 360 days in the year. The two 'harmonies,' 3600<sup>2</sup> and 4800 × 2700, are the two cycles described in the *Politicus*, each of which is a Great Year. In the first ὁμοιότης prevails, in the second ἀνομοιότης: the World 'waxes' in the first, and 'waned' in the second, without, however, suffering dissolution. In what sense the whole number 36,000 years, which astronomers sometimes called the *Platonicus annus* in the middle ages, is at once the numerical Cause of Change, and the 'lord of better and worse births,' is pointed out in App. I, Pt ii § 7, and also in the notes on 546 C. How far Plato attached a serious value to his Number and the calculations from which he derives it, I have briefly discussed at the end of App. I, Pt ii. Here it must suffice to say that the episode, like many other passages in Plato, is half-serious, and half-playful. The setting of the whole is mythical, for it is only for literary and artistic purposes that Plato pictures his ideal city as historically true: and the meaning of the latter part of the Number is deciphered by the aid of one of Plato's myths. Moreover, the style of the whole passage, though extraordinarily rhythmical and highly-wrought, acquires a touch of fantastic humour from the bewildering parade of mathematical terms, at some of which even Plato's own contemporaries would probably have smiled. On its serious side, the Number affords an interesting example of the application of Number and Mathematics to explain the life of the Universe and Man; and, as I have said in the Appendix, finds its fittest apology in the saying θεὸς ἀεὶ γεωμετεῖ. It is of some importance in the history of philosophy because of its connexion with Pythagorean embryology and physics, and its employment by the Neoplatonists to justify the wildest astrological vagaries. The extreme difficulty of the Greek has made the Platonic

Δ τιμοκρατία γένοιτ' ἂν ἐξ ἀριστοκρατίας. ἡ τὸδε μὲν ἀπλοῦν, ὅτι πᾶσα πολιτεία μεταβάλλει ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅταν ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ στάσις ἐγγένηται· ὁμονοοῦντος δέ, καὶ πάνν ὀλίγον ἦ, ἀδύνατον κινήθηναι; Ἔστι γὰρ οὕτω. Πῶς οὖν δῆ, εἶπον, ὦ Γλαῦκων, ἡ πόλις ἡμῖν κινήθῃσεται, καὶ πῇ στασιάσουσιν οἱ ἐπί- 25 κouroi καὶ οἱ ἄρχοντες πρὸς ἀλλήλους τε καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτούς; ἡ βούλει, ὥσπερ Ὀμηρος, εὐχόμεθα ταῖς Μούσαις εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν, ὅπως Ε δὴ πρῶτον στάσις ἔμπεσε, καὶ φῶμεν αὐτὰς τραγικῶς, ὡς πρὸς παῖδας ἡμᾶς παιζούσας καὶ ἐρεσχηλούσας, ὡς δὴ σπουδῇ 546 λεγούσας, ὑψηλολογουμένης λέγειν; Πῶς; Ὡδέ πως. | χαλεπὸν 30 μὲν κινήθηναι πόλιν οὕτω ξυστᾶσαν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ γενομένῳ παντὶ φθορά ἐστίν, οὐδ' ἡ τοιαύτη ξύστασις τὸν ἅπαντα μενεῖ χρόνον, ἀλλὰ λυθήσεται. λύσις δὲ ἦδε· οὐ μόνον φυτοῖς ἐγγείοις, ἀλλὰ

Number a favourite hunting-ground of successive generations of scholars, and the works which have been written on the subject, a few of which are mentioned in the Appendix, are very numerous.

545 D 21 ἀπλοῦν. See on I 351 A. For the statement itself cf. *Laus* 683 E ff. Aristotle, whose standpoint is historical rather than psychological, enumerates many and diverse causes of revolutionary change (*Pol.* E passim).

24 κινήθηναι: an ominous word, used here, as constantly throughout Greek literature, of constitutional changes for the worse.

27 ὅπως δὴ κτλ. An imitation of Hom. *Il.* XVI 112 f. ἔσπετε νῦν μοι, μούσαι—δὲ πῶς δὴ πρῶτον πῦρ ἔμπεσε νηυσὶν Ἀχαιῶν. Homer appeals to the Muses at the turning-point of his narrative (see Leaf ad loc.); and Plato, like Milton ("Of man's first disobedience and the fruit Of that forbidden tree, sing heavenly Muse"), fitly invokes them at the commencement of his Epic of the Fall of Man. Cf. *Tim.* 27 C.

28 καὶ φῶμεν κτλ.: 'and shall we say that they speak in the lofty tragic vein, as if it were all earnest, whereas it is only the banter of the Muses playing with us as if we were little children?' Instead of φῶμεν, I once suggested θῶμεν (cf. *Laus* 654 A and 677 C), but φῶμεν, which is in all MSS, though less picturesque, may stand. Herwerden's excision of παιζούσας καὶ obliterates a tender touch; for there is of course a play on παῖδας (cf. VII 536 E n.). The remarks of Proclus *in*

*Tim.* 300 C ff. on the style of this and similar passages deserve to be quoted: ὁ δὲ χαρακτήρ τῶν λόγων ἐστὶν ἐνθουσιαστικός, διαλάμπων ταῖς νοεραῖς ἐπιβολαῖς, καθαρὸς τε καὶ σεμνὸς—ἐξηλλαγμένους τε καὶ ὑπερέχων τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἐννοιῶν, ἀβρὸς τε ὁμοῦ καὶ καταπληκτικός καὶ χαρίτων ἀνάμεστος κάλλους τε πλήρης καὶ σύντομος ᾄμα καὶ ἀπηκριβωμένος. 'The Muses playing' warns us that there is an element of the mythical and fantastic in what follows, but by no means implies that it is fooling and nothing more. See on 545 C and App. I, Pt ii ad fin.

546 A 2 γενομένῳ κτλ. This is a universally recognised principle of ancient philosophy, alluded to again by Plato in *Tim.* 41 A. Cf. Arist. *de cael.* I 12. 282<sup>b</sup> 8 τὸ γὰρ γενητὸν καὶ τὸ φθαρτὸν ἀκολουθοῦσιν ἀλλήλοις and ib. 10. 279<sup>b</sup> 20 ἅπαντα γὰρ τὰ γινόμενα καὶ φθειρόμενα φαίνεται. That τὸ ἀγέννητον is ἀφθαρτον and τὸ ἀφθαρτον ἀγέννητον was also held (cf. *Phaedr.* 245 D, Arist. *I.* c. 282<sup>a</sup> 30 ff., al.): hence Plato always regards the pre-existence and immortality of the soul as involving one another. γένεσις is here, as usual, σύγκρισις, and φθορά διάκρισις. The point of ἐπεὶ—ἐστίν is that the cause of decay is not contained in the ideal city itself—the city would be less than ideal if it were—but springs from a universal law of Nature, to which the city, like everything else, is necessarily subject: see on 545 C and App. I, Pt iii.

4 λύσις δὲ ἦδε κτλ. Here begins Plato's description of the mode of dissolution. οὐ μόνον—ἐναντίας, literally trans-

5 καὶ ἐν ἐπιγείοις ζώοις φορὰ καὶ ἀφορία ψυχῆς τε καὶ σωμάτων  
 γίνονται, ὅταν περιτροπαὶ ἐκάστοις κύκλων περιφορὰς συνάπτωσι,  
 βραχυβίοις μὲν βραχυπόρους, ἐναντίοις δὲ ἐναντίας· γένους δὲ  
 ὑμετέρου εὐγονίας τε καὶ ἀφορίας, καίπερ ὄντες σοφοὶ οὐς ἡγε- B  
 10 τεύξονται, ἀλλὰ πάρεισιν αὐτοὺς καὶ γεννήσουσι παῖδάς ποτε οὐ  
 δέον. ἔστι δὲ θείῳ μὲν γεννητῷ περίοδος, ἣν ἀριθμὸς περιλαμ-  
 βάνει τέλειος, ἀνθρωπείῳ δὲ ἐν ᾧ πρῶτῳ αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναί τε

lated, is 'Not only to plants within the ground, but also among animals above the ground, there cometh production or non-production of souls and bodies, as

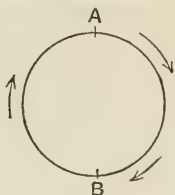


Fig. 1.

often as turnings-round join for each species' (of animals, plants etc.) 'circumferences of circles faring a short way for the short-lived, and the reverse for the reverse.' See Fig. 1. Suppose the revolution starts at the fixed point A. The circumference is joined as soon as the revolving wheel reaches A again, and at that point there is φορὰ ψυχῆς τε καὶ σώματος, if the seed was sown at A and has come safely to maturity. If the seed was not sown, or, though sown, did not take root or miscarried on the way, there is ἀφορία. The phrase is only a fantastic way of saying ὅταν περίοδοι ἐκάστοις ἀποτελεσθῶσιν. The περιφορὰ of a short-lived species is βραχύπορος and conversely, because short-lived creatures have short periods of gestation, and long-lived creatures long (Arist. *de gen. an.* IV 10. 777<sup>a</sup> 31 ff., al. See App. I, Pt ii § 2). Soul, viewed merely as the vital principle, is one and the same in every organic creature: hence the singular ψυχῇ (App. I. c.). This explanation, so far as I know, is new, the περίοδος being generally supposed to be 'Umlaufszeit.' Cf. App. I. c.

546 A, B 7 γένους δὲ κτλ. The literal translation is: 'Now of your kind' (i.e. mankind: it is the Muses who are

speaking), 'clever though the leaders of the city be whom you educated' (the middle of personal interest IV 421 E n.), 'none the more will they by calculation together with perception obtain' (lit. hit the obtaining of) 'good offspring and no offspring, but it will escape them, and the time will come when they will beget children wrongly or inopportunist' (cf. παρὰ καιρὸν 546 D). In arranging matters connected with marriages and the treatment of children etc., the rulers of our city employ both λογισμός and αἰσθησις. αἰσθησις helps them to decide what couples should be joined, what children should be reared etc.: by λογισμός they calculate what number of marriages they should permit ἵνα ὡς μάλιστα διασφύξωσι τὸν αὐτὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀνδρῶν (V 460 A) etc.: see App. I, Pt ii § 2. But however well they use these instruments, the time will come when children are begotten οὐ δέον. The fault lies not with the rulers, but with the inevitable law of Change, which is beginning to affect our city together with the rest of the Universe. ἀφορίας is said, because the rulers must if possible make illicit unions unproductive (V 461 C). Possibly the εὐ of εὐγονίας may affect ἀφορίας also: cf. 555 A n. See also App. I. c.

II ἔστι δὲ—τέλειος. 'For a divine creature, there is a period comprehended by a number which is final.' The 'divine creature' is the World: it is θεῖον, because it is a God, γεννητὸν, because it is created (i.e. has been brought out of chaos into order). Cf. *Tim.* 30 A and Proclus in *Tim.* 89 D. With περιλαμβάνει cf. *Theaet.* 148 A. The ἀριθμὸς τέλειος is the period expressing the gestation of the Universe, i.e. the time which its creation occupies. For the metaphor cf. the Orphic verses cited by Proclus in *Tim.* 94 B and 95 E. The number is a final or consummating number because it



καὶ δυναστεύμεναι, τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις, τέτταρας δὲ ὅρους λαβοῦσαι, ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων,

τελειοῖ τὴν γένεσιν: cf. *Theol. Ar.* p. 58 ed. Ast. Plato wisely leaves *this* number shrouded in silence and obscurity. See App. I, Pt ii § 3 for a full discussion of the sentence.

12 ἀνθρωπεῖω δὲ—ἀπέφηναν gives us the *περίοδος* or period of gestation for the human creature: 'and for a human creature the number is the first in which root-and-square increases, comprehending three distances and four limits, of elements that make like and unlike and wax and wane, render all things conversable and rational with one another.' The construction is ἀνθρωπεῖω δὲ <γεννητῷ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς> ἐν ᾧ κτλ., and that is itself short for ἀνθρωπεῖω δὲ <γεννητῷ ἔστι περίοδος ἣν ἀριθμὸς περιλαμβάνει> ἐν ᾧ κτλ. The 'first' number is of course the first number after unity. αὐξήσεις 'increases' may in itself mean either 'additions' or 'multiplications.' δυνάμεναι refers to 'roots' (cf. *Eucl. x def. 11*), δυναστεύμεναι to 'squares' (*Procl. in remp. comm.* ed. Kroll II p. 36. 9—12 et al.), and 'root-and-square increases' means either 'additions of roots to squares' or 'multiplications of roots by squares.' τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις etc. shew that *multiplications* and not additions are meant. The three distances are μήκος, πλάτος and βάθος, and the four ὅροι their attendant limits. Thus in Fig. 2 AB,

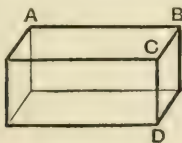


Fig. 2.

BC, CD are the three ἀποστάσεις, AB μήκος, BC πλάτος, CD βάθος, and A, B, C, D the four ὅροι. Cf. *Nic. Introd. Ar.* p. 116 Ast εἴ τι γὰρ στερεὸν ἐστίν, τὰς τρεῖς διαστάσεις—they are called ἀποστάσεις in *Theol. Ar.* p. 23—πάντως ἔχει, μήκος, πλάτος καὶ βάθος' καὶ ἔμπαλιν εἴ τι ἔχει τὰς τρεῖς διαστάσεις, ἐκείνο πάντως στερεὸν ἐστίν, ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν: also *Iambl. in Nic. Introd. Ar.* p. 93 Pistelli στερεὸς δὲ ἐστίν ἀριθμὸς ὁ τρίτον διάστημα παρὰ τὰ ἐν ἐπιπέδοις δύο προσειληφώς, δηλοῦντι τετάρτου ὅρου προσγενομένου ἐν

γὰρ τέσσαρσιν ὅροις τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν, *Arist. Τὰρ. Ζ* 5. 142<sup>b</sup> 24f. and many other passages quoted in App. I, Pt i § 1. Consequently the arithmetical meaning of αὐξήσεις—λαβοῦσαι is merely 'root-and-square multiplications' i.e. 'multiplications of root by square,' in other words cubings (thus  $w \times w^2 = w^3$ ,  $x \times x^2 = x^3$ ,  $y \times y^2 = y^3$ ), or κυβικαὶ αὐξήσεις, a phrase which itself might well have been employed by Plato, except that he has an object in drawing attention to the different stages in the process of augmentation (see App. I, Pt ii § 4); and partly also he wants the Muses to preserve their character as ὑψηλολογούμεναι. The period of human gestation is therefore the first number, in which 'cubings make everything ῥητὰ πρὸς ἄλλα'—but cubings of what? The answer is 'of elements which make like and unlike and wax and wane.' These elements are the numbers 3, 4 and 5, which measure the three sides of the Pythagorean ζωγωνικὸν τρίγωνον (*Procl. in remp.* II p. 43. 10), the triangle which,

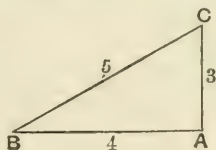


Fig. 3.

The Pythagorean triangle.

as we are informed by many authorities—Aristotle, Plutarch, Aristides Quintilianus, Proclus and others—Plato made use of in his *Number*. The antecedent of ὦν in ὦν ἐπίτριστος πυθμὴν πεμπαδί συζυγεί is ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων, and as ὦν ἐπίτριστος πυθμὴν means 'of which 4, 3,' Plato himself tells us two of the numbers, and the third is also readily suggested by πεμπαδί. 3, 4 and 5 are said to 'make like,' because, as we shall see, in the latter part of the *Number*, where the triangle fulfils its office as a κοσμικὸν τρίγωνον (*Proclus l.c.* II p. 45. 23), they produce the 'harmony' 3600<sup>2</sup>, and square numbers are ὁμοιοι (*Iambl. l.c.* p. 82): they 'make unlike' because they produce

15 πάντα προσήγορα καὶ ῥητὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἀπέφηναν· ὧν ἐπίτριτος C

the 'harmony'  $4800 \times 2700$ , and oblong numbers are ἀνόμοιοι (ib.); they are said to wax and wane in a figurative sense—to wax in the first harmony, which represents in a certain sense the waxing of the Universe, and to wane in the second, which represents its wane. As the elements out of which the Universe is formed, they may be said to grow with its growth, and decline with its decline. The words have also a further meaning as a description of 3, 4, 5 regarded as the ἀρχαί of everything which exists: see App. I, Pt ii § 5. Now the first number in which cubings of 3, 4 and 5 are present is  $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216$ , and Aristides Quintilianus, in the passage where he refers to Plato's number, speaking of the Pythagorean triangle, remarks ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστην κατὰ βάθος αὐξήσαιμεν (βάθος γὰρ ἡ σώματος φύσις) ποιήσαιμεν ἂν τὸν διακόσιον δεκαεξέ, ἰσαριθμον σύνεγγυς τῷ τῶν ἐπταμήνων (p. 151 Meibom). Aristotle also in *Pol.* E 12. 1316<sup>a</sup> 5–8, according to Schneider's interpretation of his words, which I believe to be right, informs us that the whole number of this section is 216: see App. I, Pt iii. On πάντα—ἄλληλα see next note. In App. I, Pt ii § 4 I have fully treated of the meaning of all these calculations. The different mathematical terms are discussed in detail ib. Pt i § 1. My explanation of this passage is, as far as I can discover, new, except as regards αὐξήσεις—δυναστεύμεναι. Some other views are mentioned in App. I, Pt i § 1 ad fin. *nn*.

15 πάντα προσήγορα κτλ. Cf. Philol. *Fr.* 13 Mullach πάντα γνωστὰ καὶ ποτάγορα ἀλλήλοισι—ἀπεργάζεται. The Pythagoreans asserted that the embryo develops according to the proportions of the ἁρμονία or musical scale. The first stage is complete in 6 days, the second in 8, and 8 : 6 is 'the fourth' (διὰ τεσσάρων). The third stage (making flesh) takes 9 days, and 9 : 6 is 'the fifth' (διὰ πέντε). In the next 12 days the body is formed: and 12 : 6 is the octave (διὰ πασῶν). Total  $6 + 8 + 9 + 12 = 35$ , and 35 is a ἁρμονία (Plut. *de anim. gen.* in *Tim.* 1017 F). Now  $216 = (6 \times 35) + 6$ , so that 216 contains 6 ἁρμονίαι together with 6 times ἡ πάντων ἀρχή i.e. the unit (*Excerpt. ex Nicom.* in v. Jan's *Mus. Script. Gr.* p. 279), or if you

like together with the marriage number 6. For the evidence and further details see App. I, Pt ii § 4.

546 C ὧν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν κτλ. In ἀνθρωπεῖω δὲ—ἀπέφηναν the Pythagorean triangle was employed to construct the period of gestation for the microcosm or man: here it is used to construct two periods in the lifetime of the macrocosm or Universe, for that is what Plato means by the two 'harmonies.' The translation is: 'of which, 4, 3 married with 5, yields two harmonies when thrice increased, the one equal an equal number of times, so many times 100, the other of equal length one way, but oblong:—on the one side, of 100 squares of rational diameters of five diminished by one each, or if of irrational diameters, by two: on the other of one hundred cubes of three.' The antecedent of ὧν is ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων, which I have already interpreted as the numbers 3, 4, 5. Of these numbers (ὧν) the ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν i.e. 3, 4 (cf. Theo Smyrn. p. 80 ed. Hiller, Proclus l. c. ii p. 37 ὁ ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν γ' καὶ δ'), is 'married' or 'coupled' with 5. That is to say, 3, 4, and 5 are multiplied together: whence we get  $3 \times 4 \times 5 = 60$ . 'Thrice increased' is 'three times multiplied by itself'; and 60 thrice increased is therefore  $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 60$ . This sum, which is 12,960,000, yields two harmonies. One of the two harmonies is 'equal an equal number of times, viz. so many times 100,' in other words, it is a square (cf. *Theat.* 147 E) each of whose sides is a certain number of times 100 (for τοσαυτάκις cf. τοσοῦτον in *Alc.* I 108 E), viz. of course 36 times 100, for  $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 60 = 3600^2$ . See Fig. 4.

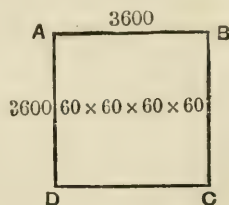


Fig. 4.

The other harmony which  $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 60$  yields is a rectangle (with προμήκη cf.

πυθμὴν πεμπάδι συζυγείς δύο ἁρμονίας παρέχεται τρίς αὐξηθείς,

*Theaet.* 148 A), one of whose sides is one hundred cubes of 3, i.e. 2700, and the other the number which Plato describes in *ἐκατὸν μὲν—δυσὶν*. What is that number? ἀριθμοὶ ἀπὸ means (numerical) 'squares of' (cf. Procl. l. c. 11 p. 38. 9 et al.): the side in question is therefore '100 squares of'—what? Of the rational diameter of 5 etc. Now the 'rational diameter of 5' is the nearest rational number to the real diameter of a square whose side is 5 (*Theo* l. c. pp. 43 ff. and other authorities). The real diameter

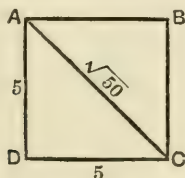


Fig. 5.

of a square whose side is 5 is  $\sqrt{50}$ . See Fig. 5.  $AC^2 = 5^2 + 5^2 = 50$  (by Pythagoras' famous *εὐρημα* Eucl. I 47):  $\therefore AC = \sqrt{50}$ . And the nearest rational number to  $\sqrt{50}$  is 7: for  $\sqrt{49} = 7$ . Consequently 7 is 'the rational diameter' of 5. And 100 squares of 7 =  $100 \times 49 = 4900$ . But we are told to diminish the 100 squares by 1 each. Do so:  $4900 - (1 \times 100) = 4800$ . This side is therefore 4800. The words ἀρρήτων δὲ δυσὶν give us an alternative way of reaching the number 4800. The construction is <ἀπὸ> ἀρρήτων δὲ <διαμέτρων δεομένων> δυσὶν <ἐκάστων> = (or of 100) 'squares of irrational diameters of 5, wanting 2 each'. Now the irrational diameter of 5 is  $\sqrt{50}$ . Square this and it becomes 50. 100 squares of 50 = 5000. Subtract 2 from each square and you have  $5000 - (2 \times 100) = 4800$ . The two sides of the oblong are therefore

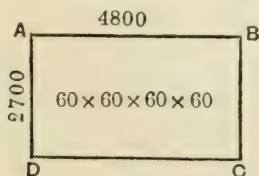


Fig. 6.

4800 and 2700 ('one hundred cubes of three'). The area is  $4800 \times 2700 = 12,960,000$  which is  $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 60$ . See Fig. 6. Thus the arithmetical meaning of this part of Plato's Number may be expressed by us as follows:

$$(3 \times 4 \times 5)^4 = 3600^2 = 4800 \times 2700.$$

In this explanation, which is defended at length in App. I, Pt i § 2, the most important novelty is my view of *τρίς αὐξηθείς*. Most, but not quite all, of the other expressions have been explained in the above way at one time or another, though never, as far as I have noticed, by any single critic. The meaning of *ἐπίτρισ πυθμὴν* was perfectly well known to ancient mathematicians: and Proclus fully understood the 'rational' and 'irrational' diameters of 5. The full explanation of *ἐκατὸν μὲν—τριάδος* is due to Barozzi, except that he did not multiply the sides. As regards *τρίς αὐξηθείς*, I believe that I have proved my view in App. I, Pt i § 2 and Pt iii. Here I will only say that just as in the increasing series 1, 60, 3600, 216000 the number 216000 or  $60^3$  is the 'third increase' (*τρίτη αὐξή*) of unity, so in the increasing series 60, 3600, 216000, 12960000, the number 12960000 (or as we express it, but as Plato, to whom 'power' means either 'square' or 'root,' never did or could express it,  $60^4$ ) is the third increase of 60.

16 *συζυγείς*. The metaphor is from marriage, and marriage, among the Pythagoreans, was usually expressed by multiplication. Thus 6, which is the product of the first male number 3 and the first female number 2, was called by them marriage. *συζυγείσα* also means 'multiplied with' in Proclus l. c. II p. 544 (App. I, Pt i § 2).

Δύο ἁρμονίας. The square and oblong may be regarded as *ἁρμονίαι* because in them, as in the number 216 above, all things are *προσήγορα καὶ ῥητά* πρὸς ἄλληλα. Thus  $12,960,000 = (35 + 1) \times 360,000$ , so that, as 35 is a *ἁρμονία*, 12,960,000 contains the portentous number of 360,000 *ἁρμονίαι* plus ( $1 \times 360,000 =$ ) 360,000, each *ἁρμονία* thus having added to it, as before, the unit which is ἡ πάντων ἀρχή. The analogy between the Microcosm and the Macrocosm is thus preserved: see on *πάντα—ῥητά* 546 B



τὴν μὲν ἴσην ἰσάκεις, ἑκατὸν τοσαυτάκεις, τὴν δὲ ἰσομήκη μὲν τῇ, προμήκη δέ, ἑκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν ἀπὸ διαμέτρων ῥητῶν πεμπάδος, δεομένων ἐνὸς ἐκάστων, ἀρρήτων δὲ δυοῖν, ἑκατὸν δὲ κύβων τριάδος.  
 20 ζύμπας δὲ οὗτος, ἀριθμὸς γεωμετρικός, τοιοῦτον κύριος, ἀμεινόνων τε καὶ χειρόνων γενέσεων, ἃς ὅταν ἀγνοήσαντες ὑμῖν<sup>1</sup> οἱ φύλακες D συννοικίζωσιν νύμφας νυμφίοις παρὰ καιρόν, οὐκ εὐφυεῖς οὐδ' εὐ-

17. ἑκατὸν Α<sup>2</sup>Ξ: ἑκαστον Α<sup>1</sup>Π γ.

18. ἑκατὸν Α<sup>2</sup>Π: ἑκαστον Α<sup>1</sup>.

above. So much for the arithmetical meaning of the term *ἀρμονίας*. In App. I, Pt ii § 5 I have given my reasons for connecting the two *ἀρμονίαι* with the myth of the *Politicus*. In that myth we are told how two cycles of equal and vast duration invariably succeed one another in the life of the Universe, a progressive and a retrogressive cycle. These two cycles are two Great Years, in the first of which *ὁμοιότης* prevails and the Universe is fresh and strong, while in the second, in which we are living now, *ἀνομοιότης* begins to assert itself and the Universe flags and wanes. Cf. 547 A n. Here the first *ἀρμονία*, which is a square and therefore *ὁμοιον*, represents the progressive cycle, the cycle of *ὁμοιότης*, and the second *ἀρμονία*, which is an oblong, and therefore *ἀνόμοιον* (see above on 546 B line 12), stands for the retrogressive cycle, the cycle of *ἀνομοιότης*. If this identification is, as I believe, correct, each *ἀρμονία* represents a Great Year. The area or number of each harmony, according to Plato, is 12,960,000, and as Plato elsewhere says that the Great Year is measured τῷ τοῦ ταύτου καὶ ὁμοίως ἰόντος κύκλῳ (*Tim.* 39 D), i.e. by the diurnal revolutions of the heavens, we may take this number as denoting days. Converted into years, on the astronomical calculation of 360 days to the year, followed by Plato here and elsewhere, the number becomes 36,000 years, which was known in Ptolemaic astronomy as the *magnus Platonius annus*. For the evidence on all these points, see App. I, Pt ii §§ 5, 6.

20 ζύμπας δὲ οὗτος κτλ. 'This whole number, a number measuring the earth, is lord of better and worse births.' On its arithmetical side, *γεωμετρικός* means only that the number is reached by means of *γεωμετρία* and expressed in geometrical figures: but I have no doubt that Plato meant the word to bear another and pro-

founder meaning, suitable to the real import of the two harmonies whereof this is the number. The number is τῷ ὄντι *γεωμετρικός*, for it measures an aeon of the Universe, of which the Earth is part (cf. 555 A n. and VI 511 B n.): and indeed it is artistically right that the meaning of the two harmonies should be summed up at the climax of the whole in a single pregnant word. How do good and bad births depend upon this number? Because in the early days of our era, when God had but lately left the world, and *ἀνομοιότης* and *ἀνωμαλία* were young, Nature produced better children than οἱ νῦν βροτοὶ εἰσιν. Plato in fact invites us to think of his city as having existed soon after the change to the aeon in which we now live, just as throughout Book VIII and part of IX the Ideal City is figured in the past. For more on this subject see App. I, Pt ii §§ 5—7. I know not what others will think, but to me it seems that the extraordinary range and elevation of its central ideas make the Platonic number worthy even of a writer who is full of 'thoughts that wander through eternity.' The connexion between the Human Child and the Divine, the Microcosm and the Macrocosm, has played no small part in the history of human thought, and the story of a Great Year, with the hope which it affords of the ἀποκατάστασις of all things (*Acts* 3. 21), has been and is, in its religious setting, the solace and support of many a 'human child.'

546 D 22 παρὰ καιρόν: 'inopportunately,' 'improperly': cf. *Pol.* 277 A and οὐ δέον 546 B. The phrase does not, as I once thought, imply that Nature has appointed certain periodic times or seasons in the life of men and women when their union will produce good offspring, but refers to unions of wrong couples, superabundance of marriages, and the like: cf. v 459 E ff. The notion that the number of the Great Year is to be

τυχεῖς παῖδες ἔσονται· ὧν καταστήσονται μὲν τοὺς ἀρίστους οἱ πρότεροι, ὅμως δὲ ὄντες ἀνάξιοι, εἰς τὰς τῶν πατέρων αὐτῶν δυνάμεις ἐλθόντες, ἡμῶν πρῶτον ἄρξονται ἀμελεῖν φύλακες ὄντες, παρ' 25 ἑλάττον τοῦ δέοντος ἡγησάμενοι τὰ μουσικῆς, δεύτερον δὲ τὰ γυμναστικῆς· ὅθεν ἀμουνσότεροι γενήσονται ἡμῖν οἱ νέοι. ἐκ δὲ Ε τούτων ἄρχοντες οὐ πᾶν φυλακικοὶ καταστήσονται ἵπρὸς τὸ 547 δοκιμάζειν τὰ Ἡσιόδου | τε καὶ τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν γένη, χρυσοῦν τε καὶ ἀργυροῦν καὶ χαλκοῦν καὶ σιδηροῦν· ὁμοῦ δὲ μιγέντος σιδήρου ἀργύρῳ καὶ χαλκοῦ χρυσῷ ἀνομοιότης ἐγγενήσεται καὶ ἀνωμαλία

2. σιδήρου ἀργύρῳ Π : σιδηροῦ ἀργυρῷ Α.

used by the rulers as a means of determining at what time unions should take place, derives no support from the Greek, and ought not to be entertained. In point of fact, the number is not a nuptial but a secular number, being γεωμετρικὸς ὡς ἀληθῶς. The expression 'nuptial number' is not applied to it either by Plato or by Aristotle, and it is only in later writers that we meet with ὁ τοῦ λεγομένου γάμου τόπος (Nicom. *Introd. Ar.* p. 144 Ast), γαμήλιον διάγραμμα (Plut. *de Is. et Os.* 373 F) and γαμικὸς ἀριθμὸς (Iambl. in *Nic. Ar.* p. 82. 21 Pistelli).

23 καταστήσονται. The active καταστήσουσι, found in *v* and two other MSS of little moment, is read by Hermann. Some may prefer it because καταστήσονται is passive just below: but Plato is careless about matters of this kind, and it is better to follow the best MSS.

25 ἡμῶν κτλ. : 'us they will first begin to neglect when they are Guardians' (i.e. after they have come εἰς τὰς τῶν πατέρων δυνάμεις), 'setting too little store by music first, and second by gymnastic.' Political decay is constantly associated by Plato with neglect of 'Music': see on IV 424 C. In place of δεύτερον δὲ τὰ γυμναστικῆς, which is in all MSS, Baier adopts Madvig's conjecture δεύτερά τε γυμναστικῆς. At first sight ὅθεν ἀμουνσότεροι—νέοι would seem to favour such an alteration, as well as the fact that in the city which comes next in order Gymnastic is more esteemed than Music (548 C). But πρῶτον after ἡμῶν supports the MS tradition, and the decline of the ideal city, which, as we have seen, arises from inevitable organic deterioration, shews itself in a general lowering of vital energy, rather than in

the exaltation of any one pursuit at the expense of another. In the Spartan city Gymnastic ranks higher than Music, because Music has fallen from the high position which she formerly occupied, and not because Gymnastic stands higher than before.

27 ὅθεν—νέοι: 'and so our children will forget us.' The Muses are speaking, and the children of Plato's Muse may well be called the Muses' children. This is the force of ἡμῖν, which is the reading of A, Ξ and some other MSS: Π and others have ὑμῖν. Schneider says "Μούσαις—ἄμουνσον γίγνεσθαι nullo modo tolerabile est." That is true, only ἡμῖν does not go with ἀμουνσότεροι, but is an ethic dative, and seems to me at least to be full of a strange beauty and pathos. As true Gymnastic educates the soul and not the body (III 410 C ff.), the neglect of Gymnastic in the ideal city itself contributes to ἀμουνσία.

547 Α Ι τὰ παρ' ὑμῖν γένη. See III 415 Α ff.

3 ἀνομοιότης καὶ ἀνωμαλία ἀνάρμοστος. We have already seen that as the second scroll of the World's life unfolds itself, ἀνομοιότης, ἀνωμαλία, and ἀναρμοστία, with their attendant retinue of sedition, strife and war, make their appearance and wax more and more aggressive, until at last, in the words of the *Politicus*, careful lest the world χειμασθεῖς ὑπὸ ταραχῆς διαλυθεῖς εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀνομοιότητος ἄπειρον ὄντα τόπον δῦῃ, God takes the helm again and κοσμεῖ τε καὶ ἐπανορθῶν ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν καὶ ἀγῆρων ἀπεργάζεται (Pol. 273 D f.). See on 546 C and App. I, Pt ii § 5. The same insidious enemies, not from any fault of the rulers, but because the part must neces-

ἀνάρμοστος, ἃ γενόμενα, οὐδ' ἂν ἐγγένηται, ἀεὶ τίκτει πόλεμον καὶ  
 5 ἔχθραν. ταύτης τοι γενεᾶς χρὴ φάναι εἶναι στάσιν, ὅπου ἂν  
 γίγνηται αἰεὶ. Καὶ ὀρθῶς γ', ἔφη, αὐτὰς ἀποκρίνεσθαι φήσομεν.  
 Καὶ γάρ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀνάγκη Μούσας γε οὐσας. Τί οὖν, ἦ δ' ὅς, τὸ  
 μετὰ τοῦτο<sup>1</sup> λέγουσιν αἱ Μοῦσαι; Στάσεως, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, γενομένης B  
 10 χρηματισμὸν καὶ γῆς κτῆσιν καὶ οἰκίας χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου,  
 τῷ δ' αὖ, τὸ χρυσοῦν τε καὶ ἀργυροῦν, ἅτε οὐ πενομένῳ, ἀλλὰ  
 φύσει ὄντε πλουσίῳ τὰς ψυχὰς, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν  
 κατὰστασιν ἡγήτην· βιαζομένων δὲ καὶ ἀντιτεινόντων ἀλλήλοισι,  
 εἰς μέσον ὡμολόγησαν γῆν μὲν καὶ οἰκίας κατανειμαμένους ἰδιώ-

6. φήσομεν A<sup>1</sup>Π: φήσωμεν A<sup>2</sup>. 9. τῷ γένει Π: τῷ γένει A<sup>1</sup>: τῷ γένει A<sup>2</sup>.  
 10. χρυσοῦ A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: χρυσίου A<sup>1</sup>Π q. 11. τῷ δ' αὖ, τὸ Schneider: τῷ δ' αὖ τὸ (τὸ  
 erasum) M: τὸ δ' αὐτὸ A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: τὸ δ' αὖ τὸ Π: τὸ δ' αὖ Ξ<sup>2</sup> q. 11. ἀργυροῦν Ξ:  
 ἀργύρεον A<sup>1</sup> q: ἀργύρου ὄν corr. A<sup>2</sup>: ἀργύριον Π. 11, 12. πενομένῳ—πλουσίῳ  
 A<sup>2</sup>Π: πενομένων—πλουσίῳ A<sup>1</sup>.

sarily suffer with the whole, fasten both on the perfect individual and on the perfect State, and the fall of men and cities, which Plato describes in VIII and IX, is one long record of the triumphal progress of ἀνομιότης, until at last she sits enthroned in the soul and city of the tyrant. The Platonic number is thus the setting in which Plato's 'Philosophy of History' is framed.

5 ταύτης τοι γενεᾶς. From Homer *Il.* VI 211 al. ταύτης τοι γενεᾶς τε καὶ αἵματος εὐχομαι εἶναι. Plato means of course 'Such, as we must say, is the pedigree of Sedition, wheresoever she arises.' D. and V. are wholly wrong when they translate: "so that we may positively assert that the rise of such a generation will invariably be marked by divisions."

547 B. 9 εἰλέκτην κτλ. The logical object of εἰλέκτην and ἡγήτην (in line 13) is τὴν πολιτείαν. For the omission of the object with ἔλκω and ἄγω cf. 560 B, X 604 A, 604 D et al. It is only another way of expressing oneself to say that the verbs are practically intransitive. The sedition which arises is not between rulers and ruled, but between the rulers among themselves, as is clear from 545 D and elsewhere: hence τὸ μὲν σιδηροῦν καὶ χαλκοῦν does not refer to the farmers and artisans, who probably possessed οἰκίαι from the first (III 417 A n.), but to the section of the rulers who have become σιδηροῦν and χαλκοῦν by the intermixture of

different breeds. Cf. the oracle foretelling the destruction of the city ὅταν αὐτὴν ὁ σιδηρὸς ἢ ὁ χαλκὸς φυλάξῃ (III 415 C). γῆς κτῆσιν κτλ. means 'the possession of land and a private dwelling-place as well as of gold and silver,' all of which were forbidden to Plato's rulers. ἐγκτησις γῆς καὶ οἰκίας was a familiar expression to the Greeks, and one of the well-recognised privileges of μέτοικοι at Athens (Gilbert *Gr. Staatsalt.* II p. 295). On the reading χρυσοῦ see *cr. n.* It is usual to read χρυσοῦ, but ἀργύρου immediately following favours χρυσοῦ, whose authority is not much inferior to that of χρυσοῦ. Cf. χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἀργυρὸν 548 A. Herwerden, retaining χρυσίου, would write ἀργυροῦ instead of ἀργύρου with some MSS of little value: but the reading printed above has much more MS support. His further proposal ἐπὶ χρηματισμὸν χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργυροῦ καὶ γῆς κτῆσιν καὶ οἰκίας will not find favour among scholars.

12 φύσει—ψυχὰς. They are not rich in worldly possessions, but they have the true riches—the riches of the soul. Cf. the prayer of Socrates in *Phaedr.* 279 C πλούσιον δὲ νομίζοιμι τὸν σοφόν, and see also on III 416 E. The usual view, which makes τὰς ψυχὰς depend on ἡγήτην (Schneider, J. and C., D. and V., etc.) is surely wrong. Jowett from his translation appears to have caught the meaning.

14 εἰς μέσον ὡμολόγησαν κτλ. The



σασθαι, <sup>1</sup> τοὺς δὲ πρὶν φυλαττομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὡς ἐλευθέρους, 15  
 φίλους τε καὶ τροφείας, δουλωσάμενοι τότε, περιόικους τε καὶ  
 οἰκέτας ἔχοντες, αὐτοὶ πολέμου τε καὶ φυλακῆς αὐτῶν ἐπιμελεί-  
 σθαι. Δοκεῖ μοι, ἔφη, αὕτη ἡ μετάβασις ἐντεῦθεν γίγνεσθαι.  
 Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐν μέσῳ τις ἂν εἴη ἀριστοκρατίας τε καὶ  
 ὀλιγαρχίας αὕτη ἡ πολιτεία; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. 20

IV. Μεταβήσεται μὲν δὴ οὕτω· μεταβῆσα δὲ πῶς οἰκήσει;  
 D ἡ φανερόν ὅτι <sup>1</sup> τὰ μὲν μιμήσεται τὴν προτέραν πολιτείαν, τὰ δὲ  
 τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, ἅτ' ἐν μέσῳ οὔσα, τὸ δέ τι καὶ αὐτῆς ἔξει ἴδιον;  
 Οὕτως, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν τῷ μὲν τιμᾶν τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ γεωργίων  
 ἀπέχεσθαι τὸ προπολεμοῦν αὐτῆς καὶ χειροτεχνιῶν καὶ τοῦ ἄλλου 25  
 χρηματισμοῦ, ξυσσίτια δὲ κατεσκενᾶσθαι καὶ γυμναστικῆς τε καὶ

change is effected, as in the case of the corresponding man (550 B), by a peaceful compromise. In the later stages of political decay, when ἀνομιοῦτης has gathered strength, revolution is attended by civil war (557 A), and the tyrant wades through bloodshed to his throne (565 E ff.).

16 **περιόικους τε καὶ οἰκέτας.** We meet with *περίοικοι* not only in Sparta, of which city Plato is chiefly thinking, but also in Crete, Thessaly and Argos: see Gilbert *Gr. Staatsalt.* II pp. 16, 74, 220. In each of these States there was also an inferior grade, in Sparta the Helots, in Crete the *foikées* of the Gortynian inscription, sometimes also spoken of as *οἰκέται*, in Thessaly the *πενέσται*, and in Argos the *γυμνήτες* or *γυμνήσιοι* (Gilbert l.c.). It is clear, I think, that in *οἰκέτας* Plato is thinking of this lowest order. The Spartan Helots had to perform the duties of domestic servants, as appears from Plut. *Lyc. et Num. comp.* 2. 4 ἦν ἡ περὶ τὰ χρήματα κατασκευὴ δεδομένη δούλοις καὶ Εἰλωσιν, ὥσπερ ἡ περὶ τὸ δέειπνον. καὶ ὅσον διακονία.

17 **φυλακῆς αὐτῶν:** the duty of watching and guarding—*sensu inimico*—the *περίοικοι* and *οἰκέται*. The institutions and history of Sparta are a sufficient commentary on the phrase.

19 **οὐκοῦν—πολιτεία.** Cf. 547 C n.

547 C—548 D *So much for the origin of Timarchy. In character, it will resemble Aristocracy on the one hand, and Oligarchy on the other; partly also it will have peculiarities of its own. The aristocratical features of Timarchy are respect for the ruling class and so forth; its own*

*distinctive peculiarity is the love of war and warlike matters; in cupidity and avarice it is like Oligarchy. On the whole Timarchy is a mixture of good and evil; but the one conspicuous feature of this polity is the love of victory and honour.*

547 C Plato's description of 'timocracy' is, as he says himself, a sketch (548 D), but one in which hardly any feature of first-rate importance is wholly ignored. He regards 'timocracy' as primarily and essentially the political embodiment of *θυμοειδές* (548 C), and consequently a sort of half-way house between aristocracy and oligarchy, as *θυμοειδές* is between *λογιστικόν* and *φιλοχρήματον*. It is, however, at the same time a 'mixed' constitution (548 C n.), and partakes in the characteristics of both its neighbours. The portrait of timocracy is drawn in the main from Sparta, as the notes will shew, but it represents the Sparta of the fifth rather than of the fourth century, during which the oligarchical element in the Spartan constitution began to acquire an undue predominance, owing to the temptations of empire and other causes: cf. Isocr. *de Pace* 95—103. Plato's sketch may be filled in from the sources enumerated in Hermann-Thumser *Gr. Staatsalt.* pp. 176—191, 251—260. The student of Greek history and political science should read Aristotle's account of the Lacedaemonian and Cretan polities (*Pol.* B 9, 10) in connexion with Plato's description of the timarchical constitution and the timarchical man. See also Schoemann-Lipsius *Griech. Alterthümer* pp. 196—323.

547 D 24 **γεωργίων—χρηματισμοῦ:**

τῆς τοῦ πολέμου ἀγωνίας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, πᾶσι τοῖς τοιούτοις τὴν  
 προτέραν μιμήσεται; Ναί. Τῷ δέ γε φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς <sup>1</sup> σοφοὺς **E**  
 ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς ἄγειν, ἅτε οὐκέτι κεκτημένη ἀπλοῦς τε καὶ ἀτενεῖς  
 30 τοὺς τοιούτους ἀνδρας ἀλλὰ μεικτοὺς, ἐπὶ δὲ θυμοειδεῖς τε καὶ  
 ἀπλουστέρους ἀποκλίνειν, τοὺς πρὸς πόλεμον μᾶλλον πεφυκότας  
 ἢ πρὸς εἰρήνην, | καὶ τοὺς περὶ ταῦτα δόλους τε καὶ μηχανὰς **548**  
 ἐντίμως ἔχειν, καὶ πολεμοῦσα τὸν αἰὶ χρόνον διάγειν, αὐτὴ ἐαυτῆς  
 αὖ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν τοιούτων ἴδια ἔξει; Ναί. Ἐπιθυμηταὶ δέ γε,

29. κεκτημένη Bekker, fortasse secundum v: κεκτημένην A cum ceteris.

as in Sparta: see Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 7. 1—2 and other authorities in Hermann-Thumser l.c. p. 182 *nn.*

26 **ξυστία**. Cf. Hermann-Thumser l.c. pp. 185—191. In Crete, the *ξυστία* were maintained at the expense of the State; in Sparta, by the contributions of the *ξυσσιτοί*. The former arrangement of course prevailed in the ideal city (III 416 E), and as timarchy copies the ideal city in regard to *ξυστία* (τὴν προτέραν μιμήσεται below), we may suppose that in the timarchical polity, as conceived by Plato, the Cretan method was observed. Cf. Arist. *Pol.* B 9. 1271<sup>a</sup> 28 ff. and see also on 551 A, B.

28 τῷ δέ γε φοβεῖσθαι κτλ. The Spartans were notorious for their dislike and distrust of knowledge and intellectual cultivation: see *Hipp. Mai.* 285 B ff. and Arist. *Pol.* B 9. 1271<sup>b</sup> 1 ff., with Susemihl and Hicks' notes. For the anacoluthon τῷ δέ γε—τὰ πολλὰ—ἔξει (548 A) cf. (with Schneider) *Laws* 931 C, 949 A.

**547 E** 29 κεκτημένη. See *cr. n.* Bekker's silence is often untrustworthy, and as he omitted A and **E** as well as v in the list of mss which read κεκτημένην, it is doubtful if even v has the nominative here. κεκτημένην is however very awkward from its position between τὴν προτέραν μιμήσεται and πολεμοῦσα, and the error is so easy and common that I agree with Bekker and others in rejecting the accusative. See *Introd.* § 5. In illustration of what Plato says we may contrast Pausanias for example and Lysander with Brasidas and Callicratidas. The former were σοφοί but far from ἀπλοῖ: the latter θυμοειδεῖς and ἀπλούστεροι.

30 τοὺς τοιούτους: i.q. τοὺς σοφοὺς. With μεικτοὺς cf. 547 A.

31 ἀπλουστέρους = 'more single-minded.' Since they distrust σοφοί de-

cause their σοφοί are not ἀπλοῖ, it is natural enough that they should seek ἀπλούστεροι, and find them in θυμοειδεῖς, whose single all-engrossing idea is war (548 A) and φιλονικίαι (548 C). The text would hardly have been suspected if critics had grasped the meaning of ἀπλοῦς (see on I 351 A, II 370 B and IV 434 C). As it is, there is a host of superfluous conjectures: ἀλλοκοτέρους, αὐστηροῦς, αὐθαδεστέρους, ποικιλωτέρους (Ast), πολυαπλουστέρους (Stallbaum), ἀγχιουστέρους (Müller), ὑποαμουστέρους (Herwerden), ἀμουστέρους (Herwerden, Apelt, Richards). It should be remembered that the Spartans prided themselves upon τὸ ἀπλοῦν in the ordinary sense of the term.

**548 A** 2 ἐντίμως ἔχειν. See VII 528 B n. For the statement itself cf. for example *Laws* 630 D, 666 E στρατοπέδου—πολιτεῖαν ἔχετε and elsewhere, with Isocr. *Archid.* 81 and Arist. *Pol.* II 14. 1333<sup>b</sup> 12 ff.

καὶ πολεμοῦσα κτλ. Isocrates says much the same of Sparta in *Paneg.* 128 and *Philipp.* 51: cf. also *Laws* 686 B. The description up to this point recalls to some extent the city of Books II—IV, minus the ἀρχοντες proper and some parts of the 'musical' education, and Plato may well have looked on the constitution of Lycurgus, from which he borrowed several features, as in some respects a kind of imperfect edition of his earlier καλλίπολις. See on this subject K. F. Hermann *Die historischen Elemente d. plat. Staatsideals*, in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, pp. 132—159. Cf. also *Laws* 692 C, where the Lacedaemonian polity is called a παράδειγμα γεγονός. In what follows the strictly oligarchical features of the Spartan polity are described.

3 ἐπιθυμηταὶ δέ γε κτλ. Spartan avarice was the theme of universal com-

ἦν δ' ἐγώ, χρημάτων οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἔσονται, ὥσπερ οἱ ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις, καὶ τιμῶντες ἀγρίως ὑπὸ σκότου χρυσόν τε καὶ ἄργυρον, ἅτε 5 κεκτημένοι ταμιεῖα καὶ οἰκείους θησαυρούς, οἱ θέμενοι ἂν αὐτὰ κρύψειαν, καὶ αὖ περιβόλους οἰκήσεων, ἀτεχνῶς νεοτιτῆς ἰδίας, ἐν Β αἷς ἠ ἀναλίσκοντες γυναιξί τε καὶ οἷς ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοις πολλὰ ἂν δαπανῶντο. Ἀληθέστατα, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν καὶ φειδωλοὶ χρημάτων, ἅτε τιμῶντες καὶ οὐ φανερώς κτώμενοι, φιλιαναλωταὶ δὲ ἄλλοτρίων 10 δι' ἐπιθυμίαν, καὶ λάθρα τὰς ἡδονὰς καρπούμενοι, ὥσπερ παῖδες πατέρα τὸν νόμον ἀποδιδράσκοντες, οὐχ ὑπὸ πειθοῦς, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ βίας πεπαιδευμένοι διὰ τὸ τῆς ἀληθινῆς Μούσης, τῆς μετὰ λόγων Γ τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας, ἡμεληκέναι ἠ καὶ πρεσβυτέρως γυμναστικὴν μουσικῆς τετιμηκέναι. Παντάπασι, ἔφη, λέγεις μεμιγμένην πολι- 15

10. οὐ II: erasum est in A.

ment: see the references collected by Susemihl and Hicks on Arist. *Pol.* B 9. 1271<sup>b</sup> 16 with Eur. *Andr.* 451, Ar. *Peace* 622 ff. and Isocr. *Bis.* 20.

5 τιμῶντες ἀγρίως: 'passionately adoring.' The adverb was unnecessarily suspected by Herwerden.

6 ταμιεῖα κτλ. In spite of the formal prohibition of gold and silver (Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 7. 6, Plut. *Lyc.* 9. 2, *Lys.* 17. 6), an immense amount of gold and silver money was accumulated in private hands throughout Laconia: cf. *Alcib.* 1 122 E χρυσὸν δὲ καὶ ἀργύριον οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν πᾶσιν Ἑλλήσιν ὅσον ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ ἰδίᾳ πολλὰς γὰρ ἡδὴ γενεὰς εἰσέρχεται μὲν αὐτόσε ἐξ ἀπάντων τῶν Ἑλλήνων, πολλὰκις δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐξέρχεται δὲ οὐδαμῶς κτλ. and other authorities quoted in Hermann-Thumser p. 252 *nn.* or Gilbert *Gk Const. Ant.* E. T. pp. 12, 13.

οἰκείους—κρύψειαν refers specifically to the hoarding of specie as practised by Spartan citizens. It may be doubted whether the Thucydidean Pericles was justified even at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war in telling the Athenians that the Spartans possessed οὐτε ἰδίᾳ οὐτε ἐν κοινῷ χρήματα (I 141. 3), in spite of Xenophon *Rep. Lac.* 7. 6.

7 περιβόλους οἰκήσεων κτλ.: not 'walled houses' (D. and V.) but 'dwellings to encompass them withal, veritable private nests': cf. *Theaet.* 174 E σηκὸν ἐν ὄρει τὸ τεῖχος περιβεβλημένον and *Crat.* 400 C. The phrase has a poetical sound and may be taken from the drama, but is more likely to be one of Plato's own

poetical flourishes. A Spartan husband could occasionally escape from the rigid discipline of camp-life and take shelter—this is the force of περιβόλους—in his domestic nest: see Plut. *Lyc.* 15. 4—7. Plato seems to imply that this arrangement encouraged habits of extravagance and luxuriousness in the wives as well as in the husbands: cf. Arist. *Pol.* B 9. 1269<sup>b</sup> 22 ζῶσι γὰρ (the Spartan wives) ἀκολάστως πρὸς ἅπασαν ἀκολασίαν καὶ τρυφερώς. Aristotle's remark is amply borne out by other evidence: see Hermann-Thumser l. c. p. 180 *n.* 5 and Newman on Arist. l. c.

548 B 8 οἷς ἐθέλοιεν ἄλλοις: masculine, not (as D. and V. translate), neuter. The reference is probably intended to include παιδικὰ as well as others. The Spartan's domestic nest was doubtless occasionally a nest of vice.

12 τὸν νόμον ἀποδιδράσκοντες. The expression is borrowed by Aristotle *Pol.* B 9. 1270<sup>b</sup> 34, where see Newman's note.

13 τῆς ἀληθινῆς—φιλοσοφίας. Cf. the famous saying φιλοσοφία μεγίστη μουσικὴ in *Phaed.* 61 A.

548 C 15 μεμιγμένην and μέμικται sound half-technical, and it is clear from *Laws* 712 D ff., 691 E, 693 D, Isocr. *Nicoles* 24 (with *Arcop.* 61) and Arist. *Pol.* Δ 9. 1294<sup>b</sup> 18 ff. that Greek political theorists were in the habit of viewing the Spartan constitution as a 'mixed polity,' although they did not always analyse the μίξις in the same way: cf. Henkel *Studien zur Gesch. d. Gr. Lehre v. Staat* p. 62 *nn.* 35, 36, and Whibley *Gk Olig.* pp. 14, 19. The



- τείαν ἐκ κακοῦ τε καὶ ἀγαθοῦ. Μέμικται γάρ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ· διαφανέ-  
 τατον δ' ἐν αὐτῇ ἐστὶν ἐν τι μόνον ὑπὸ τοῦ θυμοειδούς κρατοῦντος,  
 φιλονικίαι καὶ φιλοτιμίαι. Σφόδρα γε, ἦ δ' ὅς. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ'  
 ἐγώ, αὕτη μὲν ἡ πολιτεία οὕτω γεγυνοῦσα καὶ τοιαύτη ἂν τις εἴη, ὡς  
 20 λόγῳ σχῆμα πολιτείας<sup>1</sup> ὑπογράψαντα μὴ ἀκριβῶς ἀπεργάσασθαι D  
 διὰ τὸ ἐξαρκεῖν μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ ἐκ τῆς ὑπογραφῆς τὸν τε δικαιοτάτον  
 καὶ τὸν ἀδικώτατον, ἀμήχανον δὲ μήκει ἔργον εἶναι πάσας μὲν  
 πολιτείας, πάντα δὲ ἦθ' μηδὲν παραλιπόντα διελθεῖν. Καὶ ὁρθῶς,  
 ἔφη.
- 25 V. Τίς οὖν ὁ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν ἀνὴρ; πῶς τε γενό-  
 μενος ποῖός τέ τις ὢν; Οἶμαι μὲν, ἔφη ὁ Ἀδεύμαντος, ἐγγύς τι

analysis which is attributed to Archytas may serve as a specimen: δέϊ δὴ τὸν νόμον τὸν κάρρωνα καὶ τὰν πόλιν ἐκ πασῶν συνθετον ἦμεν τὰν ἄλλαν πολιτείαν, καὶ ἔχεν τι δαμοκρατίας, ἔχεν τι ὀλιγαρχίας, ἔχεν τι βασιλείας καὶ ἀριστοκρατίας, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐν τῇ Λακεδαιμονίᾳ. τοὶ μὲν γὰρ βασιλεῖς τὰς μοναρχίας, τοὶ δὲ ἔφοροι τὰς ὀλιγαρχίας, ἱππαγρέται δὲ καὶ κόροι τὰς δαμοκρατίας (Stobaeus *Flor.* 43. 134). On mixed politics in ancient political science see Henkel l.c. pp. 85 ff., 102, 106 ff., 112, 115 and Greenidge *Gr. Const. Hist.* pp. 74—121.

17 ἐν τι μόνον. For τι μόνον Apelt conjectures τιμώμενον: but Plato expresses himself emphatically in case the oligarchical features of the Spartan polity should make us forget that after all it is and must be essentially θυμο-κρατία—the expression of θυμοειδές and not φιλοχρήματον (547 C n.).

18 φιλονικίαι κτλ. Cf. Plut. *Ages.* 5. 4. Plato is not thinking of 'divisions in Sparta between the partisans of the ephors and kings' (as J. and C. suppose), but of the passion ὑπερλοχον ἐμμεῖναι ἄλλων: for this and not 'quarrelsomeness' is the distinctive feature of timarchy. We are in danger of misconceiving the whole position of 'timarchy' and the 'timarchical' man if φιλονίκος (or φιλονεικος) is connected with νεῖκος instead of with νίκη. On the spelling and derivation of the word see IX 581 B n.

548 D 21 διὰ τὸ ἐξαρκεῖν κτλ. See 544 A n. With ἀμήχανον δὲ κτλ. cf. IV 443 D, E n.

548 D—550 C The character of the timarchical man is now described in close

analogy with that of the timarchical State (548 D—549 B). In origin (continues Socrates) he was the son of a good father living in an ill-regulated city and abstaining from public life. Drawn by his father's precepts and example towards the higher life, and by maternal and other influences towards the lower, he finally surrendered himself to the dominion of the intermediate principle in the soul, and thus became timarchical.

25 πῶς τε γενόμενος: 'how did he arise?' Richards proposes γινόμενος: but the past tense is in harmony with ἔμπεσε 545 D, with εἰλέτην, ἠγέντην, ὠμολόγησαν 547 B, and indeed with the whole of Plato's exposition, which is deliberately arrayed in the vesture of a historical narrative or epic poem: see on 543 A, 544 C. It appears to be the custom to translate most of the aorists of this kind in Books VIII and IX by the present, but in some cases the effect is much more realistic and picturesque if we make them past, and I think that Plato intended some of these aorists to be understood in that way. The instances in point are 550 B ἦθε, παρέδωκε, ἐγένετο, 550 E ἀπεργάσαντο, 551 B κατεστήσαντο, 555 D ἠνάγκασαν, 560 A—C ὑπεχώρησε, διεφθάρσαν, ἐξέπεσον, κατεκοσμήθη, ἐγένοντο, εἴλκυσαν, ἐνέτεκον, κατέλαβον, κατέσχον, 565 B ἔσχον, 566 E ἠλευθέρωσε, διένειμε. Except in 550 E, 551 B, 555 D, 565 B, and 566 E, in which the aorists are no doubt the so-called gnomic aorists "used in animated language to express general truths" (Goodwin *MIT.* p. 53), each of these tenses is in my opinion correctly translated by a past in English. Plato of course repeatedly employs the

Ε αὐτὸν Γλαύκωνος τουτουὶ τείνειν ἕνεκά γε φιλονικίας. <sup>1</sup> Ἴσως, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τουτό γε· ἀλλὰ μοι δοκεῖ τάδε οὐ κατὰ τοῦτον πεφυκέναι. Τὰ ποῖα; Αὐθαδέστερόν τε δεῖ αὐτόν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εἶναι καὶ ὑποαμουσότερον, φιλόμουσον δέ, καὶ φιλήκοον μέν, ῥητορικὸν δ' οὐδα-  
 549 μως. καὶ δούλοις | μέν τις ἂν ἄγριος εἴη ὁ τοιοῦτος, οὐ καταφρο-  
 νῶν δούλων, ὥσπερ ὁ ἱκανῶς πεπαιδευμένος, ἐλευθέρους δέ ἡμερος, ἀρχόντων δέ σφόδρα ὑπήκοος, φίλαρχος δέ καὶ φιλότιμος, οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν ἀξιῶν ἄρχειν οὐδ' ἀπὸ τοιοῦτου οὐδενός, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ ἔργων τῶν τε πολεμικῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰ πολεμικά, φιλογυμναστής τέ 5  
 τις ὢν καὶ φιλόθηρος. Ἔστι γάρ, ἔφη, τοῦτο τὸ ἦθος ἐκείνης τῆς πολιτείας. Οὐκοῦν καὶ χρημάτων, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὁ τοιοῦτος νέος  
 Β μὲν <sup>1</sup> ὢν καταφρονοῖ ἂν, ὅσῳ δὲ πρεσβύτερος γίγνοιτο, μᾶλλον αἰεὶ

1. τις ἂν ν: τισιν ΠΞγ et fortasse A<sup>1</sup>: τις A<sup>2</sup>.

present also, not only where he is painting a scene (e.g. 549 B ff., 553 A ff., 555 C ff.), but also when he is describing the actual genesis of a particular sort of commonwealth or individual (e.g. 550 D, 551 A, B al. and many instances of γίγνεται), and in such cases the appearance of historical narration is not preserved, for it would be pedantic to view all these presents as merely examples of the *praesens historicum*. See also on 549 C.

27 φιλονικίας: 'desire to excel.' The translations 'party-spirit' (D. and V.), 'spirit of contention' (Jowett) are misleading: see 548 C n. On Glauco's φιλονικία see *Introd.* § 2.

548 E 29 ὑποαμουσότερον. It is unnecessary (with Herwerden) to add <μέν>, although ὑποαμουσότερον is contrasted with φιλόμουσον: see on I 340 D.

30 φιλόμουσον. The 'timocratical' man has neglected τῆς ἀληθινῆς Μουσῆς τῆς μετὰ λόγων τε καὶ φιλοσοφίας (548 B), but he is nevertheless φιλόμουσος, though somewhat less so than Glauco, whom Socrates calls μουσικός in III 398 E. On the Spartan love of music cf. Plut. *Lyc.* 21 and other evidence in Hermann-Thumser l.c. p. 178 nn. 5, 6.

φιλήκοον κτλ. This characteristic of the Spartans is well illustrated by J. and C. from *Hipp. Mai.* 285 D ff.: Ἄλλὰ τί μὴν ἐστὶν ὃ ἡδέως σου ἀκροῶνται καὶ ἐπαινοῦσιν (sc. οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι);—Περὶ τῶν γενῶν—τῶν τε ἡρώων καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τῶν κατοικισέων, ὥς τὸ ἀρχαῖον

ἐκτίσθησαν αἱ πόλεις, καὶ συλλήβδην πάσης τῆς ἀρχαιολογίας. ἥδιστα ἀκροῶνται. Schneider is mistaken in taking οὐδαμῶς with all three adjectives: it belongs only to ῥητορικόν. The carefully qualified expression ὑποαμουσότερον would be inconsistent with calling the Spartans οὐδαμῶς φιλόμουσον: and φιλήκοον is not used as in VII 535 D, but rather as the antithesis to ῥητορικόν.

549 A I ἄγριος κτλ.: like the Spartans towards slaves and Helots: cf. *Laws* 777 A ff. and Gilbert *Gk Const.* *Ant.* E. T. pp. 32 ff.

οὐ καταφρονῶν κτλ. is a subtle psychological touch. Those who have no moral or intellectual right to 'despise' inferiors are apt to treat them harshly, in the vain effort to convince themselves of their own superiority. ὁ ἱκανῶς πεπαιδευμένος uses those below him "as creatures of another place" (*All's well that ends well* I 2. 41). Cf. *Arist. Eth. Nic.* IV 8. 1124<sup>b</sup> 5. 20 and (for καταφρονῶν) *Thuc.* II 62. 4 αὐχμημὲν γὰρ καὶ ἀπὸ ἀμαθίας εὐτυχούς δὲ δειλῷ τινι ἐγγίγνεται, καταφρόνησις δὲ δὲ ἂν καὶ γνώμη πιστεύῃ τῶν ἐναντίων προέχειν.

3 οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ λέγειν κτλ. Cf. *Prot.* 342 E ff. The Spartans were men of deeds, not words.

5 φιλογυμναστής—φιλόθηρος: as in Sparta: see Hermann-Thumser l.c. p. 182 nn. 1, 2.

549 B 8 ὅσῳ δὲ πρεσβύτερος κτλ. The life of the timocratical man is an epitome of that of the State, in which,

ἀσπάζοιτο ἂν τῷ τε μετέχειν τῆς τοῦ φιλοχρημάτου φύσεως καὶ  
 10 μὴ εἶναι εἰλικρινῆς πρὸς ἀρετὴν διὰ τὸ ἀπολειφθῆναι τοῦ ἀρίστου  
 φύλακος; Τίνος; ἡ δ' ὅς ὁ Ἀδείμαντος. Λόγου, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,  
 μουσικῇ κεκραμένου· ὅς μόνος ἐγγενόμενος σωτὴρ ἀρετῆς διὰ βίου  
 ἐνοικεῖ τῷ ἔχοντι. Καλῶς, ἔφη, λέγεις. Καὶ ἔστι μὲν γ', ἦν δ'  
 15 Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Γίνεται δέ γ', εἶπον, οὗτος ἂν πῶς. ἐνίστε C  
 πατὴρ ἀγαθοῦ ὧν νέος υἱὸς ἐν πόλει οἰκοῦντος οὐκ εὖ πολιτευομένη,  
 φεύγοντος τὰς τε τιμὰς καὶ ἀρχὰς καὶ δίκας καὶ τὴν τοιαύτην  
 πᾶσαν φιλοπραγμοσύνην καὶ ἐθέλοντος ἐλαττοῦσθαι, ὥστε πράγ-  
 ματα μὴ ἔχειν—Πῇ δὴ, ἔφη, γίγνεται; "Όταν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πρῶτον

as actually happened at Sparta, the oligarchical element grows more and more powerful as time goes on (547 C n.).

11 **Λόγου—κεκραμένου** recalls the ἀλη-  
 θινή Μοῦσα of 548 B.

12 **σωτὴρ ἀρετῆς**. Virtue is never secure unless it rests on knowledge, and can render a λόγος of itself: cf. VI 497 C and VII 531 E nn.

549 C 15 **ἐνίστε κτλ.** Krohn finds a difficulty in οὐκ εὖ πολιτευομένη, for timarchy is a degeneration of the perfect city (*Pl. St.* pp. 208 ff., insufficiently refuted by Grimmelt *de reip. Pl. comp. et univ.* p. 71). But Plato is here speaking of the origin of the 'timarchical' man, not of the 'timarchical' State, and the ἀριστοκρατικός whose son becomes τιμοκρατικός may be found in any one of the degenerate commonwealths, although he will not rule except 'in his own city,' i.e. aristocracy. We must beware of supposing that there is no remnant of good men in depraved States (cf. VI 492 E ff., 496 C ff., IX 591 E ff.). If Plato had here preserved the fiction of a historical narrative and made the τιμοκρατικός νεανίας the son of an ἀριστοκρατικός in his own ideal city, he could only have attributed his fall to the same law of natural degeneration which subverted the καλλίπολις (546 A ff.). As it is, the description is drawn from facts of daily experience and observation, and Plato, as is suggested by the Oxford editors, may well be thinking of some 'Laconizing youth of Athens,' perhaps of some member of the Socratic circle. We have already seen that Plato frequently deserts the epic or narrative form of exposition which he has chosen to express his

views: see above on 548 D. I formerly printed a comma after πῶς and a full stop after ἔχειν, but now revert to Stallbaum's punctuation, because (1) the contrast with καὶ ἔστι μὲν γε κτλ. seems to require a fuller pause after πῶς, (2) ἐνίστε—ἔχειν does not explain the γένεσις of the τιμοκρατικός, as it ought to do, if γίγνεται—ἔχειν is all one sentence, (3) Adimantus' interruption πῇ δὴ—γίγνεται, which calls attention in a lively manner to the point which Plato wishes to emphasise, is most easily accounted for on the supposition that ἐνίστε κτλ. begins a separate sentence: cf. 567 E n. and Soph. *O. C.* 644 f., with Jebb's note. νέος υἱὸς is resumed in νέος (550 A), and has no other predicate except ἦλθε etc. in 550 B.

17 **φεύγοντος κτλ.** Cf. VI 496 C ff. and *Theaet.* 173 C ff. *φυγαρχία* (if the word may be allowed) on the part of the best men was a growing evil in Athenian politics: see Hermann-Thumser l.c. p. 749 n. 4. In a bad State, according to Aristotle (*Pol.* I 4), the good man is apt to be a bad citizen.

549 C, D 19 **ὅταν κτλ.**: 'whenever, I continued, he listens in the first instance to his mother, who is annoyed because her husband has no place in the government and is on that account belittled among the other wives, and who also sees' etc. *πρῶτον μὲν* has nothing to do with *ἐπειτα*, but prepares us for καὶ οἱ οἰκέται κτλ. in 549 E. See also on 549 D. Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 198) thinks the present sentence inconsistent with the position assigned to women in V; but actual wives ἐν πόλει οὐκ εὖ πολιτευομένη may be allowed to differ from the perfect products of an



**D** μὲν τῆς μητρὸς ἀκούῃ, ἀχθομένης ὅτι οὐ τῶν ἀρχόντων <sup>1</sup> αὐτῇ ὁ <sup>20</sup>  
 ἀνὴρ ἐστίν, καὶ ἐλαττουμένης διὰ ταῦτα ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις γυναιξίν,  
 ἔπειτα ὀρώσης μὴ σφόδρα περὶ χρήματα σπουδάζοντα μηδὲ μαχό-  
 μενον καὶ λοιδορούμενον ἰδίᾳ τε ἐν δικαστηρίοις καὶ δημοσίᾳ, ἀλλὰ  
 ῥαθύμως πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα φέροντα, καὶ ἑαυτῷ μὲν τὸν νοῦν  
 προσέχοντα ἀεὶ αἰσθάνηται, ἑαυτὴν δὲ μήτε πάνυ τιμῶντα μήτε <sup>25</sup>  
 ἀτιμάζοντα, ἐξ ἀπάντων τούτων ἀχθομένης τε καὶ λεγούσης, ὡς  
 ἀνανδρὸς τε αὐτῷ ὁ πατήρ καὶ λίαν ἀνειμένος, καὶ ἄλλα δὴ ὅσα καὶ  
**E** οἷα φιλοῦσιν <sup>1</sup> αἱ γυναῖκες περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ὑμνεῖν—Καὶ μάλ',  
 ἔφη ὁ Ἀδείμαντος, πολλά τε καὶ ὅμοια ἑαυταῖς. Οἴσθα οὖν, ἦν δ'  
 ἐγώ, ὅτι καὶ οἱ οἰκέται τῶν τοιούτων ἐνίοτε λάθρα πρὸς τοὺς ὑεῖς <sup>30</sup>  
 τοιαῦτα λέγουσιν, οἱ δοκοῦντες εὖνοι εἶναι, καὶ ἐάν τινα ἴδωσιν ἢ  
 ὀφείλοντα χρήματα, ᾧ μὴ ἐπεξέρχεται ὁ πατήρ, ἢ τι ἄλλο ἀδι-  
 κοῦντα, διακελεύονται, ὅπως ἐπειδὴν ἀνὴρ γένηται, τιμωρήσεται

ideal city. Plato's description is as realistic as anything could well be: he speaks as though *ξυνωκηκὼς ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ παραγεγονῶς ἐν ταῖς κατ' οἰκίαν πράξεσιν* (IX 577 A). Socrates and his relations with Xanthippe possibly furnished some details of the picture (so also Müller on p. 749 of his Translation).

**549 D 23** *λοιδορούμενον* is certainly middle, not passive, as Ast imagined: cf. VI 500 B.

*ἐν δικαστηρίοις*. The opposition between *ἰδῆται* and *δημόσια δίκαι* (cf. *Λαῖος* 957 A) is not to the point here, as Vermehren remarks (*Plat. Stud.* p. 107), but we should not, with that critic, expunge *ἐν δικαστηρίοις*. The expression *ἰδίᾳ ἐν δικαστηρίοις* refers to *ἰδῆται δίκαι*: and *δημοσίᾳ* to other public gatherings, as e.g. the assembly: cf. *Theaet.* 174 C ὅταν ἐν δικαστηρίοις ἢ πον ἄλλοι ἀναγκασθῇ κτλ.

**24** *ῥαθύμως* κτλ.: 'indifferent to everything of the sort': cf. *Xen. Mem.* II 9. 1, *Theaet.* 173 C, D and (for the vague use of τὰ τοιαῦτα) VII 536 A.

**25** *αἰσθάνηται* is usually explained as by anacoluthon for *αἰσθανομένης*: but no parallels have been cited, nor are the anacolutha by which Engelhardt (*Anac. Pl. Spec.* III p. 42) illustrates the sentence in any degree comparable. The sense compels us to regard the subject of *αἰσθάνηται* as the mother, but grammatically it can only, as with *ἀκούῃ*, be the son. I formerly placed *αἰσθάνηται* after *ἀχθο-*

*μένης τε*: Richards excises it altogether. Neither solution is perfectly satisfactory; and it is possible that the sentence by some accident or other was imperfectly revised by Plato. The grammatical structure of this chapter from *ἐνίοτε πατρός* down to *ἐπαινουμένους* (550 A) is considerably freer than is usual even with Plato, and there are other passages in Book VIII which seem to stand in need of revision: cf. 558 A *u*. Nothing is easier than to 'emend' them all in accordance with our grammatical rules, but such emendations involve so great a departure from the MSS that they lack every element of probability, and as it is possible that the fault is Plato's, it is safer for us to adhere to the MSS. Nearly all the greatest writers occasionally offend against the rules by which we seek to bind them. See the excellent remarks of Longinus on the subject of correctness *versus* fire in composition (*περὶ ὕψους* 33—36).

**27** *ἀνανδρὸς—καὶ λίαν ἀνειμένος* rings poetical. The rhythm may be intentional, to suit *ὑμνεῖν*: or Plato may have taken the words from a tragedian. Such a line as *ἀνανδρὸς ἐστὶ καὶ λίαν ἀνειμένος* might well have been applied by Zethus to Amphion in Euripides' *Antiope*, which was in effect a comparison between the *πρακτικὸς* and the *θεωρητικὸς βίος*: see *Gorg.* 485 E ff. and *Eur. Frag.* 187 Dind. Cf. also VI 494 D *n*.

πάντας τοὺς | τοιοῦτους καὶ ἀνὴρ μᾶλλον ἔσται τοῦ πατρὸς. καὶ 550  
 ἐξίων ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἀκούει καὶ ὄρᾳ, τοὺς μὲν τὰ αὐτῶν πράττοντας  
 ἐν τῇ πόλει ἡλιθίους τε καλουμένους καὶ ἐν σμικρῇ λόγῳ ὄντας,  
 τοὺς δὲ μὴ τὰ αὐτῶν τιμωμένους τε καὶ ἐπαινουμένους. τότε δὴ ὁ  
 5 νέος πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀκούων τε καὶ ὄρων, καὶ αὖ τοὺς τοῦ πατρὸς  
 λόγους ἀκούων τε καὶ ὄρων τὰ ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ ἐγγύθεν παρὰ  
 τὰ τῶν ἄλλων, ἐλκόμενος ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τούτων, τοῦ μὲν πατρὸς  
 αὐτοῦ<sup>1</sup> τὸ λογιστικὸν ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἄρδοντός τε καὶ αὔξοντος, τῶν δὲ B  
 ἄλλων τό τε ἐπιθυμητικὸν καὶ τὸ θυμοειδές, διὰ τὸ μὴ κακοῦ ἀνδρὸς  
 10 εἶναι τὴν φύσιν, ὁμιλίαις δὲ ταῖς τῶν ἄλλων κακαῖς κεχρησθαι, εἰς  
 τὸ μέσον ἐλκόμενος ὑπ' ἀμφοτέρων τούτων ἦλθε, καὶ τὴν ἐν ἑαυτῷ  
 ἀρχὴν παρέδωκε τῷ μέσῳ τε καὶ φιλονίκῳ καὶ θυμοειδεῖ, καὶ  
 ἐγένετο ὑψηλόφρων τε καὶ φιλότιμος ἀνὴρ. Κομιδῇ μοι, ἔφη,  
 15 τὴν τε δευτέραν πολιτείαν καὶ τὸν δεύτερον ἄνδρα. Ἐχομεν, ἔφη.

VI. Οὐκοῦν μετὰ τοῦτο, τὸ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου, λέγωμεν ἄλλον

2. ἀκούει Ξ: ἀκούη ΑΠγ.

5. αὖ τοὺς Ξ: αὐτοὺς Α<sup>1</sup>Π: αὐτοὺς τοὺς Α<sup>2</sup>: αὖ γ.

550 A 2 ἀκούει. See *cr. n.* If we retain ἀκούη, ὅταν must be carried on from 549 C, in spite of the intervening sentences in 549 E. In that case we should regard Socrates' description (549 C—550 B) as virtually a single sentence ἐνίοτε—ἔχειν, ὅταν—ὑμνεῖν, καὶ ἐξίων—ἐπαινουμένους, τότε δὴ—ἀνὴρ, and ignore Adimantus' replies, as well as οἷσθα οὖν—πατρός (549 E). But although ὅταν sometimes extends its influence in this way (VII 540 D—541 A), the interposition of 549 E makes it very difficult to retain the subjunctive here, and I therefore agree with other editors in holding the sentence to be independent. Cf. 553 B n.

6 παρὰ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων. Others know his father πόρρωθεν: the son sees him near at hand, comparing his ways of life with those of other men—and consequently understands and appreciates his father more. J. and C. wrongly translate "having a nearer view of his father's ways than of the ways of others."

7 ἐλκόμενος κτλ. describes the στάσις in the soul. Cf. 545 C, D.

550 B 8 ἄρδοντος. The metaphor is common: cf. x 606 D and *Euthyphr.* 2 D with my note ad loc. So also in Cor. I 3.

6 ἐγὼ ἐφύτευσα, Ἀπόλλων ἐπότισεν.

9 διὰ τὸ κτλ.: 'because he is not

naturally a bad man,' lit. 'his nature is not that of a bad man': not 'because he is by birth the son of no bad man.'

10 εἰς τὸ μέσον—ἦλθε κτλ. A compromise is effected, reminding us of the compromise which converted the aristocratical State into τιμαρχία: cf. 547 B εἰς μέσον ὡμολόγησαν κτλ. The aorists ἦλθε, παρέδωκε etc. are past, and should be so translated: see on 548 D.

14 ἔχομεν ἄρα κτλ. Richards thinks this sentence interrogative; but ἄρα rather points the other way.

550 C—551 C Next in order comes *Oligarchy or Plutocracy. The change originates in the growth of avarice and cupidity within the timarchical State; it is completed as soon as a property qualification for the holding of office has been established by law.*

550 C 16 οὐκοῦν μετὰ τοῦτο κτλ. As θυμοειδές in Timarchy superseded λογιστικόν, so in Oligarchy φιλοκρήματον supersedes θυμοειδές. The lower 'parts' of soul assert the mastery in turn, as the scale of commonwealth descends (cf. 553 D and 547 C n.); and the continuity is unbroken, for the element of φιλοκρήματον already displayed an ominous activity in the Spartan State, although it had not yet attained the

ἄλλη πρὸς πόλει τεταγμένον, μᾶλλον δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν  
 προτέραν τὴν πόλιν; Πάνν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Εἷη δέ γ' ἄν, ὡς ἐγῶμαι,  
 ὀλιγαρχία ἢ μετὰ τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν. Λέγεις δέ, ἢ δ' ὅς, τὴν  
 ποίαν κατάστασιν ὀλιγαρχίαν; Τὴν ἀπὸ τιμημάτων, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, 20  
 D πολιτείαν, ἐν ἣ οἱ μὲν πλούσιοι ἄρχουσιν, πέννητι<sup>1</sup> δὲ οὐ μέτεστιν  
 ἀρχῆς. Μανθάνω, ἢ δ' ὅς. Οὐκοῦν ὡς μεταβαίνει πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς  
 τιμαρχίας εἰς τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν, ῥητέον; Ναί. Καὶ μήν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ;  
 καὶ τυφλῷ γε δῆλον, ὡς μεταβαίνει. Πῶς; Τὸ ταμιεῖον, ἣν δ'  
 ἐγώ, ἐκείνο ἐκάστω χρυσίου πληρούμενον ἀπόλλυσι τὴν τοιαύτην 25  
 πολιτείαν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ δαπάνας αὐτοῖς ἐξευρίσκουσιν, καὶ  
 E τοὺς νόμους ἐπὶ τοῦτο παράγουσιν, ἀπειθοῦντες<sup>1</sup> αὐτοὶ τε καὶ  
 γυναῖκες αὐτῶν. Εἰκός, ἔφη. "Επειτά γε, οἶμαι, ἄλλος ἄλλον  
 ὁρῶν καὶ εἰς ζῆλον ἰὼν τὸ πλήθος τοιοῦτον αὐτῶν ἀπειργάσαντο.

19. τοιαύτην Π et in marg. A<sup>2</sup>: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

28. αὐτῶν Π: αὐτῷ Α.

sovereign place. Plato's description of Greek oligarchies, if we judge it by the facts of history, probably lays rather too much emphasis on τὸ φιλοχρήματον; but it is certainly true that the pursuit of riches was the characteristic feature of ancient oligarchy. See on the whole subject Whibley *Greek Oligarchies*, and Newman *The Politics of Aristotle* IV pp. xxi—xxxvi, and compare the account which Aristotle gives of the causes producing revolution in what he calls 'aristocracies' (*Pol.* E 7).

τὸ τοῦ Αἰσχύλου. The line is a playful adaptation from *Sep't.* 451 λέγ' ἄλλον ἄλλαις ἐν πύλαις εἰληχότα and 570 'Ομοῶσι δὲ πρὸς πύλαις τεταγμένους. There is no good reason for holding (with Herwerden) that Plato is quoting from one of Aeschylus' lost plays.

17 τὴν ὑπόθεσιν. See 545 B ff.

20 τὴν ἀπὸ τιμημάτων. By Herodotus (III 81) ὀλιγαρχίη is used in its strictly etymological sense; and Socrates' own name for that which Plato calls 'oligarchy' was πλουτοκρατία (*Mem.* IV 6. 12). The establishment of a property qualification for full citizenship was the central feature in the programme of the Athenian oligarchical party from 412 B.C. onwards; see (for 411) Thuc. VIII 65. 3, 97. 1 and (for 404) Xen. *Hell.* II 3. 48, with Hermann-Thumser l.c. pp. 724—734. It is therefore natural enough that Plato should define oligarchy as he does, especially as in his younger days, both personally and

through his friends, he was himself connected with the Athenian oligarchical faction (Grote VIII p. 30). The term 'oligarchy' retained its Platonic sense after Plato (cf. e.g. Arist. *Pol.* Γ 8. 1280<sup>a</sup> 1 f. ἀναγκαῖον μὲν, ὅπου ἂν ἀρχῶσι διὰ πλοῦτον ἂν τ' ἐλάττους ἂν τε πλείους, εἶναι ταύτην ὀλιγαρχίαν κτλ.), though Aristotle recognises also the wider meaning, e.g. in *Pol.* Ζ 2. 1317<sup>b</sup> 39 ὀλιγαρχία καὶ γένει καὶ πλοῦτι καὶ παιδείᾳ ὀρίζεται. See especially Whibley *Gk Olig.* pp. 15—22.

550 D 22 ὡς μεταβαίνει. The leading features in Plato's narrative are probably taken from the history of Sparta, which had degenerated during his lifetime from a 'timarchy' to what was virtually an oligarchical polity: cf. Nohle *die Staatslehre Pl.* p. 106 and Hermann-Thumser l.c. p. 258. Others have referred to the Solonian constitution and the oligarchical revolutions at Athens in 411 and 404. In neither of these instances was the previous government timarchical, for the rule of the Eupatrids had become an oppressive oligarchy by the time of Solon (Holm *Gk Hist.* E. T. I p. 389); but it is likely enough that Plato was thinking of these among other oligarchies and oligarchical movements in some parts of his descriptions: see 551 B n.

24 τὸ ταμιεῖον—ἐκείνο. 548 A nn. The oracle spoke truly ἂν φιλοχρηματία Σπάρταν ὀλεῖ, ἄλλο δὲ οὐδέν (Tyrtaeus 3. 1).

28 γυναῖκες. See on 548 A.

550 E 29 ἀπειργάσαντο. On the



30 Εἰκός. Τὸν τεύθεν τοίνυν, εἶπον, προΐοντες εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν τοῦ χρηματίζεσθαι, ὅσῳ ἂν τοῦτο τιμιώτερον ἡγῶνται, τοσούτῳ ἀρετὴν ἀτιμωτέραν. ἢ οὐχ οὕτω πλούτου ἀρετὴ διέστηκεν, ὥσπερ ἐν πλάστιγγι ζυγοῦ κειμένου ἑκατέρου αἰὲ τοῦναντίον ῥέποντε; Καὶ μάλ', ἔφη. Τιμωμένου δὴ | πλούτου ἐν πόλει καὶ τῶν πλουσίων 551 ἀτιμωτέρα ἀρετὴ τε καὶ οἱ ἀγαθοί. Δῆλον. Ἀσκεῖται δὴ τὸ αἰὲ τιμώμενον, ἀμελεῖται δὲ τὸ ἀτιμαζόμενον. Οὕτω. Ἀντὶ δὴ φιλο- νίκων καὶ φιλοτίμων ἀνδρῶν φιλοχρηματισταὶ καὶ φιλοχρήματοι 5 τελευτῶντες ἐγένοντο, καὶ τὸν μὲν πλούσιον ἐπαινοῦσιν τε καὶ θαυμάζουσι καὶ εἰς τὰς ἀρχὰς ἄγουσι, τὸν δὲ πένητα ἀτιμάζουσι. Πάνυ γε. Οὐκοῦν τότε δὴ νόμον τίθενται ὅρον πολιτείας ὀλιγαρχικῆς, <sup>1</sup> ταξάμενοι πλῆθος χρημάτων, οὗ μὲν μᾶλλον ὀλιγαρχία B πλέον, οὗ δ' ἥττον, ἔλαττον, προειπόντες ἀρχῶν μὴ μετέχειν, ᾧ ἂν

tense see 548 D n. A few MSS read ἀπειργάσατο: but ἄλλος ἄλλον is in partitive apposition to the plural subject, according to the regular idiom: cf. II 369 B, C, IX 581 C n.

32 ἢ οὐχ κτλ. Cf. 555 C and especially *Latw* 743 A ff. ἀγαθὸν δὲ ὄντα διαφέρωντος καὶ πλούσιον εἶναι διαφέρωντος ἀδύνατον ('how hardly shall a rich man' etc.). Other parallels are quoted by Spiess *Logos Spermatikos* p. 74. Cf. also III 416 E n.

ὥσπερ κτλ.: 'as it were inclining always in opposite directions when each is placed in the scale of a balance.' As the scale containing virtue rises, that containing riches falls, and *vice versa*. Cf. Hom. *II*. xxii 209 ff. Madvig's κείμενον ἑκάτερον, though adopted even by J. and C., is questionable Greek, and certainly no improvement. ὥσπερ should be taken with ῥέποντε "quasi non πλούτου ἀρετὴ διέστηκεν, sed πλούτου καὶ ἀρετὴ διεστίκτον praecessisset" (Schneider). There is a kindred figure in 544 E above: ἃ ἂν ὥσπερ ῥέψαντα τὰλλα ἐφελκύσῃται. E and some other inferior MSS have the obvious 'correction' ῥέποντος. Other conjectures are ῥέπουσα (Liebholt) and ἂν ῥέπουσα (Price), but neither could ever have been changed to ῥέποντε.

551 A 4 φιλοχρηματισταὶ κτλ. Although Aristotle (*Pol.* E 12. 1316<sup>a</sup> 39 ff.) pronounces it ἀποπρον to think that oligarchy arises ὅτι φιλοχρήματοι καὶ χρηματισταὶ οἱ ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς, there is no doubt

that the special oligarchy which Plato probably has in view, viz. Sparta in the fourth century B.C., became to all intents and purposes an oligarchy chiefly from this cause, as in fact Aristotle himself recognises ib. 7. 1307<sup>a</sup> 34 ff.: cf. also B 9. 1270<sup>a</sup> 14 ff. It should also be remembered that Plato's selection of the *αἵτια τῆς φθορᾶς* is primarily determined by his psychological standpoint: see on 543 A.

5 ἐγένοντο. See 548 D n.

7 νόμον τίθενται κτλ. In Sparta, apparently, matters never went so far as this, although those who were unable to make the statutory contribution to the public mess forfeited their citizenship, according to the laws of Lycurgus, and later abuses swelled the ranks of the ὑπομεινόνες from this cause: see Arist. *Pol.* B 9. 1271<sup>a</sup> 34 and Hermann-Thumser l.c. pp. 258—260 nn. 'The minimum amount of property qualifying for privilege in an oligarchy' was of course different in different oligarchical States: cf. Whibley *Gk Olig.* p. 22.

551 B 8 οὗ μὲν μᾶλλον κτλ. See again Whibley l.c. pp. 126—132. As an example of a moderate oligarchy (in the Platonic sense) we may take the Solonian constitution, which was, broadly speaking, the ideal of the moderate oligarchs at Athens towards the end of the fifth century (Beloch *Att. Pol.* p. 74: cf. Thuc. VIII 97. 2), and is commended by Plato in *Latw* 698 B ff.

μὴ ἦ οὐσία εἰς τὸ ταχθὲν τίμημα, ταῦτα δὲ ἡ βία μεθ' ὅπλων <sup>10</sup> διαπράττονται, ἢ καὶ πρὸ τούτου φοβήσαντες κατεστήσαντο τὴν τοιαύτην πολιτείαν. ἢ οὐχ οὕτως; Οὕτω μὲν οὖν. Ἡ μὲν δὲ κατάστασις, ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, αὕτη. Ναί, ἔφη· ἀλλὰ τίς δὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς πολιτείας; καὶ ποῖά ἐστιν ἃ ἔφαμεν αὐτὴν ἀμαρτήματα <sup>11</sup> C<sup>1</sup> ἔχειν;

VII. Πρῶτον μὲν, ἔφη, τοῦτο αὐτό, ὅρος αὐτῆς οἶός ἐστιν. ἄθρει γάρ, εἰ νεῶν οὕτω τις ποιοῖτο κυβερνήτας, ἀπὸ τιμημάτων, τῷ δὲ πέννητι, εἰ καὶ κυβερνητικώτερος εἴη, μὴ ἐπιτρέποι. Πονηράν,

10. ἦ 11: ἡ Α.

10 ἡ βία κτλ. "To an Athenian, as to ourselves, this would naturally suggest a revolution against a democratic system such as took place at the establishment of the Four Hundred in 411 B.C., or of the Thirty in 404 B.C., and constantly throughout Greece during the Peloponnesian war" (Bosanquet). The remark applies with equal force to πρὸ τούτου φοβήσαντες (cf. Thuc. VIII 66. 2), and it can scarcely be doubted that the familiar struggles of oligarchy against democracy in his own as well as other times supplied Plato with this detail of the picture. But the employment of force would be equally necessary in order to transform a timarchy into an oligarchy, owing to the opposition to be apprehended from the impoverished and relatively poorer sections of the timarchs, who would under an oligarchy be formally and for ever excluded from office. The conspiracy of Cinadon partly illustrates Plato's point; for it was supported by ὑπομέλεις, and suppressed by force (Xen. *Hell.* III 3. 4—11 with Grote IX pp. 70ff.). Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 211) asserts that Plato has already forgotten 545 C, D, where constitutional change was said to originate from *στάσις* in the ruling class. But the struggle between those timarchs who have, and those who have not, the proposed *τίμημα*, is in reality *στάσις* between the rulers, for until timarchy is abrogated by law, the poor, if otherwise qualified, are *de iure* rulers as well as the rich. In Sparta it would be otherwise, because those who failed to pay their contributions to the *ξυσία* ceased *ipso facto* to be rulers; only Plato's timarchy is not in this particular a copy of Sparta, but rather resembles Crete (547 D, 551 A *nm.*). See also on 545 C.

11 κατεστήσαντο κτλ. For the aorist

cf. 548 D *n.* ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν is illustrated on I 341 B. ἔφαμεν refers to 544 C.

551 C—553 A *There are many grievous faults in the oligarchical city. It makes wealth instead of knowledge the qualification for ruling, is divided against itself, incapable, in all probability, of waging war, and false to our principle of 'one man, one work.' Worst of all, Oligarchy is the first constitution which permits a man to dispose of all his property by sale. From this cause springs up a large impoverished class resembling drones, some stingless and others stinging. The former are only poor, but the latter are criminals who have to be repressed by force.*

551 C 16 πρῶτον μὲν: sc. ἀμαρτήμα (ἐστιν).

ὅρος—ἐστιν: 'terminus eius qualis sit.' ὅρος is the limit or defining mark which separates it from all the other πολιτεῖαι: cf. I 331 D. Few will approve of Badham's conjecture τοῦτο αὐτὸ ὅρᾶς αὐτῆς οἶός ἐστιν, especially as ὅρος echoes ὅρον in 551 A. οἶός ἐστιν, ἄθρει· εἰ γὰρ νεῶν κτλ. (Liebhold) is scarcely less unhappy. The text is above suspicion.

17 εἰ νεῶν κτλ. The illustration is a favourite one both with Socrates and Plato: cf. Xen. *Mem.* III 9. 11 and supra VI 488 A ff. *nn.* There is probably no aposiopesis after ἐπιτρέποι: we should translate 'Just consider if one were to choose pilots on the census principle and refuse to let a poor man steer though better qualified!'

18 πονηράν κτλ. "Adimantus quasi non videre, sed quid videat renuntiare iussus, πονηράν, inquit, τὴν ναυτίλιαν αὐτοὺς ναυτίλλεσθαι sc. ὁρῶ" (Schneider). Cf. VII 535 C *n.* This explanation is, I think, easier than that of Stallbaum, who prints ἄθρει γάρ· εἰ νεῶν κτλ., understand-

ἢ δ' ὅς, τὴν ναυτιλίαν αὐτοὺς ναυτίλλεσθαι. Οὐκοῦν καὶ περὶ  
 20 ἄλλου οὕτως ὁπουοῦν ἀρχῆς; Οἶμαι ἔγωγε. Πλὴν πόλεως; ἢν δ'  
 ἐγώ, ἢ καὶ πόλεως πέρι; Πολύ γ', ἔφη, μάλιστα, ὅσω χαλεπωτάτη  
 καὶ μεγίστη ἢ ἀρχή. Ἐν μὲν δὴ<sup>1</sup> τοῦτο τοσοῦτον ὀλιγαρχία ἂν D  
 ἔχοι ἀμάρτημα. Φαίνεται. Τί δέ; τόδε ἴδρά τι τούτου ἔλαττον;  
 Τὸ ποῖον; Τὸ μὴ μίαν ἀλλὰ δύο ἀνάγκη εἶναι τὴν τοιαύτην πόλιν,  
 25 τὴν μὲν πενήτων, τὴν δὲ πλουσίων, οἰκοῦντας ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ, ἀεὶ  
 ἐπιβουλεύοντας ἀλλήλοις. Οὐδὲν μὰ Δί', ἔφη, ἔλαττον. Ἀλλὰ  
 μὴν οὐδὲ τόδε καλόν, τὸ ἀδυνάτους εἶναι ἴσως πόλεμόν τινα πολε-  
 μεῖν διὰ τὸ ἀναγκάζεσθαι ἢ χρωμένους τῷ πλήθει ὥπλισμένῳ  
 δεδιδένοι μάλλον ἢ<sup>1</sup> τοὺς πολεμίους, ἢ μὴ χρωμένους ὡς ἀληθῶς E  
 30 ὀλιγαρχικοὺς φαῖναι ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μάχεσθαι, καὶ ἅμα χρήματα μὴ

19. ναυτιλίαν A<sup>2</sup>Ξq: ναυτηλίαν (sic) A<sup>1</sup>Π. ὁπουοῦν ἢ τινος ΑΠΞq. 24. ἀνάγκη Ast: ἀνάγκη codd. 27. Ita II: ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ A<sup>1</sup>: καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τόδε A<sup>2</sup>.

20. ὁπουοῦν vertit Ficinus:

24. ἀνάγκη Ast: ἀνάγκη codd.

27. Ita II:

ing (after ἐπιτρέποι) τί λέγοις ἂν περὶ τούτου; or the like, and λέγοιμι ἂν to govern the accusative with infinitive. J. and C.'s solution is in principle the same as Stallbaum's. The text may be corrupt, but no convincing emendation has hitherto been offered. The different proposals are *eikós* (Ast, Richards) and *ἂν εἴη δέος* (Liebhold) for ἢ δ' ὅς: <φαίην ἂν> added after ἢ δ' ὅς (Stephanus): *πονηρὰ εἴη ἂν ναυτιλία αὐτοῖς ναυτίλλεσθαι* (Ast): *πονηρὰν* <ἀνάγκη> κτλ. Richards—but it would surely be better to add the word after *ναυτιλίαν*. I have sometimes fancied that Plato wrote *πονηρὰν*, ἢ δ' ὅς, τὴν ναυτιλίαν αὐτοῖς ναυτίλλεσθαι, taking the accusative as in apposition to the previous sentence (cf. in some respects *Hirp. Mai.* 291 E and *infra* 567 C); but, for a reason to be mentioned presently on 551 D, perhaps *ναυτιλίαν* <ἀνάγκη> is right.

19 περὶ ἄλλου κτλ. See *cr. n.* ἢ τινος is retained by Schneider, who takes it as neuter, and ὁπουοῦν as masculine. The words can hardly be anything except a gloss or variant on ὁπουοῦν: the corrections ἡστίνος or ἡστίνουσιν (Ast) are much less easy and probable. *περὶ* governs *ἀρχῆς*, on which ἄλλου ὁπουοῦν, which is neuter, depends. Cobet's *περὶ ἄλλης οὕτως ὁπουοῦν ἀρχῆς* ('about any other ἀρχή whatsoever') does not suit with *πλὴν πόλεως* (i.e. ἄλλου—not ἄλλης—ὁπουοῦν πλὴν πόλεως).

551 D 24 μὴ μίαν κτλ. Aristotle

(*Pol. E* 12. 1316<sup>b</sup> 6 ff.) urges that this is equally true of all States where inequality of property prevails: but Plato would not allow that it is true of his ideal city, or even of timarchy except in so far as timarchy is itself oligarchical (548 A).

ἀνάγκη. See *cr. n.* The word could be dispensed with here, and, as all those mss which are in the habit of writing the iota subscript at all regularly appear to have the nominative and not the dative, it is possible, and even perhaps probable, that this is the ἀνάγκη which Richards desiderated in 551 C: see note ad loc.

27 τὸ ἀδυνάτους κτλ. The sense of course is 'to be—probably—unable' i.e. 'that they are in all probability unable.' Richard says ἴσως is 'feeble': to me it seems exactly the right word in the right place. The conjectures *σῶς* (Badham) and *ισχυρῶς* (Richards) are each of them for different reasons very unpleasant, and even if the passage were corrupt *ισχυρῶς* is far too violent a change to deserve consideration.

28 χρωμένους κτλ. In illustration the Oxford editors cite Thuc. III 27. The Spartans in particular had regularly to arm and employ the *πληθός*, both Perioeci and Helots, in their wars (see e.g. Thuc. VII 19. 3), and were consequently sometimes exposed to grave dangers (Thuc. IV 80).

551 E 29 ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀλιγαρχικοὺς: 'literally oligarchical or masters of few'



ἐθέλειν εἰσφέρειν, ἅτε φιλοχρημάτων. Οὐ καλόν. Τί δέ; ὁ πάλαι  
 ἐλοιδοροῦμεν, τὸ πολυπραγμονεῖν γεωργούντας καὶ χρηματιζο-  
 552 μένους | καὶ πολεμοῦντας ἅμα τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ,  
 ἥ δοκεῖ ὀρθῶς ἔχειν; Οὐδ' ὁπωστίουν. Ὅρα δὴ, τούτων πάντων  
 τῶν κακῶν εἰ τὸδε μέγιστον αὕτη πρώτη παραδέχεται. Τὸ ποῖον;  
 Τὸ ἐξεῖναι πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀποδόσθαι καὶ ἄλλῳ κτήσασθαι τὰ  
 τούτου, καὶ ἀποδόμενον οἰκεῖν ἐν τῇ πόλει μηδὲν ὄντα τῶν τῆς 5  
 πόλεως μερῶν, μήτε χρηματιστὴν μήτε δημιουργὸν μήτε ἱππέα  
 Β μήτε ὀπλίτην, ἀλλὰ πένητα καὶ ἄπορον κεκλημένον. | Πρώτη, ἔφη.  
 οὐκουν διακωλύεται γε ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχουμέναις τὸ τοιοῦτον· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἂν οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ πλουτοὶ ἦσαν, οἱ δὲ παντάπασιν πένητες. Ὅρθως.  
 τὸδε δὲ ἄθρει· ἄρα ὅτε πλούσιος ὢν ἀνῆλθισκεν ὁ τοιοῦτος, μᾶλλον 10  
 τι τότ' ἦν ὄφελος τῇ πόλει εἰς ἃ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν; ἢ ἐδόκει μὲν τῶν  
 ἀρχόντων εἶναι, τῇ δὲ ἀληθείᾳ οὔτε ἀρχων οὔτε ὑπηρέτης ἦν αὐτῆς,  
 ἀλλὰ τῶν ἐτοιμῶν ἀναλωτῆς; Οὕτως, ἔφη· ἐδόκει, ἦν δὲ οὐδὲν  
 C ἄλλο ἢ ἀναλωτῆς. Βούλει οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, φῶμεν αὐτόν, ὥς

(*Herren von wenigen*, Schneider). Cf. *ὀλιγαρχικῶς* 555 A n. and (for ὥς ἀληθῶς) VI 511 B n. Jowett's translation "few to fight as they are few to rule" does not bring out the peculiar force of *ὀλιγαρχικούς* here.

31 *φιλοχρημάτων*: with emphasis on *φιλο-* (Schneider, who compares 568 B for *ἄτε* without the copula). The sentiment is illustrated by Bosanquet from Arist. *Pol.* B 9. 1271<sup>b</sup> 13 *εἰσφέρουσι τε κακῶς* (of the Spartans): cf. also *infra* 554 E f. and Theophr. *Char.* 26, where the *ὀλιγαρχικός* cries *πότε πανσόμεθα ὑπὸ λειτουργιῶν καὶ τριηραρχιῶν ἀπολλύμενοι*; and more in Hermann-Thumser I. c. p. 685 n. 1.

πάλαι. IV 434 A ff.

552 A 4 τὸ ἐξεῖναι κτλ. According to some ancient authorities (cited in Hermann-Thumser I. c. pp. 186 f.), the constitution of Lycurgus absolutely forbade the alienation of a certain minimum of the original *κλῆρος*, called the *ἀρχαία μοῖρα*. The evidence of Plato does not go far, but so far as it does go, it supports this view; for he says that oligarchy is the *first* polity which permits a citizen *πάντα τὰ αὐτοῦ ἀποδίδοςθαι*: cf. also *Laus* 744 D. Aristotle says nothing of the *ἀρχαία μοῖρα*, and states that a Spartan might legally part with his estate by gift or bequest,

although to sell it was *οὐ καλόν* (*Pol.* B 9. 1270<sup>a</sup> 19 ff.). The conflict of evidence is discussed by Newman and Sussehl on Arist. I. c.: see also on the other side Hermann-Thumser I. c. pp. 259 f. In many Greek States besides Sparta it was either illegal, or at least dishonourable, to dispose of the 'ancient lot': see Whibley *Gk Olig.* pp. 113—115.

552 B 8 οὐκουν κτλ. Schneider was the first to give this sentence to Adimantus, and *ὀρθῶς* to Socrates, "qui quum paucorum gubernationem *primam* illud vitium recipere persuasum haberet eamque sententiam verbis *ὅρα δὴ* etc. aperte demonstrasset, suffragante Adimanto rursus in dubium sine causa rem vocare non debebat." Cf. 554 B. Baier and others ought not to have reverted to the old arrangement. For οὐκουν—γε see Neil's edition of the *Knights* of Aristophanes p. 195.

11 εἰς ἃ: i.e. for *χρηματισμός*, *δημιουργία* and the other purposes specified in 552 A.

13 ἐδόκει: sc. ἄλλο τι ἢ ἀναλωτῆς (Schneider). This explanation, which is, I think, neater and more pointed than to supply τῶν ἀρχόντων, makes ἦν—ἀναλωτῆς indispensable. Herwerden was wrong in any case when he bracketed these words.

- 15 ἐν κηρίῳ κηφήν ἐγγίγνεται, σμήνους νόσημα, οὕτω καὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον  
ἐν οἰκίᾳ κηφήνα ἐγγίγνεσθαι, νόσημα πόλεως; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη,  
ὦ Σώκρατες. Οὐκοῦν, ὦ Ἀδείμαντε, τοὺς μὲν πτηνοὺς κηφήνας  
πάντας ἀκέντρους ὁ θεὸς πεποίηκεν, τοὺς δὲ πεζοὺς τούτους ἐνίους  
μὲν αὐτῶν ἀκέντρους, ἐνίους δὲ δεινὰ κέντρα ἔχοντας; καὶ ἐκ μὲν  
20 τῶν ἀκέντρων πτωχοὶ πρὸς τὸ γῆρας τελευτῶσιν, ἑκ δὲ τῶν D  
κεκεντρωμένων πάντες ὅσοι κέκληνται κακοῦργοι; Ἀληθέστατα,  
ἔφη. Δῆλον ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐν πόλει, οὗ ἂν ἴδης πτωχοὺς, ὅτι εἰσὶ  
που ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τόπῳ ἀποκεκρυμμένοι κλέπται τε καὶ βαλλαν-  
τιοτόμοι καὶ ἱεροσύλοι καὶ πάντων τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν δημιουργοί.  
25 Δῆλον, ἔφη. Τί οὖν; ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχουμέναις πόλεσι πτωχοὺς  
οὐχ ὀράς ἐνόντας; Ὀλίγου γ', ἔφη, πάντας τοὺς ἐκτὸς τῶν ἀρχόν-  
των. Μὴ οὖν οἰώμεθα, ἔφη, ἐγώ, καὶ κακοῦργους πολλοὺς ἐν E  
αὐταῖς εἶναι κέντρα ἔχοντας, οὓς ἐπιμελεία βία κατέχουσιν αἱ

25. δῆλον, ἔφη II: om. A.

27. οἰώμεθα A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: οἰόμεθα A<sup>1</sup>Π q.

**552 C 15** ἐν κηρίῳ: not 'in the hive' (as D. and V.), but 'in a cell.' The drone-cell in which the drone is produced stands to the whole hive as the οἰκία to the πόλις. For κηρίον in this sense, see Bonitz *Ind. Arist.* s.v.

τὸν τοιοῦτον—κηφήνα. The comparison is frequent in Greek literature from Hesiod onwards (*OD.* 304 ff.): see Ruhnken on Tim. *Lex.* s.v. κηφήνεσσι κοθούροις and Blaydes on Ar. *Wasps* 1114. "We would purge the land of the drones, that rob the bee of her honey" (*Pericles Prince of Tyre* II i. 50).

20 τελευτῶσιν: i. q. τελευτώντες εἰσιν. 'To the stingless belong those who die paupers in their old age. πρὸς τὸ γῆρας is adverbial as in VI 498 A. Stallbaum and others understand τελευτῶσιν as only 'tandem fiunt'; but the other view—Schneider's—is better and more natural: cf. II 372 D γηραιοὶ τελευτώντες and *Sympr.* 179 E.

**552 D 21** πάντες: sc. εἰσιν (understood from τελευτῶσιν) rather than γίγνονται (as J. and C. explain).

22 ἐν πόλει κτλ. Compare the melancholy picture of Athens in Isocrates *Areop.* 83 τότε μὲν οὐδεὶς ἦν τῶν πολιτῶν ἐνδεὴς τῶν ἀναγκαίων, οὐδὲ προσαιτῶν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας τὴν πόλιν κατήσχυε, νῦν δὲ πλείους εἰσιν οἱ σπανίζοντες τῶν ἐχόντων οἷς ἀξίον ἐστὶ πολλὰν συγγνώμην ἔχειν, εἰ μηδὲν τῶν κοινῶν φροντίζουσιν ἀλλὰ τοῦτο σκοποῦσιν, ὁπόθεν τὴν αἰε παρούσαν ἡμέ-

ραν διάζουσιν. The *Areopagiticus* was published about 354 B.C.

26 ὀλίγου γε—ἀρχόντων. Plato's description may be illustrated from the state of Athens just before Solon's legislation: see Solon *Fr.* 36 ed. Bergk = Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 12. 4. The words χρησμὸν λέγοντας (in line 9 of the fragment) are certainly not, as some have thought, a corruption of χρεῖους φυγόντας (as in Aristotle's text), but point to a different recension. χρησμὸν λέγοντας 'gathering alms' has been suggested (cf. *κρήζω*, *χρημοσύνη*), and may I think be the original from which the first of the two variants comes.

27 μὴ οὖν οἰώμεθα: 'are we, then, not to suppose?' μὴ is not 'num,' but the negative and goes with οἰώμεθα: cf. I 337 B μὴ ἀποκρίνωμαι ὡν προείπες μηδέν; and infra 554 B with other examples cited by Stallbaum: see also Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 187. The positive counterpart of this idiom is οἰώμεθα or βούλει οἰώμεθα: and the negative is due to the jussive idea on which the subjunctive logically depends. οἰώμεθα (see *cr. n.*) is retained by Schneider and others, μὴ being construed as 'num.' But 'we do not, then, suppose, do we,' overdoes the irony, and Stallbaum's explanation is better in every way. On the interchange of ο and ω in Paris A see *Introd.* § 5.

**552 E 28** ἐπιμελεία = 'deliberately,' 'consulto,' is a rare but well-established adverb: see Xen. *Cyr.* V 3. 47, *Mag. Eg.*

ἀρχαί; Οἰώμεθα μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ δι' ἀπαιδευσίαν καὶ  
κακὴν τροφήν καὶ κατάστασιν τῆς πολιτείας φήσομεν τοὺς τοιοῦ- 30  
τους αὐτόθι ἐγγίγνεσθαι; Φήσομεν. Ἄλλ' οὖν δὴ τοιαύτη γέ τις  
ἂν εἴη ἡ ὀλιγαρχουμένη πόλις καὶ τοσαῦτα κακὰ ἔχουσα, ἴσως δὲ  
553 καὶ πλείω. Σχεδόν τι, ἔφη. Ἀπειργάσθω δὴ ἡμῖν καὶ αὕτη, ἣν δ'  
ἐγώ, ἡ πολιτεία, ἣν ὀλιγαρχίαν καλοῦσιν, ἐκ τιμημάτων ἔχουσα  
τοὺς ἄρχοντας· τὸν δὲ ταύτῃ ὅμοιον μετὰ ταῦτα σκοπῶμεν, ὡς  
τε γίγνεται οἷός τε γενόμενος ἔστιν. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

VIII. Ἄρ' οὖν ὧδε μάλιστα εἰς ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἐκ τοῦ τιμοκρα- 5  
τικοῦ ἐκείνου μεταβάλλει; Πῶς; Ὅταν αὐτοῦ παῖς γενόμενος  
τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ζηλοῖ τε τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου ἵχνη διώκῃ,  
B ἔπειτα αὐτὸν ἰδὼν ἐξαίφνης πταίσαντα ὥσπερ πρὸς ἔρματι πρὸς τῇ

29. οἰώμεθα A<sup>2</sup>: ολόμεθα A<sup>1</sup>ΠΞγ.

5. εἰς A<sup>2</sup>Π: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

7. 9 and cf. κατ' ἐπιμέλειαν in *Hell.* IV 4. 8. The magistrates resign themselves to the presence of these κακοῦργοι, and instead of removing the cause—ἀπαιδευ-  
σία καὶ κακὴ τροφή καὶ κατάστασις τῆς πολιτείας—as they *should* do, they 'de-  
liberately hold them down by force.' Plato emphatically believed that 'force is no  
remedy.' Cf. the corresponding account of the oligarchical man in 554 C, D κατέ-  
χει ἄλλας κακὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐνούσας, οὐ  
πεύθων ὅτι οὐκ ἄμεινον, οὐδ' ἡμερῶν λόγῳ,  
ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ φόβῳ κτλ. Schneider's  
translation 'carefully' (sorgfältig) is in-  
accurate; but he was right in holding  
that ἐπιμελεῖα and not βία (as J. and C.  
suppose) is the adverb. We certainly  
cannot understand ἐπιμελεῖα as=ὕπὸ τῆς  
ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας in spite of 554 C. The  
suggestions καὶ βία (Stephanus) and  
[ἐπιμελεῖα] βία (J. J. Hartman) are  
superfluous.

29 ἀπαιδευσίαν. ἀπαιδευσία is a fea-  
ture of the oligarchical State and man:  
cf. 554 B, 559 D.

553 A—553 E. The oligarchical man  
is the son of a timarchical father, whose  
fortunes have been shipwrecked by an  
unjust condemnation. Profiting by his  
father's example, the son deposes the love  
of honour from its sovereign place, and  
enthrones desire and avarice within his  
heart. The amassing of wealth is hence-  
forward his one consuming passion.

553 A 6 ὅταν κτλ. Plato (as sug-  
gested by Hermann *Gesch. Abhandl.* pp.  
155 ff.) may have in view some of the  
generation of Athenian oligarchs who

succeeded to the political party of Cimon;  
for Cimon was τιμοκρατικός rather than  
ὀλιγαρχικός (cf. V 470 C n.). The de-  
scription of the progress of individual  
degeneration from the aristocrat down to  
the tyrant constantly reflects Plato's own  
experience of Athenian society and do-  
mestic life: cf. 549 C, D m. Abundant  
materials for the picture were doubtless  
ready at hand in the παντοδαποὶ ἀνθρω-  
ποι (557 C) of the 'bazaar of polities'  
(557 D). For the construction of this  
sentence cf. 549 C—550 A n. We ought  
not to understand μεταβάλλει before ὅταν,  
for the μεταβολή does not take place  
until 553 C, and ἄρ' οὐκ—παρὰ ζωννύνα is  
the only apodosis which Plato thinks it  
necessary to provide.

8 πταίσαντα κτλ. For the figure  
cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1006 and *Eum.* 554—565.

553 B ὥσπερ πρὸς ἔρματι κτλ. In  
some other examples of this idiom (III  
414 E, VII 520 E, supra 545 E, IX 573 E  
et al.) only the first preposition is ex-  
pressed; but in *Euthyph.* 2 C, *Phaedr.*  
255 D and *Phaed.* 67 D (according to  
Ven. T) we find as here both preposi-  
tions. Cobet is not justified in excising  
the second preposition either here or  
elsewhere (*V. L.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 54, 164 ff., 532);  
for while ὥσπερ πρὸς ἔρματι πρὸς τῇ  
πόλει (for example) is only a simili-  
tude, in ὥσπερ πρὸς ἔρματι τῇ πόλει  
the connexion is much closer, amounting  
almost to identification: see my note on  
*Euthyph.* l. c. and cf. Braun de *Hyperb.*  
*Plat.* II p. 9.



πόλει, καὶ ἐκχέαντα τὰ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ ἑαυτόν, ἢ στρατηγήσαντα ἢ  
 10 τιν' ἄλλην μεγάλην ἀρχὴν ἄρξαντα, εἶτα, εἰς δικαστήριον ἐμπεσόντα,  
 βλαπτόμενον ὑπὸ συκοφαντῶν ἢ ἀποθανόντα ἢ ἐκπεσόντα ἢ ἀτιμω-  
 θέντα καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν ἅπασαν ἀποβαλόντα—Εἰκός γ', ἔφη. Ἴδὼν  
 δέ γε, ὦ φίλε, ταῦτα καὶ παθὼν καὶ ἀπολέσας τὰ ὄντα δέισας,  
 οἶμαι, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ κεφαλὴν ὠθεῖ ἐκ τοῦ θρόνου τοῦ ἐν τῇ ἑαυτοῦ  
 15 ψυχῇ<sup>9</sup> | φιλοτιμίαν τε καὶ τὸ θυμοειδὲς ἐκεῖνο, καὶ ταπεινωθεὶς ὑπὸ C  
 πενίας πρὸς χρηματισμὸν τραπόμενος γλίσχρως καὶ κατὰ σμικρὸν  
 φειδόμενος καὶ ἐργαζόμενος χρήματα ξυλλέγεται. ἄρ' οὐκ οἶει τὸν  
 τοιοῦτον τότε εἰς μὲν τὸν θρόνον ἐκείνον τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν τε καὶ  
 φιλοχρήματον ἐγκαθίζειν καὶ μέγαν βασιλέα ποιεῖν ἐν ἑαυτῷ,  
 20 τιάρας τε καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ ἀκινάκας παραζωινύναται; Ἐγὼ γ',  
 ἔφη. Τὸ δέ γε, οἶμαι, λογιστικόν τε καὶ θυμοειδὲς<sup>1</sup> χαμαὶ ἔνθεν D  
 καὶ ἔνθεν παρακαθίσας ὑπ' ἐκείνῳ καὶ καταδουλωσάμενος, τὸ μὲν  
 οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐὰν λογίζεσθαι οὐδὲ σκοπεῖν ἄλλ' ἢ ὁπόθεν ἐξ ἑλαττόνων

9. ἢ τιν' Ξq: ἢ τὴν ΑΠ.

18. τὸ Ξq: τὸν ΑΠ.

17. ξυλλέγεται Ξq<sup>2</sup>: ξυλλέγεται ΑΠq<sup>1</sup>.

9 ἢ στρατηγήσαντα κτλ. The words ἢ στρατηγήσαντα—ἀποβαλόντα interpret the figure in ἐξαίφνης πτασάντα—ἑαυτόν: 'having either been a Strategus or held some other high office, and then, when brought to trial, been either put to death, or banished, or disfranchised and deprived of all his property, by the damaging evidence of lying informers.' βλαπτόμενον ὑπὸ συκοφαντῶν might be taken as subordinate to ἐμπεσόντα, but πρὸς πόλει πτασάντα seems rather to imply that the prosecution is not wholly vexatious, although the evidence turns out to be so. Some misfortune, such as happened for example at the battle of Arginusae (Xen. *Hell.* I 6. 33 ff., 7. 4 ff., with Grote VII pp. 411 ff.), arouses a great wave of popular feeling, in consequence of which the general is put upon his trial, and συκοφάνται manage to secure his condemnation (cf. Xen. l.c. I 7. 11). Badham and Cobet ignominiously expel βλαπτόμενον, apparently for no better reason than that ἐμπεσόντα can be followed by ὑπὸ the agent (Cobet *N. L.* p. 752, *V. L.*<sup>2</sup> p. 54). If the passage is taken as I take it, βλαπτόμενον cannot be cancelled without grave inconvenience; and even if βλαπτόμενον ὑπὸ συκοφαντῶν be construed with ἐμπεσόντα, its excision is unnecessary. On the mischief wrought by συκοφάνται in

Athens see Hermann-Thumser *Gr. Staatsalt.* p. 686 nn. 2—4.

553 C 17 ξυλλέγεται. See *cr. n.* and 550 A, 553 A nn. ξυλλέγεται is impossible after ὠθεῖ, and ὠθῇ would be very awkward.

20 τιάρας κτλ.: symbols of Oriental sovereignty—note μέγαν βασιλέα—and distinction: see *Dict. Ant.* s.vv. and Schück *de Scholiis* p. 32.

553 D 21 χαμαὶ—παρακαθίσας. Plato makes them squat like servile Oriental courtiers. The picture expresses with admirable clearness the psychological basis of Plato's sequence of politics: see on 547 C and 550 C, and compare the lines of Milton *Paradise Lost* IX 1127 ff. "Understanding ruled not, and the will Heard not her lore; both in subjection now To sensual appetite, who from beneath Usurping, over sovran reason claimed Superior sway." The poet Gray's note, though not, I think, correct, is worthy of quotation: "An allusion to those statues or bas-reliefs where some king, or conqueror, is represented with captive nations in chains sitting at his feet; as in that erected to the honour of Justinian, in the Hippodrome at Constantinople."

22 καὶ καταδουλωσάμενος is excised by J. J. Hartmann: but see V 451 B n.

χρημάτων πλείω ἔσται, τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ θαυμάζειν καὶ τιμᾶν μηδὲν ἄλλο  
ἢ πλοῦτόν τε καὶ πλουσίους, καὶ φιλοτιμείσθαι μηδ' ἐφ' ἐνὶ ἄλλῃ 25  
ἢ ἐπὶ χρημάτων κτήσει καὶ ἑάν τι ἄλλο εἰς τοῦτο φέρῃ. Οὐκ ἔστ'  
ἄλλη, ἔφη, μεταβολὴ οὕτω ταχεῖά τε καὶ ἰσχυρὰ ἐκ φιλοτίμου ἰέου  
Ε εἰς φιλοχρήματον. Ἰ Ἀρ' οὖν οὗτος, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὀλιγαρχικός ἐστιν;  
'Η γοῦν μεταβολὴ αὐτοῦ ἐξ ὁμοίου ἀνδρός ἐστι τῇ πολιτείᾳ, ἐξ ἧς  
554 ἡ ὀλιγαρχία μετέστη. Σκοπῶμεν δὴ εἰ ὅμοιος ἂν εἴη. | Σκοπῶμεν. 30

ΙΧ. Οὐκοῦν πρῶτον μὲν τῷ χρήματα περὶ πλείστου ποιείσθαι  
ὅμοιος ἂν εἴη; Πῶς δ' οὐ; Καὶ μὴν τῷ γε φειδωλὸς εἶναι καὶ  
ἐργάτης, τὰς ἀναγκαίους ἐπιθυμίας μόνον τῶν παρ' αὐτῷ ἀποπιμ-  
πλῆς, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀναλώματα μὴ παρεχόμενος, ἀλλὰ δουλούμενος 5  
τὰς ἄλλας ἐπιθυμίας ὡς ματαίους. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Αὐχμηρός γέ-  
τις, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦν καὶ ἀπὸ παντὸς περιουσίαν ποιούμενος, θησαυρο-  
Β ποιὸς ἀνὴρ· οὓς δὴ | καὶ ἐπαινεῖ τὸ πλῆθος. ἡ οὐχ οὗτος ἂν εἴη  
ὁ τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ ὅμοιος; Ἐμοὶ γοῦν, ἔφη, δοκεῖ· χρήματα  
γοῦν μάλιστα ἔντιμα τῇ τε πόλει καὶ παρὰ τῷ τοιούτῳ. Οὐ γάρ, 10  
οἶμαι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, παιδεία ὁ τοιοῦτος προσέσχηκεν. Οὐ δοκῶ, ἔφη·  
οὐ γὰρ ἂν τυφλὸν ἡγεμόνα τοῦ χοροῦ ἐστήσατο καὶ ἐτίμα μάλιστα.

12. Ita Schneider. ἐστήσατο. Καὶ ἐτι μάλιστα εὐ Α.

24 μηδέν is written rather than οὐδέν owing to the infinitives θαυμάζειν καὶ τιμᾶν.

27 ἄλλη: i.e. other than you have just described. Jowett's translation "Of all changes, he said, there is none so speedy or so sure as the conversion of the ambitious youth into the avaricious one" is quite wrong.

553 Ε 30 εἴη. Stallbaum and some others place a mark of interrogation after εἴη: "quod ego non penitus ineptum, sed inter proxime praecedentem et proxime sequentem interrogationem minus aptum existimo" (Schneider). Cf. 550 C.

554 Α—555 Β. In character, the oligarchical man resembles the oligarchical State. He gratifies his 'necessary' desires and no others. He is avaricious, niggardly, sordid, and the blind god of wealth is leader of the chorus of his soul. From time to time, as opportunity offers, the drone-like desires within him assert themselves, but for the most part he forcibly represses them through fear of consequences. Thus, although his soul is a prey to sedition, his better desires generally prevail over those which are worse. In public competitions he is usually content to be beaten and save

his money.

554 Α 4 ἐργάτης: not simply 'hard-working' (D. and V.), but with reference to *illiberalis labor*.

ἀναγκαίους. This form of the feminine recurs in IV 425 D, supra 558 D, 559 Α, 561 Α (ter) and IX 572 C; but in 558 D we have ἀναγκαῖαι, and ἀναγκαῖα in 559 Β, C. See Schneider on IV 425 D. There is no justification for making ἀναγκαῖος consistently an adjective of either two or three terminations (as suggested by Richards). The full meaning of ἀναγκαῖος ἐπιθυμία is explained in 558 D ff.

5 τὰ ἄλλα ἀναλώματα "sunt pecuniae in cetera impendendae, quas hic negatur παρέχεσθαι, de suis praebere" (Schneider). With ἄλλα cf. ἄλλης 554 C, and with παρεχόμενος IV 421 D n. The translation 'not affording or allowing himself' (J. and C.) is inaccurate. παραδεχόμενος, which was read, with slight MS authority, before Bekker, has been rightly discarded by later editors.

8 οὓς δὴ. For the plural cf. (with Stallbaum) *Laus* 908 D and Eur. *Hel.* 440 "Ἕλλην πεφυκώς, οἷσιν οὐκ ἐπιστροφῆαι. See also on I 347 Α.

554 Β 12 τυφλὸν κτλ. τὸν Πλοῦτον,

Εὐ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ. τόδε δὲ σκόπει. κηφηνώδεις ἐπιθυμίας ἐν αὐτῷ  
 διὰ τὴν ἀπαιδευσίαν μὴ φῶμεν ἐγγίγνεσθαι, τὰς μὲν πτωχικάς,<sup>1</sup> τὰς C  
 15 δὲ κακούργους, κατεχομένας βίᾳ ὑπὸ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιμελείας; Καὶ  
 μάλ', ἔφη. Οἴσθα οὖν, εἶπον, οἱ ἀποβλέψας κατόψει αὐτῶν τὰς  
 κακουργίας; Ποῖ; ἔφη. Εἰς τὰς τῶν ὀρφανῶν ἐπιτροπεύσεις καὶ  
 εἴ ποῦ τι αὐτοῖς τοιοῦτον ξυμβαίνει, ὥστε πολλῆς ἐξουσίας λαβέ-  
 20 σθαι τοῦ ἀδικεῖν. Ἀληθῆ. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ τοῦτῳ δῆλον, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις ξυμβολαίοις ὁ τοιοῦτος, ἐν οἷς εὐδοκιμεῖ δοκῶν δίκαιος εἶναι,  
 ἐπιεικεῖ τινι ἑαυτοῦ βίᾳ κατέχει ἄλλας<sup>1</sup> κακὰς ἐπιθυμίας ἐνούσας, D  
 οὐ πείθων, ὅτι οὐκ ἄμεινον, οὐδ' ἡμερῶν λόγῳ, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη καὶ  
 φόβῳ, περὶ τῆς ἄλλης οὐσίας τρέμων; Καὶ πάννυ γ', ἔφη. Καὶ  
 νῆ Δία, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ φίλε, τοῖς πολλοῖς γε αὐτῶν εὐρήσεις, ὅταν  
 25 δέη τἀλλότρια ἀναλίσκειν, τὰς τοῦ κηφήνος ξυγγενεῖς ἐνούσας

24. εὐρήσεις A<sup>1</sup>Π: ἐνευρήσεις A<sup>2</sup>.

οἶμαι, φησὶν says a Scholiast in the margin of A. See Blaydes on Ar. *Plut.* 90. Hirmer (*Entst. u. Komp. d. Pl. Pol.* p. 658 n.) doubts whether the god of Wealth is represented as blind earlier than Aristophanes; but a σκόλιον of Timocreon began ὥφελέν σ' ὦ τυφλὲ Πλούτε (Schol. on Ar. *Ach.* 532). With the figure in τοῦ χοροῦ cf. VI 490 C and infra 500 E.

ἐτίμα μάλιστα. See *cr. n.* Schneider's admirable emendation is now universally accepted: cf. μάλιστα ἐντιμα above and τιμᾶν μηδὲν ἄλλο ἢ πλοῦτον 553 D. On the corruption see *Introd.* § 5.

13 κηφηνώδεις κτλ. As oligarchy has 'drones' (552 C), so the oligarchical man has 'drone desires.' The parallel is worked out with unusual completeness, even for Plato: see on 555 A.

14 μὴ φῶμεν. 552 D n.

552 C 15 κατεχομένας κτλ. Cf. 552 E. ἄλλης = περὶ τὰ ἄλλα: cf. ἄλλα in 554 A. The translation 'his general habit of carefulness' (J. and C.) is scarcely right: cf. περὶ τῆς ἄλλης οὐσίας τρέμων in D below.

16 αὐτῶν: not κηφηνῶδων ἐπιθυμῶν, but the plural masculine, in spite of αὐτῷ above (I 347 A n.).

18 ὥστε πολλῆς κτλ. See II 359 B ff. Socrates would say that the picture which Glauco there draws is only too true of the oligarchical man.

19 τοῦτῳ δῆλον: 'clear by this,' 'clear from this,' as in Eur. *Hipp.* 627

τοῦτῳ δὲ δῆλον and Ar. *Plut.* 587 (τοῦτῳ δηλοῦ). Stallbaum reads τοῦτο with E and a majority of the inferior MSS; but there is no reason for deserting A and II. The antecedent to τοῦτῳ is contained in οἷσθ' οὖν—ἀδικεῖν. From the fact that such a person κακουργεῖ when he gets the chance, it is clear (says Socrates) that when he εὐδοκιμεῖ δοκῶν δίκαιος εἶναι, he achieves this result only by doing violence to himself.

21 ἐπιεικεῖ κτλ.: 'by a sort of virtuous self-constraint' not (as Campbell) 'by some virtuous element in himself' he forcibly restrains. βίᾳ is a verbal noun as in βίᾳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν (566 A) and the like. τινι qualifies ἐπιεικής: there is no real ἐπιεικεία in this sort of thing: cf. *Phaed.* 69 A ff.

552 D 24 εὐρήσεις: see *cr. n.* The addition of ἐν above the line by A<sup>2</sup> is hardly sufficient to justify ἐνευρήσεις, especially as εὐρήσεις has much more support from the other MSS. ἐνευρίσκω has not yet been proved classical (see Jebb on Soph. *Aj.* 1144), and Schneider afterwards (*Addit.* p. 65) retracted his defence of it here. The distance of τοῖς πολλοῖς from ἐνούσας ἐπιθυμίας is no real difficulty, especially after ἐπιθυμίας ἐνούσας just above.

25 τὰς τοῦ κηφήνος ξυγγενεῖς κτλ. Cf. VII 519 B, C n. For ἀσταςίαςτος see on 545 C. διπλοῦς: like the oligarchical State, which is 'not one, but two' (551 D).



ἐπιθυμίας. Καὶ μάλα, ἡ δ' ὅς, σφόδρα. Οὐκ ἄρ' ἂν εἴη ἀστασίασ-  
τος ὁ τοιοῦτος ἐν ἑαυτῷ, οὐδὲ εἰς ἀλλὰ διπλοῦς τις, ἐπιθυμίας δὲ  
Ε ἐπιθυμιῶν ὡς τὸ ἰ πολὺ κρατούσας ἂν ἔχοι βελτίους χειρόνων.  
"Εστὶν οὕτω. Διὰ ταῦτα δὴ, οἶμαι, εὐσχημονέστερος ἂν πολλῶν ὁ  
τοιοῦτος εἴη· ὁμοιοσητικῆς δὲ καὶ ἡρμοσμένης τῆς ψυχῆς ἀληθῆς 30  
ἀρετὴ πόρρω ποι ἐκφεύγοι ἂν αὐτόν. Δοκεῖ μοι. Καὶ μὴν ἀντα-  
555 γωνιστῆς γε ἰδίᾳ ἐν πόλει ὁ φειδωλὸς ἢ φαῦλος ἢ τινος νίκης ἢ  
ἄλλης φιλοτιμίας τῶν καλῶν, χρήματά τε οὐκ ἐθέλων εὐδοξίας  
ἐνεκα καὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἀγώνων ἀναλίσκειν, δεδιὼς τὰς ἐπιθυμίας  
τὰς ἀναλωτικὰς ἐγείρειν καὶ ξυμπααρακαλεῖν ἐπὶ ξυμμαχίαν τε καὶ  
φιλονικίαν, ὀλίγοις τισὶν ἑαυτοῦ πολεμῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶς τὰ πολλὰ 5  
ἡττᾶται καὶ πλουτεῖ. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. "Ετι οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,  
ἀπιστοῦμεν, μὴ κατὰ τὴν ὀλιγαρχουμένην πόλιν ὁμοιότητι τὸν  
Β φειδωλὸν τε καὶ χρηματιστὴν ἰ τετάχθαι; Οὐδαμῶς, ἔφη.

7. μὴ Α<sup>2</sup>Π: om. Α<sup>1</sup>.

554 Ε 30 ἡρμοσμένης τῆς ψυχῆς. Richards would omit τῆς, but the article (which is in all MSS), implies, I think, that such a soul exists and has already been described, as it has in ἕνα γενόμενον ἐκ πολλῶν, σῶφρονα καὶ ἡρμοσμένον IV 443 D, E.

31 ἀνταγωνιστῆς γε κτλ. See on 551 E. Susemihl *Gen. Entw.* II p. 232 reminds us of the disinclination on the part of rich Athenians to undertake λειτουργίαι: see Hermann-Thumser l.c. pp. 687 ff.

555 Α 2 τῶν καλῶν: sc. φιλοτιμιῶν. In χρήματά τε the τε connects its own with the preceding clause, and does not here mean 'both.' τοιούτων: i.e. εὐδόξων. This interpretation is more idiomatic and forcible than to refer τοιούτων to φιλοτιμίας κτλ.

5 φιλονικίαν κτλ. The ὀλιγαρχικός, when competing for νίκη, is a φαῦλος ἀνταγωνιστής, because he is afraid to summon his ἀναλωτικαὶ ἐπιθυμίαι 'to fight and strive for victory along with him,' precisely as the oligarchical city was afraid to arm the πλῆθος (551 D n.). And just as the oligarchs found themselves ὡς ἀληθῶς ὀλιγ-αρχικοὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ μάχεσθαι (551 E), so the ὀλιγαρχικός ἀνὴρ, 'true to his name of olig-arch' (ὀλιγαρχικῶς), 'employs but few of his forces in the war, and is usually beaten and keeps his money' ('loses the prize and saves his

money' Jowett). The force of ξυμ- in ξυμμαχίαν may perhaps extend to φιλονικίαν (cf. 546 A n.), which must not be translated 'rivalry' (with D. and V.): see on IX 581 B. ἡττᾶται καὶ πλουτεῖ has an epigrammatic effect somewhat like Juvenal's "probitas laudatur et alget."

7 ὁμοιότητι = 'in virtue of similarity': cf. IX 576 C. Baiter and others would expunge the word in both places as an 'inutile glossema,' and it is true that the meaning could be apprehended without ὁμοιότητι, as in 561 E—562 A. There are, however, many principles (e.g. ἀνομοιότης etc.) on which things can be τεταγμένα κατ' ἄλληλα 'ranged over against one another,' and it is right that in summing up, Plato should emphasise the principle which has determined the form of his exposition from σκοπῶμεν δὴ εἰ ὅμοιος ἂν εἴη (554 A) onwards: see 554 B, D, E nn. For the dative cf. IX 575 C n.

555 B—557 Α *Oligarchy is succeeded by Democracy. As dissipated young men in an oligarchical government are permitted and even encouraged to squander their property, a large impoverished class of 'stinging drones' makes its appearance in the city. The rulers take no steps to remedy an evil which increases their own fortunes, and become luxurious and effeminate. In seasons of stress and common danger, the poor discover their own*

X. Δημοκρατίαν δὴ, ὡς ἔοικε, μετὰ τοῦτο σκεπτέον, τίνα τε  
 10 γίγνεται τρόπον γενομένη τε ποίον τινα ἔχει, ἵν' αὐτὸν τοῦ τοιούτου  
 ἀνδρὸς τρόπον γνόντες παραστησώμεθ' αὐτὸν εἰς κρίσιν. Ὀμοίως  
 γοῦν ἂν, ἔφη, ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς πορευοίμεθα. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, μετα-  
 βάλλει μὲν τρόπον τινὰ τοιόνδε ἐξ ὀλιγαρχίας εἰς δημοκρατίαν, δι'  
 15 ἀπληστίαν τοῦ προκειμένου ἀγαθοῦ, τοῦ ὡς πλουσιώτατον δεῖν  
 γίγνεσθαι; Πῶς δὴ; <sup>1</sup> Ἄτε, οἶμαι, ἄρχοντες ἐν αὐτῇ οἱ ἄρχοντες C  
 διὰ τὸ πολλὰ κεκτῆσθαι, οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν εἶργειν νόμῳ τῶν νέων ὅσοι  
 ἂν ἀκόλαστοι γίγνωνται, μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτοῖς ἀναλίσκειν τε καὶ  
 ἀπολλύναι τὰ αὐτῶν, ἵνα ὠνούμενοι τὰ τῶν τοιούτων καὶ εἰσδανεί-  
 ζοντες ἔτι πλουσιώτεροι καὶ ἐντιμότεροι γίγνωνται. Παντός γε  
 20 μᾶλλον. Οὐκοῦν δῆλον ἤδη τοῦτο ἐν πόλει, ὅτι πλοῦτον τιμᾶν καὶ  
 σωφροσύνην ἅμα ἱκανῶς κτᾶσθαι ἐν τοῖς πολίταις ἀδύνατον, <sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' D  
 ἀνάγκη ἢ τοῦ ἐτέρου ἀμελεῖν ἢ τοῦ ἐτέρου; Ἐπιεικῶς, ἔφη, δῆλον.  
 Παραμελοῦντες δὴ ἐν ταῖς ὀλιγαρχίαις καὶ ἐφίέντες ἀκολασταίνειν  
 οὐκ ἀγενεῖς ἐνίστε ἀνθρώπους πένητας ἠνάγκασαν γενέσθαι.

18. εἰσδανείζοντες A<sup>1</sup>Π: δανείζοντες A<sup>2</sup>.

*strength and the weakness of the rich, and thereafter it needs but a little impulse to overthrow the rotten fabric. Democracy is established as soon as the introduction of the lot affirms the principle of equality.*

555 B 9 δημοκρατίαν δὴ κτλ. We have seen that the dominant feature in the oligarchical State is τὸ φιλοχρήματον, and the present chapter describes how in process of time the polity itself is inevitably overthrown by that very principle. The incidents which prove the immediate cause of revolution are such as may frequently have happened in Greek history: see 556 C, D, E and 557 A *nn*. It is instructive to compare with this chapter Aristotle's *a posteriori* analysis of the causes of revolution in oligarchical cities (Pol. E 6). On the psychological basis of democracy see 557 A *n*.

11 παραστησώμεθα κτλ. For the use of παραστήσασθαι Schneider refers to 11 360 E, 361 B and Lucian *Icarom.* 17, ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις παραστησάμενος πολλοὺς χορευτὰς—ἐπειτα προστάξειε κτλ.

ὁμοίως κτλ. See 543 A *n*. μεταβάλλει='it changes,' viz. the πολιτεία. The verb is scarcely impersonal, as the English translators appear to suppose.

14 προκειμένου κτλ. προκειμένου is not 'publicly acknowledged' (D. and V.),

but 'propositus,' as in τὸ τέλος τὸ προκει-  
 μενον. δεῖν (wrongly rejected by J. J. Hartman) 'resumes the notion of προκει-  
 μένου' (J. and C.). Similar pleonasms occur in Crit. 44 C, Gorg. 500 C and else-  
 where: cf. also ἐξεῖναι in C below and VII  
 535 A *n*.

555 C 15 ἄτε—ἄρχοντες κτλ. As in timarchy (550 D ff.), so in oligarchy, it is the love of money which sows the seeds of party strife and political degeneration. Cf. generally 552 A *n*. and Aristotle Pol. E 6. 1305<sup>b</sup> 39 ff., with his criticism of Plato *ibid.* 12. 1316<sup>b</sup> 15 ff.

18 εἰσδανείζοντες: i.e. 'lending money on-the-security-of' (els). The τὰ τῶν τοιούτων should be taken with the els of εἰσδανείζοντες as well as with ὠνούμενοι: cf. Arist. Pol. Z 4. 1319<sup>a</sup> 13 δανείζειν els τι μέρος τῆς ὑπαρχούσης ἐκάστῳ γῆς and Dem. in *Aphob.* 1 28. The word εἰσδανείζω is a ἅπαξ εἰρημένον, but we certainly ought not to substitute ἐκδανείζοντες (suggested by Stephanus) or προσδανείζοντες (with Richards).

20 δῆλον ἤδη τοῦτο κτλ. See 550 E *n*.

555 D 24 οὐκ ἀγενεῖς κτλ. = 'of no common stamp' etc. (*von nicht gemeiner Art*, Schneider), not simply 'of noble birth' (as D. and V.). Catiline would

Μάλα γε. Κάθηνται δὴ, οἶμαι, οὗτοι ἐν τῇ πόλει κεκεντρωμένοι 25  
 τε καὶ ἐξωπλισμένοι, οἱ μὲν ὀφείλοντες χρέα, οἱ δὲ ἄτιμοι γεγονότες,  
 οἱ δὲ ἀμφοτέρω, μισοῦντές τε καὶ ἐπιβουλεύοντες τοῖς κτησαμένοις  
 Ε τὰ αὐτῶν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις, νεωτερισμοῦ ἐρώντες. Ἔστι ταῦτα.  
 Οἱ δὲ δὴ χρηματιστὰι ἐγκύψαντες οὐδὲ δοκοῦντες τούτους ὁρᾶν,  
 τῶν λοιπῶν τὸν αἰὶ ὑπείκοντα ἐνιέντες ἀργύριον τιτρώσκοντες καὶ 30  
 556 τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκγόνους τόκους πολλαπλασίους κομιζόμενοι | πολὺν  
 τὸν κηφήνα καὶ πτωχὸν ἐμποιοῦσι τῇ πόλει. Πῶς γάρ, ἔφη, οὐ  
 πολὺν; Οὔτε γ' ἐκείνη, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, τὸ τοιοῦτον κακὸν ἐκκαόμενον  
 ἐθέλουσιν ἀποσβεννύναι, εἴργοντες τὰ αὐτοῦ ὅπῃ τις βούλεται  
 τρέπειν, οὔτε τῇδε, ἣ αὖ κατὰ ἕτερον νόμον τὰ τοιαῦτα λύεται. 5  
 Κατὰ δὴ τίνα; Ὅς μετ' ἐκείνόν ἐστι δεύτερος καὶ ἀναγκάζων  
 ἀρετῆς ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοὺς πολίτας. εἰ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῷ αὐτοῦ κινδύνῳ  
 Β τὰ πολλά τις τῶν ἐκουσίων ξυμβολαίων | προστάτῃ ξυμβάλλειν,  
 χρηματίζονται μὲν ἂν ἡττον ἀναιδῶς ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐλάττω δ' ἐν  
 αὐτῇ φύοιτο τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν, οἷον νῦν δὴ εἵπομεν. Καὶ πολὺ 10

have seemed to Plato a case in point (cf. Sallust *Cat.* 5), and the Catilinarian conspiracy illustrates not inaptly the description which follows (555 D, E). The aorist ἡνάγκασαν is gnomie, as appears from the plural ἐν ταῖς διλογαῖαις.

25 κεκεντρωμένοι κτλ. See 552 C, D *πν.* ἐξωπλισμένοι does little more than explain the metaphor, *more Platonico*: see on V 451 B and cf. καὶ πτωχὸν (wrongly discarded by J. J. Hartman) in 556 A below.

555 E 29 ἐγκύψαντες. τοιαῦτα γὰρ τὰ τῶν ἀγαν φροντιζόντων καὶ περὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐχόντων σχήματα (Schol. on Ar. *Clouds* 191). A comparison with IX 586 A κάτω αἰὲ βλέποντες καὶ κεκυφότες εἰς γῆν suggests that the stoop of the χρηματιστῆς in reality betrays the inherent earthliness of his soul: see on VII 519 A, B and cf. Dante *Purg.* 19. 70—72.

31 τοῦ πατρὸς κτλ. Cf. VI 507 A *π.* τόκους is bracketed by Herwerden, but τὸν τόκον τε καὶ ἐκγονον (l.c.) supports it.

556 A 3 οὔτε γε κτλ. καὶ appears before οὔτε in IΠ 7 and a majority of MSS, but the reading of A is, I now think, right. We should translate 'At all events, said I, they are unwilling to extinguish this kind of mischief when it is beginning to break into a flame, either by preventing' etc. If they quenched it

in its earlier stages, then the πτωχοὶ would not be πολλοί: and πολὺν bears the emphasis in both the previous sentences. For this use of γε see 559 B *π.*, and cf. IX 581 C and (with Schneider) Isocr. *Paneg.* 153. With ἐκκαόμενον cf. Ar. *Peace* 1132. D. and V. understand the word of 'cauterizing,' wrongly, as ἀποσβεννύναι shews.

4 ὅπῃ. I formerly, with two inferior MSS, Bekker and Ast, read ὅποι, which is certainly more exact: see the examples cited by Blaydes on Ar. *Clouds* 858 τὰς δ' ἐμβάδας ποῖ τέτροφας; The verb βούλεται is however treated as more than a mere auxiliary, and the relative accommodated to it by a species of attraction, even at the cost of sacrificing something of the peculiar force of τρέπειν. Translate 'to dispose of one's property as one likes.'

5 ἕτερον νόμον. Plato's language here and in δς μετ' ἐκείνόν ἐστι δεύτερος seems to imply that such a law would not be altogether a novelty in Greece. According to Theophrastus (*Frag.* 97. 5 Wimmer=Stob. *Flor.* 44. 22), it found a place among the laws of Charondas: ἐὰν δέ τις πιστεύσῃ, μὴ εἶναι δίκην· αὐτὸν γὰρ αἴτιον εἶναι τῆς ἀδικίας. Plato makes a similar provision in *Laws* 742 C, 849 E, 915 E.



γε, ἡ δ' ὅς. Νῦν δέ γ', ἔφην ἐγά, διὰ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τοὺς μὲν δὴ ἀρχομένους οὕτω διατιθέασιν ἐν τῇ πόλει οἱ ἄρχοντες· σφᾶς δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀρ' οὐ τρυφῶντας μὲν τοὺς νέους καὶ ἀπόνους καὶ πρὸς τὰ τοῦ σώματος καὶ πρὸς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς, μαλακοὺς δὲ  
 15 καρτερεῖν πρὸς ἡδονάς τε καὶ λύπας καὶ ἀργούς; Τί μὴν; Αὐτοὺς C  
 δὲ πλὴν χρηματισμοῦ τῶν ἄλλων ἡμεληκότας, καὶ οὐδὲν πλείω ἐπιμέλειαν πεποιημένους ἀρετῆς ἢ τοὺς πένητας; Οὐ γὰρ οὖν. Οὕτω δὴ παρεσκευασμένοι ὅταν παραβάλλωσιν ἀλλήλοις οἱ τε ἄρχοντες καὶ οἱ ἀρχόμενοι ἢ ἐν ὁδῶν πορείαις ἢ ἐν ἄλλαις τισὶ  
 20 κοινωνίαις, ἢ κατὰ θεωρίας ἢ κατὰ στρατείας, ἢ ξύμπλοι γιγνόμενοι ἢ συστρατιῶται, ἢ καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς κινδύνοις ἰ ἀλλήλους θεώμενοι D  
 μηδαμῇ ταύτῃ καταφρονῶνται οἱ πένητες ὑπὸ τῶν πλουσίων, ἀλλὰ πολλακίς ἰσχνὸς ἀνὴρ πένης, ἡλιωμένος, παραταχθεὶς ἐν μάχῃ πλουσίῳ ἐσκιατροφηκότι, πολλὰς ἔχοντι σάρκας ἀλλοτρίας, ἴδῃ

556 B 11 τοὺς μὲν δὴ κτλ. μὲν balances δέ after σφᾶς, and should not be taken with δὴ in the ordinary sense of the collocation μὲν δὴ: so that there is no reason to omit δὴ (with E and two other MSS) on the ground that μὲν δὴ comes too late in the sentence. δὴ "priori membro dilatando inservit et vinculi per μὲν iniecti nexum relaxans alterum membrum ut nova interrogatione instructum minus miremur efficit" (Schneider, comparing *Lazos* 751 E).

13 ἀρ' οὐ τρυφῶντας κτλ. Note the usual Platonic chiasmus.

556 C, D 18 παραβάλλωσιν: 'come alongside,' originally perhaps a nautical expression (J. and C.), as in Arist. *de gen. anim.* III 11. 763<sup>a</sup> 31. The usage occurs again in *Lys.* 203 B, and tolerably often in Aristotle.

21 ἢ καὶ κτλ. ὅταν extends its influence to καταφρονῶνται and ἴδῃ. On θεώμενοι κτλ. Schneider remarks "post verba ἀλλήλους θεώμενοι expectabatur μηδαμῇ ὡς πρότερον περὶ ἀλλήλων διανοῶνται, vel tale quid, quod ad utrosque se invicem conspicientes pertineret; cuius loco statim divisione facta quid iam de pauperibus divites, de divitibus pauperes sentiant, infertur. Cuius non inconsequentiae, sed brevioquentiae significandae causa supra post θεώμενοι comma—sustuli." The effect is analogous to that produced by so-called partitive apposition (IV 431 A n.), of which idiom a somewhat similar extension occurs in V 465 C, where

see note. Richards suspects corruption, proposing to read either (1) θεωμένων and perhaps also ἢ κἂν or ἢ καὶ <ἐάν> instead of ἢ καί, or (2) simply to insert καὶ before μηδαμῇ. The second proposal is neat and scholarly; but καὶ was unlikely to disappear, and Plato's rapidity of thought and style renders him particularly liable to grammatical and other irregularities in his more spirited and dramatic passages: cf. VI 488 C, D, VII 531 A, and infra 558 A. See also on 549 D above.

556 D 22 ταύτῃ is emphatic, implying that it is otherwise when danger does not threaten.

24 πολλὰς κτλ.: 'with quantities of alien fat about him' (*viel fremdes Fleisch an sich habend*, Schneider), 'cumbered with much fat.' παχεὶς 'bloated' was, it may be remembered, a nickname for oligarchs: see Gilbert *Gr. Staatsalt.* II p. 275 n. 2 and Neil's edition of Ar. *Knights* App. II p. 209. ἀλλοτρίος is 'not his own,' i.e. no real part of him, and hence useless, superfluous. As Graser points out (*Spec. advers. in serm. Pl.* p. 91), it is Homer's γαβημοῖσιν ἀλλοτρίοισι (*Od.* xx 347) which is the source of this and other kindred uses of ἀλλότριος, e.g. Thuc. I 70. 6 and Isocr. *Paneg.* 86. Hermann thinks the meaning is that he has grown fat at the expense of others, like the drone. This explanation is less pointed, and the drone represents not the rich oligarch, but the πτωχός (555 E). With the feeling of this passage cf. Plut. *Apoph.*

ἄσθματός τε καὶ ἀπορίας μεστόν, ἀρ' οἶει αὐτὸν οὐχ ἡγείσθαι κακία 25  
 τῇ σφετέρᾳ πλουτεῖν τοὺς τοιούτους, καὶ ἄλλον ἄλλῳ παραγγέλλειν,  
**E** ὅταν ἰδία ξυγγίγνωνται, ὅτι ἄνδρες ἡμέτεροι·<sup>1</sup> εἰσὶ γὰρ οὐδέν; Εὐ  
 οἶδα μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἔγωγε, ὅτι οὕτω ποιοῦσιν. Οὐκοῦν ὥσπερ σῶμα  
 νοσῶδες μικρᾶς ῥοπῆς ἔξωθεν δεῖται προσλαβέσθαι πρὸς τὸ κάμνειν,  
 ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἔξω στασιάζει αὐτὸ αὐτῷ, οὕτω δὲ καὶ ἡ 30  
 κατὰ ταυτὰ ἐκείνῳ διακειμένη πόλις ἀπὸ σμικρᾶς προφάσεως,  
 ἔξωθεν ἐπαγομένων ἢ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐξ ὀλιγαρχουμένης πόλεως συμ-  
 μαχίαν ἢ τῶν ἐτέρων ἐκ δημοκρατουμένης. νοσεῖ τε καὶ αὐτὴ αὐτῇ  
 557 μάχεται, ἐνίοτε δὲ καὶ ἄνευ τῶν ἔξω στασιάζει; | Καὶ σφόδρα γε.  
 Δημοκρατία δὴ, οἶμαι, γίγνεται, ὅταν οἱ πένητες νικήσαντες τοὺς  
 μὲν ἀποκτείνωσι τῶν ἐτέρων, τοὺς δὲ ἐκβάλωσι, τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἐξ  
 ἴσου μεταδῶσι πολιτείας τε καὶ ἀρχῶν καὶ ὥς τὸ πολὺ ἀπὸ κλήρων

32. ἐπαγομένων—συμμαχίαν Π et in marg. A<sup>2</sup>: om. A<sup>1</sup>. νοήσει A<sup>1</sup>.

33. νοσεῖ A<sup>2</sup>Π:

*Reg. et Imr.* 192 D τοῖς πολυσάρκοις ἐπο-  
 λέμει ('Επαμεινώνδας) καὶ τινα τοιούτον  
 ἀπῆλασε τῆς στρατιάς, εἰπὼν ὅτι μόλις  
 αὐτοῦ σκέπουσιν τὴν γαστέρα ἀσπίδες τρεῖς  
 ἢ τέσσαρες.

27 ἄνδρες—οὐδέν. 'We have them  
 at our mercy: for they're good for no-  
 thing.' ἄνδρες ἡμέτεροι is virtually an  
 exhortation to rise in revolt: hence παραγ-  
 γέλλειν. The omission of the article  
 heightens the dramatic effect: cf. X 617 D.  
 ἡμέτεροι has a colloquial ring ('they are  
 ours'). A kindred meaning, but without  
 any colloquial touch, appears in Xen.  
*Cyr.* II 3, 2 (quoted by Schneider *Addit.*  
 p. 65) ἦν μὲν ἡμεῖς νικῶμεν—δῆλον ὅτι οἱ  
 τὸν πολέμιον ἡμέτεροι καὶ τὰ τῶν πολεμίων  
 ἀγαθὰ πάντα: cf. also VII 5. 73. This  
 interpretation, which Schneider finally  
 suggested, has the support of A, II and  
 other MSS. Baiter's ἄνδρες ἡμέτεροι εἰσὶ  
 παρ' οὐδέν has found considerable favour,  
 and gives a fair sense, but παρ' οὐδέν (for  
 which see Jebb on Soph. *Ant.* 466) ap-  
 pears to me unpleasantly weak. ἄνδρες  
 ἡμέτεροι εἰσὶν οὐδέν (η and others) is in-  
 trinsically better (cf. 562 D), and may be  
 right, but the intrusion of γάρ in the best  
 MSS remains a difficulty, and παραγγέλλειν  
 (as in Baiter's reading) is shorn perhaps  
 of its full force. It is on the whole easier,  
 I think, to understand ἡμέτεροι as I do  
 than to explain the insertion of γάρ in  
 our two oldest and best MSS.

556 E 28 οὐκοῦν ὥσπερ κτλ. Cf.

Soph. *O. T.* 961 σμικρὰ παλαιὰ σώματ'  
 εὐνάζει ῥοπή. The Platonic simile is  
 imitated by Arist. *Pol.* Z 6. 1320<sup>b</sup> 33 ff.  
 and may also, as Stallbaum thinks, have  
 been in Demosthenes' mind when he wrote  
*Ol.* II 21.

32 ἔξωθεν ἐπαγομένων κτλ. A familiar  
 feature in the history of Greek revolu-  
 tions: cf. Whibley *Gk Olig.* p. 52 and  
 (for examples) Gilbert *Gr. Staatsalt.* II  
*passim*.

557 A 4 καὶ ὥς τὸ πολὺ κτλ.: 'and  
 the magistracies in the city are for the  
 most part given by lot.' These words,  
 which depend, of course, on *δταν*, explain  
 ἐξ ἴσου—ἀρχῶν, and should be taken in  
 close connexion with that clause, as A<sup>2</sup>  
 long ago pointed out. The difference in  
 tense (μεταδῶσι but γίγνωνται), no less  
 than the meaning, clearly indicates that  
 the two clauses do not express two  
 separate and distinct acts. It is by  
 means of the lot that *ισότης* is secured;  
 and hence democracy is not established  
 until offices are assigned thereby: cf.  
 Hdt. III 80 πάλῳ μὲν ἀρχὰς ἀρχεῖ and  
 Arist. *Rhet.* I 8. 1365<sup>b</sup> 32 δημοκρατία μὲν  
 πολιτεία ἐν ᾗ κλήρῳ διανέμονται τὰς  
 ἀρχὰς, with Whibley *Gk Olig.* p. 35 and  
 Greenidge *Gk Const. Hist.* pp. 139 ff. The  
 clause was, strangely enough, condemned  
 by Hermann. Plato was not likely to  
 omit all mention of the most character-  
 istic and necessary factor in the establish-  
 ment of a democracy, especially as he

5 αἱ ἀρχαὶ ἐν αὐτῇ γίγνονται. Ἔστι γάρ, ἔφη, αὕτη ἡ κατάστασις δημοκρατίας, εἴαν τε καὶ δι' ὄπλων γένηται εἴαν τε καὶ διὰ φόβον ὑπεξελθόντων τῶν ἐτέρων.

XI. Τίνα δὴ οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οὗτοι τρόπον οἰκοῦσι; καὶ ποία τις ἡ τοιαύτη<sup>1</sup> αὐτῇ πολιτεία; δῆλον γὰρ ὅτι ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ B  
10 δημοκρατικός τις ἀναφανήσεται. Δῆλον, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν πρῶτον μὲν δὴ ἐλεύθεροι, καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἡ πόλις μεστή καὶ παρρησίας

6. φόβον A<sup>2</sup>Ξq: φόβων A<sup>1</sup>II.

introduces the same feature in describing the democratical man (561 B ὥσπερ λαχούση). J. and C., with Schneider and others, read γίγνονται, for which there is very little MS support, remarking that 'the subjunctive is inexact, because any words dependent on ὅταν should describe a characteristic of the origin of democracy, not merely a characteristic of democracy.' The fact is that the words do explain the origin of democracy by explaining ἐξ ἴσου μεταδῶσι κτλ., where the aorist is rightly used of the act by which democracy is established; whereas if we read γίγνονται the clause must be taken by itself, and then it can only express a characteristic of democracy after that constitution is in force, so that its proper place would be in the next chapter. It should be observed that in no ancient democracy that we know of was the lot employed in electing to *all* magistracies: see Gilbert l.c. II p. 318. For this reason Plato writes ὡς τὸ πολὺ.

557 A—558 C *The peculiar characteristics of Democracy are liberty and licence. It is of all governments the most manifold and many-coloured, resembling a bazaar of constitutions rather than a single polity. In a democratic city the individual is free to adopt his own policy independently of the State. Little trouble is taken to execute judicial sentences. The people are indulgent to educational defects in their leaders and require nothing beyond a profession of loyalty to the masses. Truly a delightful constitution, full of anarchy and colour, distributing a species of equality to equal and unequal alike!*

557 A 8 τίνα δὴ οὖν κτλ. The psychological principle of Democracy, as well as of Oligarchy, is τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν. But whereas in Oligarchy everything was subjected to the dominion of one particular desire, viz. the desire of wealth (550 C n.), Democracy, on the other

hand, is the political embodiment of absolute freedom and equality among all desires, unnecessary as well as necessary: see on 558 C ff. The materials for Plato's picture of democracy are of course taken from Athens more than any other single city. It is an extraordinarily vivid sketch; and indeed Plato's whole account of democracy and the democratical man (557 A—565 C), in spite of manifest exaggerations, brings Athens nearer to us than almost any monument of ancient literature, Aristophanes alone excepted. We can see that Plato was fully alive to the wonderful variety and colour of Athenian life; but even on this ground democracy did not appear to him worthy of praise. Multiplicity and variety are the offspring of that fatal ἀνομοιότης which works ruin alike in the city and the soul (547 A n.). In other respects, Plato represents democracy as a land of Hedonism, peopled by Anarchy and Waywardness, and darkened by the shadow of the Tyranny to which it must at last succumb. Nearly all the greatest writers of Greek antiquity were on the whole unfavourable to democracy, except of course the Orators; and least of all in Plato could democracy expect a champion. For the other side of the picture, we should of course take Pericles' speech in Thuc. II 35 ff. See Neil's *Knights of Aristophanes* pp. vii ff.

557 B 9 δῆλον γὰρ κτλ. It is the ἀνὴρ rather than the πολιτεία which is the ultimate object of our search; but as the ἀνὴρ in a democracy will be δημοκρατικός τις, we cannot understand him until we understand δημοκρατία. Hence the question ποία τις—πολιτεία. Cf. 545 B, C.

II ἐλευθερίας. ἐλευθερία was the fundamental ὑπόθεσις of ancient democracy: ὑπόθεσις μὲν οὖν τῆς δημοκρατικῆς πολιτείας ἐλευθερία, says Aristotle *Pol. Z* 2. 1317<sup>a</sup> 40. Cf. 562 B. It involves, according to Aristotle l.c., two ideas, viz. (1) τὸ ἐν



γίγνεται, καὶ ἐξουσία ἐν αὐτῇ ποιεῖν ὃ τί τις βούλεται; Λέγεται  
γε δὴ, ἔφη. "Ὅπου δέ γε ἐξουσία, δῆλον ὅτι ἰδίαν ἕκαστος ἂν  
κατασκευῇ τοῦ αὐτοῦ βίου κατασκευάζοιτο ἐν αὐτῇ, ἥτις ἕκαστον  
C ἀρέσκοι. Δῆλον. Παντοδαποὶ δὴ ἂν, οἶμαι, ἐν ταύτῃ<sup>1</sup> τῇ πολιτείᾳ<sup>15</sup>  
μάλιστα<sup>2</sup> ἐγγίγνοντο ἄνθρωποι. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Κινδυνεύει, ἦν δ'  
ἐγώ, καλλίστη αὕτη τῶν πολιτειῶν εἶναι· ὥσπερ ἱμάτιον ποικίλον  
πᾶσιν ἄνθεσι πεποικιλμένον, οὕτω καὶ αὕτη πᾶσιν ἡθεσιν πεποι-  
κιλμένη καλλίστη ἂν φαίνοιτο. καὶ ἴσως μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ  
ταύτην, ὥσπερ οἱ παῖδες τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες τὰ ποικίλα θεώ-  
20 μνοι, καλλίστην ἂν πολλοὶ κρίνειαν. Καὶ μάλ', ἔφη. Καὶ  
D ἔστιν γε, ὦ μακάριε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐπιτήδειον ζητεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ  
πολιτείᾳ. Τί δὴ; "Ὅτι πάντα γένη πολιτειῶν ἔχει διὰ τὴν  
ἐξουσίαν, καὶ κινδυνεύει τῷ βουλομένῳ πόλιν κατασκευάζειν, ὃ  
νῦν δὴ ἡμεῖς ἐποιοῦμεν, ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι εἰς δημοκρατουμένην<sup>25</sup>  
ἐλθόντι πόλιν, ὃς ἂν αὐτὸν ἀρέσκη τρόπος, τοῦτον ἐκλέξασθαι,  
ὥσπερ εἰς παντοπώλιον ἀφικομένῳ πολιτειῶν, καὶ ἐκλεξαμένῳ  
E οὕτω κατοικίξειν. Ἴσως γοῦν, ἔφη, οὐκ ἂν ἀποροῖ<sup>1</sup> παραδειγμά-

μέρει ἀρχεσθαι καὶ ἀρχειν, (2) τὸ ζῆν ὡς βού-  
λεται τις (ib. 1317<sup>b</sup> 11). Throughout this  
chapter Plato illustrates the second of  
these characteristics. Cf. Whibley *Gk*  
*Olig.* pp. 33—35.

παρηγσία and ἐξουσία are democratical  
watchwords; see e.g. *Gorg.* 461 E, *Eur.*  
*Hipp.* 422, *Ion* 671 ff., and *Thuc.* VII 69  
(τῆς—ἀνεπιτάκτου πᾶσιν ἐς τὴν δίαταν  
ἐξουσίας) with II 37. 2 and infra 557 D,  
563 E, *Arist. Pol.* II 4. 1318<sup>b</sup> 39 al.

557 C 17 ὥσπερ ἱμάτιον κτλ. For  
the asyndeton cf. VI 497 B n. ποικί-  
λον = 'many-coloured' is cancelled by  
Herwerden and J. J. Hartman. The  
word is in every MS and thoroughly har-  
monises with Plato's characteristic fulness  
of style: 'like a many-coloured garment,  
diversified with every shade of colour.'  
In itself it is the antithesis of ἀπλοῦς, and  
symbolical of kaleidoscopic diversity and  
changefulness, just as in recent years  
we have heard the expression 'Joseph's  
coat of many colours' applied to a ver-  
satile and distinguished statesman. See  
also on 561 E. ἄνθεσι is not 'flowers'  
(as seems to be generally supposed), but  
'dyes,' 'colours' (IV 429 D n.): nor  
need πεποικιλμένη be understood of em-  
broidery: for ποικίλλειν means no more  
than 'to diversify with colours' and im-

plies nothing whatever as to the process:  
cf. II 378 C. On the verbal play in  
ἄνθεσι—ἡθεσι see III 406 B n. For ἦν δ'  
ἐγώ repeated cf. VII 522 A n.

557 D 23 πάντα γένη κτλ. Cf.  
*Laws* 681 D πολιτείας σχῆμα—ἐν ᾧ δὴ  
πάντα εἶδη καὶ παθήματα πολιτειῶν καὶ  
ἅμα πόλεων ξυμπίπτει γίγνεσθαι. On  
ἐξουσίαν see 557 B n.

26 τοῦτον ἐκλέξασθαι κτλ. Pericles  
(*Thuc.* II 37. 1) regarded the Athenian  
constitution as a παράδειγμα: Plato  
humorously describes it as a motley  
aggregate of παραδείγματα. Democracy  
is πόλεις παμπολλαί, ἀλλ' οὐ πόλις, the  
different varieties of individuals living in  
it representing so many different consti-  
tutions. In view of 561 C we may even  
go farther, and say that every demo-  
cratical individual is himself a kaleido-  
scopic succession of polities—χαμαιλέον  
τις καὶ σαθρῶς ἰδρυμένος (ap. *Arist. Eth.*  
*Nic.* I 11. 1100<sup>b</sup> 6). Hence, as Plato  
would hold, the waywardness and in-  
stability of democratic policy, constantly  
reversing to-morrow what it decrees to-  
day. See *Thuc.* I 44, II 65, III 36 ff.,  
IV 28 and VIII 1. Democracy in fact,  
from Plato's point of view, is the political  
expression of monochronous Hedonism:  
cf. 558 A and 561 C m.

των. Τὸ δὲ μηδεμίαν ἀνάγκην, εἶπον, εἶναι ἄρχειν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ  
 30 πόλει, μηδ' ἂν ᾗς ἱκανὸς ἄρχειν, μηδὲ αὐτὸν ἄρχεσθαι, ἐὰν μὴ βούλῃ,  
 μηδὲ πολεμεῖν πολεμούντων, μηδὲ εἰρήνην ἄγειν τῶν ἄλλων ἀγόν-  
 των, ἐὰν μὴ ἐπιθυμῇς εἰρήνης, μηδὲ αὐτὸν, ἐάν τις ἄρχειν νόμος σε  
 διακωλύῃ ἢ δικάζειν, μηδὲν ἦττον καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ δικάζειν, ἐὰν  
 αὐτῷ σοι ἐπὶ, | ἄρ' οὐ θεσπεσία καὶ ἡδεῖα ἢ τοιαύτη διαγωγὴ ἐν 558  
 τῷ παρατύκῃ; Ἴσως, ἔφη, ἔν γε τούτῳ. Τί δέ; ἢ πραότης ἐνίων  
 τῶν δικασθέντων οὐ κομψή; ἢ οὐπω εἶδες ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ,  
 ἀνθρώπων καταψηφισθέντων θανάτου ἢ φυγῆς, οὐδὲν ἦττον αὐτῶν

32. ἐπιθυμῇς *q*: ἐπιθυμῇ ΑΠΞ': ἐπιθυμεῖ Ξ'. 33. ἄρχειν καὶ δικάζειν Ξ*q*:  
 ἀρχῆς καὶ δικάζης Α'Π2: ἀρχῆς καὶ δικάζης Α2: ἀρχῆς (*sic*) καὶ δικάζεις Π1.  
 1. τοιαύτη Π: αὐτὴ Α.

557 E 29 ἀνάγκην. The Athenians gloried in their ἀνεμένη διαίτα. See Thuc. II 39. 1 and *Laus* 642 C *μόνοι γὰρ ἄνευ ἀνάγκης, αὐτοφυνῶς, θέα μοῖρα, ἀλθθῶς καὶ οὐ τι πλαστοῶς εἰσιν ἀγαθοί*.

32 μηδὲ αὐτὸν—δικάζειν: 'nor again, if any law prevents you from being a magistrate or judge—actually to be both magistrate and judge in spite of the law, if you take it into your own head to be so.' The grammatical construction would naturally be *μηδὲ αὐτὸν (ἀνάγκην εἶναι)—μηδὲν ἦττον καὶ ἄρχειν καὶ δικάζειν κτλ.* This could only mean 'nor any necessity compelling you to act as magistrate or judge if a law forbids you,' etc. i.e. 'you are not even compelled to follow your own inclination when it goes against the law.' The sentiment is intelligible, but too extravagant and subtle a piece of satire even for so highly coloured a passage as the present. As it is, Plato starts as if he would write 'nor again—to refrain from being a magistrate or judge,' but by a dramatic anacoluthon expresses the last part of his sentence in a positive form. *μηδὲν ἦττον* and the emphatic *καὶ—καὶ* make it easy to catch the meaning. The corruptions in A II (see *cr. n.*) and some other MSS are probably due to assimilation.

558 A 1 θεσπεσία καὶ ἡδεῖα is almost a hendiadys: cf. IV 429 E *n.* Democracy is political hedonism: see on 561 C. Hermann's *θεσπεσία ὡς ἡδεῖα* is inelegant and even questionable Greek: nor does *θεσπεσία καὶ θέα* (Stallbaum) merit praise.

2 τί δέ; ἢ πραότης κτλ.: 'And is not the perfect good temper of some who have been tried exquisite? or have you never seen in such a State, when people

have been condemned to death or exile, how none the less they remain and roam about in public, and the culprit saunters round as though unheeded and unseen like some spirit from another world?' They bear the State no malice, and shew their good temper by stopping where they are—for the sentence remains unexecuted. See also App. II.

3 δικασθέντων has been thought to be neuter (Weil *Rev. d. Phil.* VIII pp. 171 ff.); but although the usage of the word in other passages of Plato (*Critias* 120 C, *Laus* 867 E, *infra* x 614 D, *Crit.* 50 B, *Gorg.* 523 C and elsewhere) favours this view, it yields no satisfactory sense, and *πραότης* is an attribute of persons rather than of things. The perfect passive—it is not the middle—of *δικάζω* is similarly used of persons in *Lysias* 21. 18 *αἰσχρὰς δίκας δεδίκασμαι*. The circumstances of Socrates' own imprisonment after his condemnation illustrate, though only imperfectly, what is said here, for the Athenians were not careful to prevent him from escaping: see *Crit. passim* and my Introduction to that dialogue pp. ix f.

4 ἀνθρώπων κτλ. The construction is extremely irregular. Perhaps the simplest and least unsatisfactory solution is to make *καταψηφισθέντων* a genitive absolute and regard *μενόντων* etc. as attracted by *ἀνθρώπων καταψηφισθέντων* (so also J. and C.). See App. II.

θανάτου ἢ φυγῆς κτλ. For the genitive Kühner (*Gr. Gr.* II p. 332) compares *θανάτου κρίνεσθαι, ὑπάγεσθαι* and the like, in which *δίκην* is probably understood. The genitive of the penalty seems not to occur elsewhere with *καταψηφί-*

μερόντων τε καὶ ἀναστρεφόμενων ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ὥς οὔτε φροντίζοντος 5  
οὔτε ὀρώντος οὐδενὸς περινοστέϊ ὥσπερ ἥρως; Καὶ πολλοὺς γ',  
B ἔφη. Ἡ δὲ συγγνώμη καὶ οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν σμικρολογία αὐτῆς,  
ἀλλὰ καταφρόνησις ὣν ἡμεῖς ἐλέγομεν σεμνύνοντες, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν  
ὠκίζομεν, ὥς εἰ μὴ τις ὑπερβεβλημένην φύσιν ἔχοι, οὐποτ' ἂν  
γένοιτο ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, εἰ μὴ παῖς ὦν εὐθύς παίζει ἐν καλοῖς καὶ 10  
ἐπιτηδεύοι τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, ὥς μεγαλοπρεπῶς καταπατήσας  
ἅπαντα ταῦτα οὐδὲν φροντίζει, ἐξ ὁποίων ἂν τις ἐπιτηδευμάτων  
ἐπὶ τὰ πολιτικὰ ἰὼν πράττη, ἀλλὰ τιμᾷ, ἐὰν φῇ μόνον εὖνους εἶναι

11. καταπατήσας  $\rho^2$ : καταπατήσας AΠΞ $\rho^1$ .

12. ταῦτα II: αὐτὰ A.

ξεσθαι, and we should perhaps read θάνατον ἢ φυγὴν. The pronoun αὐτῶν is half pleonastic: cf. IV 428 A n.

5 καὶ ὥς κτλ. The change from plural to singular (cf. I 347 A n.) "rem magis insignem et imaginem evidentiorem reddit" (Schneider). The same effect is produced by making the clause independent—a common transition, for examples of which see Engelhardt *Anac. Pl. Spec.* III pp. 41–43.

6 περινοστέϊ κτλ.: i.e. ἀπὸ τόπου εἰς τόπον μεταβαίνει κτλ. (Schol. on Ar. *Plut.* 121). The word has a contemptuous ring—a rolling stone gathers no moss—and suggests a vagrant or loafer. Cf. Ar. l.c. and ib. 494 ἦν γὰρ ὁ Πλοῦτος νυνὶ βλέψῃ καὶ μὴ τυφλὸς ὦν περινοστέϊ, with Lucian *Tim.* 24 ἄνω καὶ κάτω πλανῶμαι περινοστέων. The comparison ὥσπερ ἥρως is suggested by ὀρώντος οὐδενός. They excite no more notice and remark than an invisible ἥρως or circumambient spirit of one who has joined the happy or unhappy dead: see Rohde *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> I pp. 146 ff. and especially p. 182 *nn.*, or Roscher *Lex. d. Myth.* s.v. Heros. Weil (*Rev. d. Phil.* VIII pp. 171 ff.) seems to think there is a specific reference to such an invisible hero as sometimes rendered service in battle (cf. Paus. III 19, 12 with Frazer's note, and Hdt. VIII 64); but Plato's language is quite general. The meaning cannot be 'parades like a hero' (as Jowett translates), for ἥρως is not thus used in Greek, and a parading hero always excites popular attention. J. and C. think 'there is an implied allusion to the νόστοι. "He is welcomed wherever he goes like one of the heroes returning from the siege of Troy".' But what of οὔτε φροντίζοντος οὔτε ὀρώντος

οὐδενός? It may be noted that the superstition of which Plato here avails himself was widely prevalent in Greece as elsewhere. Hence some of the Pythagoreans asserted *ψυχὴν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῷ αἵρει ἐξοματά* (Arist. *de An.* I 2. 404<sup>a</sup> 18), and commanded τὰ πίπτοντα ἀπὸ τῆς τραπέζης μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι (Mullach *Fr. Phil. Gr.* I p. 507)—a precept on which Diogenes Laertius remarks Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ τῶν ἡρώων φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πίπτοντα (VIII 34). The famous passage in *Cor.* I 11. 10 looks like a relic of some similar idea. Cf. also *Phaed.* 81 C, Zeller<sup>5</sup> I p. 452 *nn.*, Rohde *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> II pp. 320 n. 1, 346 ff. *nn.*, 361 *nn.*, and Dieterich *Nekyia* pp. 88 f. *nn.* For other views on the whole of this difficult sentence see App. II.

καὶ πολλοὺς γε. The reply differs somewhat in form from the question: cf. V 465 E n. It is difficult not to believe that Plato is exaggerating, although the frequency of the *δίκη ἐξούλης* in Athens shews that in civil cases at all events it was often far from easy to enforce the verdict.

7 συγγνώμη: 'considerateness,' viz. in making allowance for want of education in their demagogues, as the rest of the sentence shews. The irony is of the truly Platonic kind. Jowett's "forgiving spirit" misses the point.

558 B σμικρολογία κτλ.: 'haggling about trifles' etc., like education, forsooth! ἐλέγομεν refers to IV 424 E ff. and VI 492 E.

II καταπατήσασα κτλ. Cf. *Gorg.* 484 A. The reading αὐτὰ for ταῦτα—see *cr. n.*—is intrinsically weak, and has no MS support except A. On ἐξ ὁποίων κτλ. see VI 488 B n.



τῷ ἢ πλήθει. Πάνυ γ', ἔφη, γενναία. Ταυτά τε δὴ, ἔφην, ἔχοι ἂν C  
 15 καὶ τούτων ἄλλα ἀδελφὰ δημοκρατία, καὶ εἴη, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἡδεῖα  
 πολιτεία καὶ ἄναρχος καὶ ποικίλη, ἰσότητά τινα ὁμοίως ἴσοις τε  
 καὶ ἀνίσοις διανέμουσα. Καὶ μάλ', ἔφη, γνώριμα λέγεις.

XII. Ἄθρει δὴ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τίς ὁ τοιοῦτος ἰδίᾳ. ἥ πρῶτον  
 σκεπτέον, ὥσπερ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐσκεψάμεθα, τίνα τρόπον γίγνεται;  
 20 Ναί, ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐχ ὧδε; τοῦ φειδωλοῦ ἐκείνου καὶ ὀλι-  
 γαρχικοῦ ἢ γένοιτ' ἂν, οἶμαι, ὕδς ὑπὸ τῷ πατρὶ τεθραμμένος ἐν τοῖς D  
 ἐκείνου ἦθεσι. Τί γὰρ οὐ; Βίᾳ δὴ καὶ οὗτος ἄρχων τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ  
 ἡδονῶν, ὅσαι ἀναλωτικαὶ μὲν, χρηματιστικαὶ δὲ μὴ· αἱ δὲ οὐκ  
 ἀναγκαῖαι κέκληνται. Δῆλον, ἔφη. Βούλει οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἵνα μὴ  
 25 σκοτεινῶς διαλεγώμεθα, πρῶτον ὀρισώμεθα τὰς τε ἀναγκαίους  
 ἐπιθυμίας καὶ τὰς μὴ; Βούλομαι, ἦ δ' ὅς. Οὐκοῦν ἅς τε οὐκ  
 ἂν οἰοί τ' εἶμεν ἀποτρέψαι, δικαίως ἂν ἀναγκαῖαι καλοῖντο, καὶ  
 ὅσαι ἢ ἀποτελούμεναι ὠφελούσιν ἡμᾶς; τούτων γὰρ ἀμφοτέρων E

14. γενναία Ξ<sup>g</sup>2: γενναῖα AΠ<sup>g</sup>1. ταυτά Π: ταυτάτα (sic) A. 25. ὀρισώ-  
 μεθα A<sup>2</sup>Π: ὀρισόμεθα A<sup>1</sup>. 27. ἂν ἀναγκαῖαι M Vind. E: ἀναγκαῖαι AΠΞ<sup>g</sup>.

558 C 14 γενναία. γενναῖα—see *cr. n.*—is much less elegant, in spite of the exclamatory anacoluthon ὡς μεγαλο-  
 πρεπῶς κτλ. See on V 465 E. Apelt strangely suggests ἔφη. Γενναῖα ταυτά  
 τε κτλ. (*Fleck. 7b.* for 1893, p. 556).

15 ἄλλα ἀδελφά. It is remarkable that Plato says nothing of ψηφίσματα, which were regarded as an essential feature of advanced democracy: see Arist. *Pol.* Δ 4. 1292<sup>a</sup> 19 and Gilbert *Beitr. zur innern Gesch. Ath.* etc. pp. 79 ff.

ἡδεῖα κτλ. True political equality, according to Plato, is γεωμετρικὴ ἰσότης, which τῷ μὲν—μείζονι πλείω, τῷ δ' ἐλάττωι μικρότερα νέμει (*Laws* 757 C and *Gorg.* 508 A): ἀριθμητικὴ ἰσότης, which is the democratic principle, is a spurious kind of equality, not κατὰ φύσιν: τοῖς γὰρ ἀνίστοις τὰ ἴσα ἀνίστα γίγνεται ἂν, εἰ μὴ τυγχάνοι τοῦ μέτρου (*Laws* 757 A). Cf. Isocr. *Nicoles* 14 and Arist. *Pol.* Γ 9. 1280<sup>a</sup> 11 ff., with other passages cited by Henkel *Gr. Lehre vom Staat* p. 154 n. 63.

558 C—559 D We cannot describe the origin of the democratical man, until we explain what we mean by 'necessary' and 'unnecessary' desires. Desires which cannot be eradicated, and desires which we gratify with advantage to ourselves, are called 'necessary': those of the opposite kind are 'unnecessary.' The oligarchical

man is ruled by the former; the latter sways the drone.

558 D 22 βίᾳ δὴ κτλ. The description is interrupted by the digression on Desire: hence the anacoluthon.

23 οὐκ ἀναγκαῖαι. See 554 A n.

24 ἵνα μὴ σκοτεινῶς κτλ. It becomes important at this stage to investigate the subject of the Desires, because τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν in the widest sense is the psychological basis of the democratical as well as of the oligarchical character. Plato's complete classification distinguishes between (1) necessary desires, (2) not-necessary, (3) not-necessary and παράνομοι (IX 571 B). The ὀλιγαρχικός is the embodiment of (1): the δημοκρατικός of (1) and (2) equally (561 A ff.): the τυραννικός of (3). Cf. IX 571 A n. If we translate παράνομοι by 'unnatural' (as in view of IX 571 C ff. we are justified in doing: cf. IX 571 B n.), Plato's account becomes almost identical with that of Epicurus, who classified Desires as (1) natural and necessary, (2) natural and not-necessary, (3) neither natural nor necessary. For the authorities see Usener *Epicurea* pp. 78, 294. Cf. also Athen. XII 511 E.

27 ἂν. See *cr. n.*, and for the loss of ἂν before ἀναγκαῖαι IV 437 B n.

28 ὅσαι—ἡμᾶς. As Aristotle would say, those also are ἀναγκαῖαι ὧν ἀνευ

ἐφίεσθαι ἡμῶν τῇ φύσει ἀνάγκη. ἢ οὐ; Καὶ μάλα. Δικαίως  
 559 δὴ | τοῦτο ἐπ' αὐταῖς ἐροῦμεν, τὸ ἀναγκαῖον. Δικαίως. Τί δέ; 30  
 ἄς γέ τις ἀπαλλάξειεν ἄν, εἰ μελετῶ ἐκ νέου, καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν  
 ἀγαθὸν ἐνοῦσαι δρῶσιν, αἱ δὲ καὶ τούναντίον, πάσας ταύτας εἰ μὴ  
 ἀναγκαίους φαῖμεν εἶναι, ἄρ' οὐ καλῶς ἂν λέγοιμεν; Καλῶς μὲν  
 οὖν. Προελώμεθα δὴ τι παράδειγμα ἐκατέρων, αἷ εἰσιν, ἵνα τύπῳ 5  
 λάβωμεν αὐτάς; Οὐκοῦν χρή. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐχ ἡ τοῦ φαγεῖν μέχρι  
 Β ὑγείας τε καὶ εὐεξίας καὶ αὐτοῦ σίτου τε καὶ ὄψου ἀναγκαῖος ἂν  
 εἴη; Οἶμαι. Ἡ μὲν γέ πού τοῦ σίτου κατ' ἀμφοτέρα ἀναγκαῖα,  
 ἢ τε ὠφέλιμος ἢ τε παῦσαι ζῶντα δυνατή. Ναί. Ἡ δὲ ὄψου, εἴ  
 πῇ τινα ὠφελίαν πρὸς εὐεξίαν παρέχεται. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Τί δέ; 10  
 ἡ πέρα τούτων καὶ ἀλλοίων ἐδεσμάτων ἢ τοιούτων ἐπιθυμία, δυνατὴ  
 δὲ κολαζομένη ἐκ νέων καὶ παιδευομένη ἐκ τῶν πολλῶν ἀπαλλάτ-  
 τεσθαι, καὶ βλαβερὰ μὲν σώματι, βλαβερὰ δὲ ψυχῇ πρὸς τε  
 C φρόνησιν καὶ τὸ σωφρονεῖν, ἂρά γε ὀρθῶς οὐκ ἀναγκαῖα ἂν  
 καλοῖτο; Ὅρθότατα μὲν οὖν. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἀναλωτικὰς φῶμεν 15

II. ἢ II: ἡ A.

τὸ ἀγαθὸν μὴ ἐνδέχεται ἢ εἶναι ἢ γενέσθαι  
 (Met. Δ 5. 1015<sup>a</sup> 22).

558 E τούτων—ἀνάγκη justifies the  
 appellation ἀναγκαῖαι. The pronoun  
 τούτων is used somewhat vaguely, and  
 denotes not the desires themselves, but  
 their objects. Cf. 543 C n.

29 τῇ φύσει. It follows that no  
 desires which are necessary can be un-  
 natural: see Epicurus referred to on  
 558 D.

559 A 2 καὶ πρὸς: 'and which  
 moreover' ("idem est quod καὶ προσέτι,  
 ac praeterea, atque insuper" Stallbaum).  
 Two kinds of *necessary* desires were  
 distinguished viz. (1) ἄς—ἀποτρέψαι, (2)  
 ὅσαι—ἡμᾶς. Corresponding to this, which  
 is not of course a mutually exclusive,  
 division, Plato emphasises two distinct  
 features of unnecessary desires: so that  
 καὶ πρὸς ('and which moreover,' or ac-  
 cording to the Greek idiom, 'and these  
 moreover': see on II 357 B) is altogether  
 appropriate. Cf. (with Stallbaum) *Eu-  
 thyd.* 298 D and Blaydes on Ar. *Knights*  
 578. Schneider takes πρὸς οὐδὲν together  
 ("nullius rei habita ratione"), but οὐδὲν  
 cannot easily be separated from ἀγαθόν,  
 unless we read <οὐδὲν> πρὸς οὐδὲν ἀγα-  
 θόν, as I formerly suggested. I have no

longer any doubt that Stallbaum's view  
 is right. Ast's conjecture πρὸς οὐδὲν is  
 refuted by Schneider.

7 αὐτοῦ σίτου: 'merely of food,' as  
 opposed to e.g. *pleasant* food, *sweet* food  
 (τῶν τοιῶνδε σιτίων in Epicurus: Usener  
*Épíc.* p. 295). See in particular IV 437 D  
 —439 A m.

559 B 8 ἡ μὲν γε κτλ. On γε see  
 556 A n. and Neil's *Appendix* on γε in his  
 edition of Ar. *Knights* p. 192. The  
 words ἡ τε—δυνατή should be explained  
 as follows. Hunger, which is the desire  
 of σίτος, 'is capable of putting an end to  
 life': i.e. it must be gratified (οὐκ ἂν οἶοί  
 τ' εἶμεν ἀποτρέψαι 558 D), or else we die.  
 On this ground, and also because it is  
 ὠφέλιμος (i.e. ἀποτελουμένη ὠφελείᾳ ἡμᾶς  
 558 E), we pronounce it an ἀναγκαῖα ἐπι-  
 θυμία. The Greek is terse but not ob-  
 scure. With παῦσαι ζῶντα cf. *Gorg.*  
 523 C, D and *Menex.* 241 B. Jowett thinks  
 the expression 'very strange' for ἀποκτιν-  
 νόναι. It is strictly accurate: the sword  
 kills, but hunger παῦει ζῶντα: we merely  
 'cease to live.' Other views on this pas-  
 sage are discussed in App. III.

II ἀλλοίων—ἢ τοιούτων: 'alius ge-  
 neris—quam quales modo diximus' (Stall-  
 baum).

εἶναι ταύτας, ἐκεῖνας δὲ χρηματιστικὰς διὰ τὸ χρησίμους πρὸς τὰ ἔργα εἶναι; Τί μὴν; Οὕτω δὴ καὶ περὶ ἀφροδισίων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φήσομεν. Οὕτω. Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ ὃν νῦν δὴ κηφήνα ὠνομάζομεν, τοῦτον ἐλέγομεν τὸν τῶν τοιούτων ἡδονῶν καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν  
 20 γέμοντα καὶ ἀρχόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν μὴ ἀναγκαίων, τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγκαίων φειδωλόν<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχικόν; Ἄλλὰ τί μὴν; D

XIII. Πάλιν τοίνυν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, λέγωμεν, ὡς ἐξ ὀλιγαρχικοῦ δημοκρατικὸς γίγνεται. φαίνεται δέ μοι τά γε πολλὰ ὧδε γίνεσθαι. Πῶς; Ὅταν νέος τεθραμμένος ὡς νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν, ἀπαι-  
 25 δεύτως τε καὶ φειδωλῶς, γεύσῃται κηφήνων μέλιτος καὶ ξυγγένηται αἰθῶσι θηρσὶ καὶ δεινοῖς, παντοδαπὰς ἡδονὰς καὶ ποικίλας καὶ παντοίως ἐχούσας δυναμένοις σκευάζειν, ἐνταυθὰ που οἶον εἶναι

559 C 16 χρηματιστικὰς—χρησίμους: 'money-making or productive, because useful in production.' Plato *more suo* σφίζεται περὶ τὸ ὄνομα (VI 509 D n.).

17 οὕτω δὴ: they also are ἀναλωτικά. Epicurus l.c. describes ἡ τῶν ἀφροδισίων ἐπιθυμία as φυσικὴ μὲν, οὐκ ἀναγκαία δέ.

18 νῦν δὴ. 552 C ff., 555 E ff.

559 D—562 A *Let us now return and explain the genesis of the democratical man. An oligarchical father has a son, whom he brings up on narrow and parsimonious principles. The young man tastes the 'honey of drones,' and sedition is engendered within his soul. A struggle ensues, and after perhaps a temporary check the unnecessary desires prevail; but with the help of fortune and advancing years a sort of equality of all desires is finally established; and the man becomes an impartial devotee of pleasure in all its forms—a beautiful and many-coloured creature, 'everything by starts and nothing long.'*

22 πάλιν τοίνυν κτλ. Plato's description of the genesis of the democratical man is one of the most royal and magnificent pieces of writing in the whole range of literature, whether ancient or modern. Throughout most of this chapter, in the words of Longinus, the style πλουσιώτατα καθάπερ τι πέλαγος εἰς ἀναπεπταμένον κέχνται—μέγεθος (περὶ ὕψους 12. 2), and no better example will ever be discovered of that full tide of lofty thoughts and images and words—a tide 'too full for sound and foam'—in which the author of the treatise *On the Sublime* places the essence of ὕψος. We owe to Longinus

what is by far the best appreciation of Plato's hierophantic vein: see especially cc. 33—36, where we can hear more than a mere echo of that sublimity which is itself, according to Longinus, the 'echo of high-mindedness' (ὕψος μεγαλοφροσύνης ἀπήχημα ib. 9. 2). For a very different estimate the student may be referred to Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*ad Cn. Pomp. Gen.* 753—765 Reiske), whose pedantic criticisms make it tolerably plain that a study of the Attic orators does not qualify a man to sit in judgment upon Plato. The present episode is hardly less remarkable for psychological insight than for elevation of style, and the description of the democratic man as the chameleon of human society paints him for all time (561 C ff.). As a representation of actual fact, the picture is doubtless somewhat exaggerated, as usual; but it is extraordinarily vivid and powerful, and shows that the Platonic analogy between the individual and the State may prove in the hands of a master an admirable clue whereby to unravel the workings of the human soul in the individual as well as in the State.

559 D 24 νῦν δὴ κτλ. See 558 C, D. With ἀπαιδεύτως cf. 552 E n.

25 κηφήνων κτλ. It is clear from the summary of this passage in IX 572 C συγγενόμενος δὲ κομψότεροις ἀνδράσι καὶ μεστοῖς ὧν ἄρτι διήλθομεν ἐπιθυμιῶν that κηφήνων and αἰθῶσι θηρσὶ καὶ δεινοῖς refer to human drones, and not to the κηφηνῶδεις ἐπιθυμίαι in the young man's heart. αἰθῶσι 'furious,' 'wild' (Jebb on Soph. *Ajax* 221) shews that the drones are of the 'stinging' order (552 C ff., 555 D ff.).



Ε ἀρχὴν αὐτῷ μεταβολῆς ἡ ὀλιγαρχίας τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ εἰς δημοκρατίαν. Πολλὴ ἀνάγκη, ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν ὥσπερ ἡ πόλις μετέβαλλε βοήθη-  
σάσης τῷ ἐτέρῳ μέρει ξυμμαχίας ἔξωθεν, ὁμοίως ὁμοίῳ, οὕτω καὶ 30  
ὁ νεανίας μεταβάλλει βοηθούντος αὐτῷ εἰδούς ἐπιθυμιῶν ἔξωθεν τῷ  
ἐτέρῳ τῶν παρ' ἐκείνῳ, ξυγγενοῦς τε καὶ ὁμοίου; Παντάπασι  
μὲν οὖν. Καὶ εἰ μὲν, οἶμαι, ἀντιβοηθήσῃ τις τῷ ἐν αὐτῷ ὀλι-  
γαρχικῷ ξυμμαχία, ἢ ποθεν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἢ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων  
560 οἰκείων, | νοουθετούντων τε καὶ κακιζόντων, στάσις δὴ καὶ ἀντί- 35  
στασις καὶ μάχη ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτὸν τότε γίγνεται. Τί μὲν;  
Καὶ ποτὲ μὲν, οἶμαι, τὸ δημοκρατικὸν ὑπεχώρησε τῷ ὀλιγαρχικῷ,  
καὶ τινες τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν αἱ μὲν διεφθάρησαν, αἱ δὲ καὶ ἐξέπεσον,  
αἰδοῦς τινὸς ἐγγενομένης ἐν τῇ τοῦ νέου ψυχῇ, καὶ κατεκοσμήθη 5  
πάλιν. Γίγνεται γὰρ ἐνίοτε, ἔφη. Αὐτὸς δέ, οἶμαι, τῶν ἐκπεσου-

28. ὀλιγαρχίας—δημοκρατίαν nos: ὀλιγαρχικῆς—δημοκρατικὴν codd. 29. ἔφη  
Π et in marg. A<sup>2</sup>: om. A<sup>1</sup>. μετέβαλλε A<sup>1</sup>Π: μεταβάλλει corr. A<sup>2</sup>.

559 E 28 ὀλιγαρχίας—δημοκρατίαν. See *cr. n.* Schneider defends the MSS by explaining μεταβολὴ ὀλιγαρχικῆς as “*ea quae ad ὀλιγαρχίαν pertinet eamque efficit*,” and referring τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ “*ad ipsam ὀλιγαρχίαν in adjectivo latentem*.” δημοκρατικὴν he thinks is written for δημοκρατίαν by a sort of attraction. This explanation is much too difficult and obscure. Nor can ὀλιγαρχικῆς by itself stand for ὀλιγαρχικῆς πολιτείας, at all events in this connexion. The MS reading can only mean ‘of the oligarchical change within himself into a democratical,’ an expression which bears no sense. I formerly wrote ὀλιγαρχικοῦ τοῦ—δημοκρατικόν, comparing 559 E, 560 A; but it may fairly be objected that the ‘oligarchical element’ within the man does not change into a democratical: it is the *government* that changes. For this reason I now prefer my old suggestion (*Cl. Rev.* IV p. 357), although the corruption of ὀλιγαρχικοῦ—δημοκρατικόν is perhaps somewhat easier to explain. For the combination of genitives cf. V 449 A n. An alternative solution would be to insert πολιτείας after αὐτῷ. This gives excellent sense, but it is difficult to assign a plausible reason for the loss of πολιτείας in all our MSS. I am unable to resist the conclusion that the text is corrupt, otherwise I should not venture to

make any alteration. If Plato did not write the passage as it is printed above, there can be little doubt that πολιτείας has accidentally disappeared.

29 μετέβαλλε κτλ. See 556 E. τῷ ἐτέρῳ τῶν means of course τῷ ἐτέρῳ εἰδὲι τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν.

33 τῷ ἐν αὐτῷ ὀλιγαρχικῷ: ‘the oligarchical element within one.’ αὐτῷ is ‘oneself’: cf. III 407 C μελέτας πρὸς αὐτόν. ἐν αὐτῷ, which Ast adopted (after Stephanus), would be easier; but I think Plato means to suggest that the oligarchical element present in this νεανίας is a universal feature of the human race. J. and C. think ἐκείνῳ and αὐτῷ may have changed places—a conjecture which is surely too bold. Schneider, taking αὐτῷ as ‘himself’ and not ‘oneself,’ compares ἐν αὐτῷ πρὸς αὐτόν below and αὐτῷ—ἐν αὐτῷ in 559 D, E; but here there is nothing corresponding to the αὐτῷ in each of these passages, and αὐτῷ cannot therefore be translated in Schneider’s way.

560 A I στάσις κτλ. Cf. 556 E, 557 A. On the tense of ὑπεχώρησε and the other aorists throughout this passage see 548 D n.

4 τινες—αἱ μὲν κτλ. Cf. IV 431 A n. The words διεφθάρησαν—ἐξέπεσον correspond to ἀποκτείνωσι—ἐκβάλωσι in 557 A. Madvig’s διετράπησαν is an unlucky venture.

σὼν ἐπιθυμιῶν ἄλλαι ὑποτρεφόμεναι ξυγγενεῖς δι' ἀνεπιστημο-  
 σύνην <sup>1</sup> τροφῆς πατρὸς πολλαὶ τε καὶ ἰσχυραὶ ἐγένοντο. Φιλεῖ B  
 γοῦν, ἔφη, οὕτω γίγνεσθαι. Οὐκοῦν εἴλκυσάν τε πρὸς τὰς αὐτὰς  
 10 ὁμιλίας, καὶ λάθρα ξυγγιγνόμεναι πλήθος ἐνέτεκον. Τί μὴν;  
 Τελευτῶσαι δὴ, οἶμαι, κατέλαβον τὴν τοῦ νέου τῆς ψυχῆς ἀκρό-  
 πολιν, αἰσθόμεναι κενὴν μαθημάτων τε καὶ ἐπιτηδευμάτων καλῶν  
 καὶ λόγων ἀληθῶν, οἳ δὴ ἄριστοι φρουροὶ τε καὶ φύλακες ἐν  
 ἀνδρῶν <sup>1</sup> θεοφιλῶν εἰσι διανοίαις. Καὶ πολὺ γ', ἔφη. Ψευδεῖς δὲ C  
 15 καὶ ἀλαζόνες, οἶμαι, λόγοι τε καὶ δόξαι ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἀναδραμόντες  
 κατέσχον τὸν αὐτὸν τόπον τοῦ τοιούτου. Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη. Ἄρ'  
 οὖν οὐ πάλιν τε εἰς ἐκείνους τοὺς Λωτοφάγους ἐλθὼν φανερώς  
 κατοικεῖ, καὶ ἐὰν παρ' οἰκείων τις βοήθεια τῷ φειδωλῷ αὐτοῦ τῆς  
 ψυχῆς ἀφικνῆται, κλήσαντες οἱ ἀλαζόνες λόγοι ἐκείνοι τὰς τοῦ  
 20 βασιλικοῦ τείχους ἐν αὐτῷ πύλας οὔτε αὐτὴν τὴν ξυμμαχίαν <sup>1</sup>  
 παριᾶσιν οὔτε πρέσβεις πρεσβυτέρων λόγους ἰδιωτῶν εἰσδέχονται, D

7 ἀνεπιστημοσύνην — πατρός: the father is himself ἀπαίδευτος (552 E n.), and the ἀπαίδευτος cannot παιδεύειν. On the genitives see V 449 A n.

560 B 9 τὰς αὐτὰς ὁμιλίας κτλ. The reference in τὰς αὐτὰς is to ξυγγενηταί—δεινοῖς 559 D. Ast's conjecture τὰς αὐταῖς ὁμιλίας is wrong in point of sense. Λάθρα ξυγγιγνόμεναι: viz. with the desires of the 'drones': see 559 D.

13 ἐν ἀνδρῶν κτλ. The stately cadence is worthy of the theme: cf. τὴν—τέλεσι 560 E, and see the remarks of Longinus on rhythm and the arrangement of words as an element of ὕψος (περὶ ὕψους 39 ff.).

560 C 15 ἀναδραμόντες κατέσχον: 'ran up and seized.' ἀναδραμόντες preserves the metaphor in ἀκρόπολιν (560 B).

17 εἰς—Λωτοφάγους: 'to those Lotos-eaters' land.' ἐκείνους refers to κηφίων 559 D. The figure is strikingly appropriate, for the lotos-flower of sensual indulgence makes man, who is an οὐράνιον φυτόν (Clem. Alex. *Cohort. ad Gent.* 96 A ed. Migne, following Plato *Tim.* 90 A), forget 'the imperial palace whence he came.' Cf. VII 519 A, B n., and (for Λωτοφάγοι) Luc. *Salt.* 2-4, Anth. Pal. XV 12. 8 μισῶ Λωτοφάγων γλυκερὴν λιπώπατριν ἐδωδὴν (with reference to Epicureanism).

φανερῶς κατοικεῖ: no longer λάθρα (560 B). He glories in his shame. Her-

werden's κατοικεῖ <ἐκεῖ> in place of κατοικεῖ is wholly unnecessary and spoils the rhythm.

19 τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τείχους: i.e. the wall enclosing the ἀκρόπολις (560 B), where the soul's king or ruling power inhabits.

560 D 21 οὔτε πρέσβεις κτλ.: 'nor admit an embassy of wise words spoken by private persons of maturer years.' The contrast is between the ξυμμαχία itself, consisting of the λόγοι of οἰκείοι, and 'ambassador-words' of ἰδιῶται, i.e. men who take no part in public or official life. Their representations would serve as ambassadors to those of the οἰκείοι, whether the οἰκείοι inspire them or not. It has often been pointed out that Plato is thinking of Alcibiades in various parts of this description (see e.g. Steinhart *Einleitung* pp. 239, 698 n. 238), Susemihl *Gen. Entw.* II p. 233 and Herwerden *Mnem.* XIX p. 337); and here, I believe, he has in mind the efforts of Socrates to reclaim him. Cf. VI 494 D n. and especially *Symp.* 215 D ff. For πρεσβύτερος with reference to Socrates see ἀγαθοῖς καὶ πρεσβυτέροις III 409 C n.; and for ἰδιώτης as applied to him, *Apol.* 32 E—33 B. The order and rhythm, as in ἐν ἀνδρῶν θεοφιλῶν εἰσι διανοίαις above, is in keeping with the stately and sonorous eloquence of the whole passage: cf. IX 573 D. On Badham's conjecture δι' ὧτων for ἰδιωτῶν see App. IV.

αὐτοὶ τε κρατοῦσι μαχόμενοι, καὶ τὴν μὲν αἰδῶ ἡλιθιότητα ὀνομά-  
ζοντες ὠθοῦσιν ἔξω ἀτίμως φυγάδα, σωφροσύνην δὲ ἀνδρῖαν  
καλοῦντές τε καὶ προπηλακίζοντες ἐκβάλλουσι, μετρίτητα δὲ καὶ  
κοσμίαν δαπάνην ὡς ἀγροικίαν καὶ ἀνελευθερίαν οὖσαν πείθοντες 25  
ὑπερορίζουσι μετα πολλῶν καὶ ἀνωφελῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν; Σφόδρα γε.  
Τούτων δέ γέ που κενώσαντες καὶ καθήραντες τὴν τοῦ κατεχο-  
Ε μένου<sup>1</sup> τε ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τελουμένου ψυχὴν μεγάλοισι τέλεσι, τὸ  
μετὰ τοῦτο ἤδη ὕβριν καὶ ἀναρχίαν καὶ ἀσωτίαν καὶ ἀναΐδειαν  
λαμπρὰς μετὰ πολλοῦ χοροῦ κατὰγουσιν ἐστεφανωμένας, ἐγκωμιά- 30  
ζοντες καὶ ὑποκοριζόμενοι, ὕβριν μὲν εὐπαιδευσίαν καλοῦντες,  
ἀναρχίαν δὲ ἐλευθερίαν, ἀσωτίαν δὲ μεγαλοπρέπειαν, ἀναΐδειαν δὲ  
561 ἀνδρείαν. | ἄρ' οὐχ οὕτω πως, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, νέος ὦν μεταβάλλει ἐκ  
τοῦ ἐν ἀναγκαίοις ἐπιθυμίαις τρεφομένου τὴν τῶν μὴ ἀναγκαίων  
καὶ ἀνωφελῶν ἡδονῶν ἐλευθέρωσίν τε καὶ ἄνεσιν; Καὶ μάλα γε,  
ἦ δ' ὅς, ἐναργῶς. Ζῆ δὴ, οἶμαι, μετὰ ταῦτα ὁ τοιοῦτος οὐδὲν  
μᾶλλον εἰς ἀναγκαίους ἢ μὴ ἀναγκαίους ἡδονὰς ἀναλίσκων καὶ 5  
χρήματα καὶ πόρους καὶ διατριβὰς· ἀλλ' ἐὰν εὐτυχὴς ἦ καὶ μὴ  
πέρα ἐκβακχευθῇ, ἀλλὰ τι καὶ πρεσβύτερος γενόμενος τοῦ πολλοῦ<sup>1</sup>

<sup>22</sup> μαχόμενοι: viz. with τὸ φειδῶλον (560 C).

αἰδῶ. See 560 A. With what follows cf. Thuc. III 82. 4 ff. and Isocr. *Areop.* 20, *Panath.* 131 (Dümmler's *Chron. Beiträge* pp. 15 ff.).

<sup>23</sup> σωφροσύνην κτλ. Thuc. I. c. τὸ δὲ σῶφρον τοῦ ἀνάνδρου πρόσχημα. Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 509 ἀνάνδρτα γὰρ τὸ πλεον ὅστις ἀπολέσας | τοῦλασσον ἔλαβε. It is probable that Plato had Thucydides in his mind: see Susemihl *Gen. Entw.* II p. 234.

<sup>26</sup> μετὰ: 'with the aid of' (in *Ver-einigung mit*, Schneider).

<sup>27</sup> καθήραντες κτλ. The imagery is borrowed from the Eleusinian rites. On the first day of the Greater Mysteries, which was called ἀλαδὲ μύσται, took place the cleansing of the μύσται in the sea: cf. Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Ath.* p. 207 n. 2. κατεχομένον is used as in *Men.* 99 D κατεχομένους ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ.

560 E 28 μεγάλοισι τέλεσι κτλ. The archaic termination in μεγάλοισι adds solemnity: see on I 330 B. λαμπράς = 'in a blaze of light.' Plato's language would suggest to an Athenian the brilliant scene on the evening of the Iacchus-day, when the procession following the figure of Iacchus transformed

itself into a λαμπαδηφορία' (Mommsen I. c. p. 229): cf. Ar. *Frogs* 340 ff. ἔγειρε φλογέας λαμπάδας ἐν χειρὶ τινάσσων Ἰακχ', ὦ Ἰακχε. The exiled ὕbris etc. are conducted home like Iacchus to Eleusis. In χοροῦ there is an allusion to the χορὸς μυστῶν.

<sup>32</sup> μεγαλοπρέπειαν. See on VI 486 A.

561 A 2 τοῦ—τρεφομένου. Masculine, not neuter.

τὴν—ἄνεσιν. I formerly read *eis* τὴν (with IIΞ and many other MSS) instead of τὴν, but now believe that A is right. "Non est idem, *eis* δημοκρατικὸν μεταβάλλειν, et τὴν—ἐλευθέρωσιν μεταβάλλειν. Hoc prius, illud posterius, haec via, ille finis est" (Schneider). If Plato had written *eis*, it should have been followed by an accusative masculine, contrasting with ἐκ τοῦ—τρεφομένου, as in 553 A *eis* ὀλιγαρχικὸν ἐκ τοῦ τιμοκρατικοῦ ἐκείνου μεταβάλλει. For the use of μεταβάλλει cf. (with Schneider) IV 424 C et al. With the force of ἄνεσιν cf. IX 575 A (ἀνεθέντα) and 590 A.

6 εὐτυχὴς ἦ = 'if he is fortunate' is much better than εὐτυχῆσθαι (Cobet), which would mean 'if he becomes fortunate.' Cf. IX 578 C n.

7 ἀλλὰ τι κτλ.: 'but, owing also in some measure to the influence of years,



θορύβου παρελθόντος μέρη τε καταδέξεται τῶν ἐκπεσόντων καὶ B  
 τοῖς ἐπεισελθοῦσι μὴ ὅλον ἑαυτὸν ἐνδῶ, εἰς ἴσον δὴ τι καταστήσας  
 10 τὰς ἡδονὰς διάγει, τῇ παραπιπτούσῃ αἰὲ ὥσπερ λαχούσῃ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ  
 ἀρχὴν παραδιδούς, ἕως ἂν πληρωθῇ, καὶ αὖθις ἄλλῃ, οὐδεμίαν  
 ἀτιμάζων, ἀλλ' ἐξ ἴσου τρέφων. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Καὶ λόγον γε,  
 ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀληθῆ οὐ προσδεχόμενος οὐδὲ παριείς εἰς τὸ φρούριον,  
 ἐάν τις λέγῃ, ὡς αἱ μὲν εἰσι τῶν <sup>1</sup> καλῶν τε καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν C  
 15 ἡδοναί, αἱ δὲ τῶν πονηρῶν, καὶ τὰς μὲν χρή ἐπιτηδεύειν καὶ τιμᾶν,  
 τὰς δὲ κολάζειν τε καὶ δουλοῦσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις ἀνανεύει  
 τε καὶ ὁμοίας φησὶν ἀπάσας εἶναι καὶ τιμητέας ἐξ ἴσου. Σφόδρα  
 γάρ, ἔφη, οὕτω διακείμενος τοῦτο δρᾷ. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ  
 διαζῇ τὸ καθ' ἡμέραν οὕτω χαριζόμενος τῇ προσπιπτούσῃ ἐπι-  
 20 θυμία, τοτὲ μὲν μεθύων καὶ καταυλούμενος, αὖθις δὲ ὑδροποτῶν καὶ  
 κατισχναινόμενος, <sup>1</sup> τοτὲ δ' αὖ γυμναζόμενος, ἔστιν δ' ὅτε ἀργῶν D  
 καὶ πάντων ἀμελῶν, τοτὲ δ' ὡς ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ διατρίβων· πολλάκις  
 δὲ πολιτεύεται, καὶ ἀναπηδῶν ὅ τι ἂν τύχῃ λέγει τε καὶ πράττει·  
 κἂν ποτέ τις πολεμικοὺς ζηλώσῃ, ταύτῃ φέρεται, ἢ χρηματι-  
 25 στικούς, ἐπὶ τοῦτ' αὖ. καὶ οὔτε τις τάξις οὔτε ἀνάγκη ἔπescιν  
 αὐτοῦ τῷ βίῳ, ἀλλ' ἡδύν τε δὴ καὶ ἐλευθέριον καὶ μακάριον καλῶν  
 τὸν βίον τοῦτον χρήται αὐτῷ διὰ παντός. Παντάπασιν, <sup>1</sup> ἢ δ' ὅς, E  
 διεκλήλυθας βίον ἰσονομικοῦ τινὸς ἀνδρός. Οἶμαι δέ γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,

9. ἑαυτὸν Ξ9: ἑαυτῷ AII.

20. τοτὲ II: τὸ A.

when the tumult of the soul has mostly passed' etc. Cf. I 329 c. Plato means that good fortune does something, and growing age the rest.

561 B 9 εἰς ἴσον κτλ. Pleasures are regarded by the δημοκρατικὸς ἀνὴρ as individual men are regarded by the δημοκρατικὴ πολιτεία (557 A, 558 C *nn.*): they are all equal. For ὥσπερ λαχούσῃ see on 557 A. ἕως ἂν πληρωθῇ means 'till he' (not 'it,' as D. and V. etc.) 'is filled.' Sensual pleasures πληροῦσι because they are πληρώσεις: cf. *Phil.* 35 D ff. This is the χαραδρίου βίος so powerfully described in *Gorg.* 493 A—494 D.

13 τὸ φρούριον κτλ. The φρούριον is the ἀκρόπολις of 560 B. With ἐάν τις λέγῃ κτλ. cf. *Gorg.* 495 A ff.

561 C 19 διαζῇ κτλ. The δημοκρατικός, like the State of which he is the counterpart, is a living example of the Cyrenaic cult of μονόχρονος ἡδονή: see 557 A, D, *nn.* and RP.<sup>7</sup> 207 B, 211. Stein-

hart (*Einleitung* p. 698 n. 239) with much probability thinks that the portrait is drawn from Alcibiades, whose ἦθος (says Plut. *Alc.* 2. 1) πολλὰς—ἀνομοιότητας καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ μεταβολὰς ἐπεδείξατο. Cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 1115—1117 ῥᾶδια δ' ἦθεα τὸν αἶον μεταβαλλομένα χρόνον αἰεὶ βίον ξυνετυχούην, and (with Nettleship *Lect. and Rem.* II p. 311 n.) the striking parallel in Dryden's *Abraham and Achitophel* 545 ff. On ἀνομοιότης as marking decay in men and cities see 547 A, 557 A *nn.*

561 D 25 οὔτε τις τάξις κτλ. "The absence of principle, he, like the democratic state, makes into a principle" (Nettleship l.c. II p. 310). On οὔτε ἀνάγκη see 557 E n., and on ἡδύν 561 C n.

561 E 28 ἰσονομικοῦ: 'to whom all laws are equal.' 'Equal laws' (ἰσονομία) was the proud claim of democracy (Hdt. III 80, Bergk *Poet. Lyr. Gr.*<sup>4</sup> III Scol. 12). The δημοκρατικός practises what he preaches ὡς ἀληθῶς—by impartially ignor-

καὶ παντοδαπὸν τε καὶ πλείστων ἡθῶν μεστόν, καὶ τὸν καλὸν τε καὶ ποικίλον, ὥσπερ ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν, τοῦτον τὸν ἄνδρα εἶναι, ὃν 30 πολλοὶ ἂν καὶ πολλαὶ ζηλώσειαν τοῦ βίου, παραδείγματα πολιτειῶν τε καὶ τρόπων πλείστα ἐν αὐτῷ ἔχοντα. Οὗτος γάρ, ἔφη, 562 ἔστιν. Τί οὖν; τετάχθω ἡμῖν κατὰ | δημοκρατίαν ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ, ὡς δημοκρατικὸς ὁρθῶς ἂν προσαγορευόμενος; Τετάχθω, ἔφη.

XIV. Ἡ καλλίστη δὴ, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, πολιτεία τε καὶ ὁ κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ λοιπὰ ἂν ἡμῖν εἴη διελθεῖν, τυραννίς τε καὶ τύραννος. Κομιδῇ γ', ἔφη. Φέρε δὴ, τίς τρόπος τυραννίδος, ὃ φίλε ἐταῖρε, γίγνεται; 5 ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ δημοκρατίας μεταβάλλει, σχεδὸν δῆλον. Δῆλον.

32. οὗτος A<sup>2</sup> q<sup>1</sup>: οὗτος (sic) Π: οὕτω vel οὕτως Ξ q<sup>2</sup> et fortasse A<sup>1</sup>.

ing every law! For the etymological figure cf. II 376 B n.

29 παντοδαπὸν τε καὶ — μεστόν. Richards proposes to write the genitive, remarking "surely the words are parallel to ἰσονομικοῦ." Logically they are, but grammatically they need not be, for the life of an ἰσονομικὸς ἀνὴρ is of course ἰσονομικός. With πλείστων ἡθῶν cf. πᾶσιν ἡθεσι πεποικιλμένη 557 C.

καὶ τὸν καλὸν τε καὶ κτλ. lit.: 'and that this man is the beautiful and many-coloured man, as the city described above' (was the beautiful and many-coloured city). "Sunt diversa hominum et civitatum genera, unum simplex ac rectum, alterum duplex, aliud multiplex et varium. Qui primo accensendus est, ὁ ἀπλοῦς, qui alteri, ὁ διπλοῦς, hic vero ὁ καλὸς τε καὶ ποικίλος audit" (Schneider). Thus understood the article is strictly to the point, and there is no reason for writing τῶν καλῶν τε καὶ ποικίλων with Vind. B and W. H. Thompson. On ποικίλον see 557 C n. It is worthy of remark that Clement interprets Joseph's 'coat of many colours' in the Old Testament as symbolical of desire: εἴη δ' ἂν ἐπιθυμία ποικίλον ἐνδυμα (Strom. v 8. 84 C ed. Migne).

30 ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν. See 557 C, with which and 557 D the words ὃν πολλοὶ κτλ. are also in close correspondence.

562 A—563 E It remains to describe tyranny and the tyrannical man. As oligarchy was overthrown by the insatiate pursuit of wealth, so democracy begins to change to tyranny, when evil cup-bearers provide the wine of Freedom in excessive draughts. Anarchy under the name of Freedom infects every department

of life—political, domestic, educational, and social: the very dogs and beasts of burden become tainted with the prevailing vice. In the final stage no regard whatever is paid to laws, whether written or unwritten.

562 A ff. 3 ἡ καλλίστη κτλ. As Oligarchy fell a victim to the excessive pursuit of its ideal, viz. Wealth, so also the extravagant devotion to liberty and equality subverts in course of time the democratic State. In 562 A—565 D Plato puts before us the different stages in the fall of democracy: cf. Arist. Pol. Δ 4 1291<sup>b</sup> 30—1292<sup>a</sup> 38, where the various εἰδη τῆς δημοκρατίας are distinguished, and Newman The Politics of Aristotle IV pp. xxxvi—lxi. Plato's description, as usual, can be illustrated in many places from Greek and especially Athenian political and social life: see 562 D, E, 563 B, C, D al. *nn*.

562 A 5 γίγνεται = 'prodit,' 'quarentibus se offert' (Schneider). Cf. III 412 C οἱ δὲ γεωργῶν ἀριστοὶ ἀρ' οὐ γεωργικώτατοι γίγνονται, Euthyd. 298 E ὥστε σὸς πατὴρ γίγνεται ὁ κῶν καὶ σὺ κυναρίων ἀδελφός, infra 566 A, IX 576 B and Prot. 325 B with my note ad loc. 'What,' asks Socrates, 'do we find to be the character of tyranny? As for its origin, it is pretty obvious that tyranny comes from democracy.' For the order of questions cf. 558 C. The words ὅτι μὲν γὰρ κτλ., when taken in connexion with the preceding question, seem at first sight to suggest that the μεταβολή will not be described: but cf. V 466 D, where μὲν γὰρ is used in exactly the same way, and followed by a full account of the topic to which its clause refers. See also App. V.

Ἄρ' οὖν τρόπον τινὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἔκ τε ὀλιγαρχίας δημοκρατία γίγνεται καὶ ἐκ δημοκρατίας ἑ tyrannis; Πῶς; Ὁ προὔθεντο, B ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀγαθόν, καὶ δι' ὃ ἡ ὀλιγαρχία καθίστατο—τοῦτο δ' ἦν 10 πλοῦτος· ἦ γάρ; Ναί. Ἡ πλούτου τοίνυν ἀπληστία καὶ ἡ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμέλεια διὰ χρηματισμὸν αὐτὴν ἀπώλλυ. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ ὃ δημοκρατία ὀρίζεται ἀγαθόν, ἡ τούτου ἀπληστία καὶ ταύτην καταλύει; Λέγεις δ' αὐτὴν τί ὀρίζεσθαι; Τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, εἶπον. τοῦτο γάρ που ἐν δημοκρατουμένῃ πόλει ἀκούσαις ἂν ὡς C 15 ἔχει τε κάλλιστον καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐν μόνῃ ταύτῃ ἄξιον οἰκεῖν ὅστις φύσει ἐλεύθερος. Λέγεται γὰρ δῆ, ἔφη, καὶ πολὺ τοῦτο τὸ ῥῆμα. Ἄρ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅπερ ἦα νῦν δὴ ἐρῶν, ἡ τοῦ τοιούτου ἀπληστία καὶ ἡ τῶν ἄλλων ἀμέλεια καὶ ταύτην τὴν πολιτείαν μεθίστησιν τε καὶ παρασκευάζει τυραννίδος δεηθῆναι; Πῶς; ἔφη. Ὅταν οἶμαι, 20 δημοκρατουμένη πόλις ἐλευθερίας διψήσασα κακῶν οἰνοχόων προστατούντων τύχη, ἑ καὶ πορρωτέρω τοῦ δέοντος ἀκράτου αὐτῆς D μεθυσθῇ, τοὺς ἄρχοντας δῆ, ἂν μὴ πάνυ πρᾶοι ὧσι καὶ πολλὴν

9. δ nos: οὗ codd. ἡ Π: om. A. 10. πλοῦτος unus omnium codicum Vind. F: ὑπέρπλοτος AΠ q: γίνεσθαι ὑπέρπλοτος Ξ. 11. χρηματισμὸν A<sup>1</sup>Π: χρηματισμῶν corr. A<sup>2</sup>.

7 ἄρ' οὖν κτλ. begins a long description of the τρόπος τῆς γενέσεως: the τρόπος τῆς πολιτείας is not described till 566 D ff. Here again the situation in V 466 D is nearly, though not quite, analogous: see note ad loc. For other views on this passage consult App. V.

562 B 8 προὔθεντο: sc. the citizens of the oligarchical State. Stallbaum reads προὔθετο, on inferior MS authority; but the plural is easy enough: cf. 550 D.

9 καὶ δι' ὃ κτλ. explains and amplifies δ—ἀγαθόν. Wealth is the cause of oligarchy, that 'on account of' which it was established: cf. 550 D ff., 551 C, 555 B (τοῦ προκειμένου ἀγαθοῦ). The reading δι' οὗ (see *cr. n.*) would make wealth the means or instrument in producing the result, and this it was not, except in the loose sense in which the προκειμένον ἀγαθόν is also a means. I formerly conjectured δι' ὃ αὐ (Cl. Rev. IV p. 357), but αὐ is unsuitable. For the corruption in the MSS see note on διὰ τοῦτο X 610 D. Jowett wrongly translates καθίστατο by 'was maintained.'

10 πλοῦτος. See *cr. n.* The majority of editors reject ὑπέρπλοτος: rightly, for the word is not used except as an adjective. A host of emendations has been

suggested, ὁ πέρα πλοῦτος (Richter *Fleck.* 7b. 1867 p. 146), ὑπέρπλοτος <πλοῦτος> (Stallbaum), ὑπέρ πλούτου (Madvig—but the use of ὑπέρ is not above suspicion), που πλοῦτος (Campbell), ὑπερπλουτεῖν (apud J. and C.), εἴπερ τι, πλούτος (Apelt *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1895 p. 968). Stephanus' conjecture γίνεσθαι ὑπέρπλοτον was adopted by Ast. The expression ὑπέρπλοτος πλούτος occurs in Joan. Damasc. III 733 A ed. Migne, but in a highly rhetorical passage and without any reference to Plato. It is probably best to read πλούτος, with Schneider and Hermann. ὑπέρπλοτος may have originally been a marginal note intended to recall ὑπέρπλοτοι in 552 B.

11 ἀπώλλυ. 555 C—557 A.

13 ἐλευθερίαν. See 557 B n.

562 C 14 ἀκούσαις—ἐλευθερος rings like an echo from some of the panegyrist of Athens: cf. Eur. *Ion* 669—675 with *Menex.* 239 A ff. and Thuc. II 37. 2.

15 ἔχει—κάλλιστον (sc. ἡ δημοκρατουμένη πόλις)= 'is its fairest possession,' not 'it has this in the highest perfection' (as suggested in J. and C.).

20 προστατούντων. See on 565 C.

562 D 22 ἂν μὴ—ὀλιγαρχικούς. For a striking example see the account



παρέχωσι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, κολάζει αἰτιωμένη ὡς μιαρούς τε καὶ ὀλιγαρχικούς. Δρῶσιν γάρ, ἔφη, τοῦτο. Τοὺς δέ γε, εἶπον, τῶν ἀρχόντων κατηκούους προπηλακίζει ὡς ἐθελοδούλους τε καὶ οὐδὲν 25 ὄντας, τοὺς δὲ ἄρχοντας μὲν ἀρχομένοις, ἀρχομένους δὲ ἄρχουσιν ὁμοίους ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ ἐπαινεῖ τε καὶ τιμᾷ. ἂρ' οὐκ ἀνάγκη

**E** ἐν τοιαύτῃ | πόλει ἐπὶ πᾶν τὸ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἰέναι; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Καὶ καταδύεσθαι γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ φίλε, εἰς τε τὰς ἰδίας οἰκίας καὶ τελευτᾶν μέχρι τῶν θηρίων τὴν ἀναρχίαν ἐμφυομένην. Πῶς, ἦ δ' 30 ὅς, τὸ τοιοῦτον λέγομεν; Οἶον, ἔφην, πατέρα μὲν ἐθίζεσθαι παιδὶ ὅμοιον γίγνεσθαι καὶ φοβεῖσθαι τοὺς ὑεῖς, ὑὸν δὲ πατρί, καὶ μήτε αἰσχύνεσθαι μήτε δεδιέναι τοὺς γονέας, ἵνα δὴ ἐλεύθερος ᾦ· μέτοικον

563 | δὲ ἄστῳ καὶ ἄστων μετοίκῳ ἐξισοῦσθαι, καὶ ξένον ὡσαύτως. Γίγνεται γὰρ οὕτως, ἔφη. Ταῦτά τε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ σμικρὰ τοιάδε ἄλλα γίγνεται· διδάσκαλός τε ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ φοιτητὰς φοβεῖται καὶ θωπύει, φοιτηταὶ τε διδασκάλων ὀλιγοῦσιν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ παιδαγωγῶν· καὶ ὅλως οἱ μὲν νέοι πρεσβυτέροις ἀπεικάζονται καὶ 5 διαμιλλῶνται καὶ ἐν λόγοις καὶ ἐν ἔργοις, οἱ δὲ γέροντες ξυγκαθιέν-

**B** τες τοῖς νέοις εὐτραπελίας τε καὶ χαριεντισμοῦ | ἐμπύμπλυνται, μιμούμενοι τοὺς νέους, ἵνα δὴ μὴ δοκῶσιν ἀηδεῖς εἶναι μηδὲ δεσποτικοί. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Τὸ δέ γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἔσχατον, ὦ φίλε, τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῦ πλήθους, ὅσον γίγνεται ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ 10 πόλει, ὅταν δὴ οἱ ἐωνημένοι καὶ αἱ ἐωνημέναι μηδὲν ἥττον ἐλεύθεροι ὦσι τῶν πριαμένων. ἐν γυναιξὶ δὲ πρὸς ἄνδρας καὶ ἀνδράσι πρὸς

of the proceedings after Arginusae in Xen. *Hell.* I 7. 12—15.

562 E 30 μέχρι τῶν θηρίων. See on 563 C, D.

31 πατέρα μὲν κτλ. Cf. *Laus* 701 B, [Xen.] *Rep. Ath.* I 8—12 and *Mem.* III 5. 15, 16 (Hermann *Gesch. u. System d. Pl. Phil.* p. 91).

563 A 6 ξυγκαθιέντες. V 467 B n.

563 B 9 τὸ δέ γε κτλ. 'But the extremest amount of freedom which appears in such a city is when' etc.: lit. 'the extreme of the amount of freedom' etc. τὸ—ἔσχατον is the subject to something like ἔστιν or γίγνεται understood: cf. such idioms as οὐ τοι ἔνεκα ἡρόμην—οὔτι κτλ. I 330 B, where see note. The sentence is not exclamatory, as some have supposed. With πλήθους ἐλευθερίας cf. πολλῶν—τὴν ἐλευθερίαν 562 D, and (for πλήθος) IX 591 E (πλήθος οὐσίας), *Laus* XI 913 D, *Theaet.* 158 D (πλήθος χρόνου)

and Dem. *Phil.* IV 2. This explanation is that of Schneider, and indubitably right. The English editors and translators make τοῦ πλήθους depend on ἐλευθερίας: but "servi servaeque non sunt pars τοῦ πλήθους," and ὅσον—πόλει is not easily either separated from πλήθους or connected with ἔσχατον.

11 ὅταν—πριαμένων. Cf. [Xen.] *Rep. Ath.* I. 10 ff. τῶν δούλων δ' αὐ καὶ τῶν μετοίκων πλειεστὴ ἐστὶν Ἀθήνῃσι ἀκολασία, καὶ οὕτε πατάξει ἐξεστὶν αὐτόθι, οὕτε ὑπεκστήσεται σοι ὁ δοῦλος κτλ. In Arist. *Pol.* E II. 1313<sup>b</sup> 35 δούλων ἀνεστὶς is said to be a symptom of extreme democracy.

12 ἐν γυναιξὶ κτλ. Arist. l.c. goes farther and speaks of a γυναικοκρατία περὶ τὰς οἰκίας. A German critic characteristically sees an 'admirable' illustration of Plato's remarks in the social life "jenes transatlantischen Staatvereins" (Steinhart *Einleitung* p. 243). Some have accused

γυναῖκας ὅση ἡ ἰσονομία καὶ ἐλευθερία γίγνεται, ὀλίγον ἐπελαθόμεθ' εἰπεῖν. Οὐκοῦν κατ' Αἰσχύλον, ἔφη, ἑρῶμεν ὃ τι νῦν ἦλθ' C  
15 ἐπὶ στόμα; Πάνυ γε, εἶπον. καὶ ἔγωγε οὕτω λέγω. τὸ μὲν γὰρ τῶν θηρίων τῶν ὑπὸ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ὅσῳ ἐλευθερώτερα ἐστὶν ἐνταῦθα ἢ ἐν ἄλλῃ, οὐκ ἂν τις πείθοιτο ἄπειρος. ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ αἶ τε κύνες κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν οἰαίπερ αἱ δέσποναι, γίγνονται τε δὴ καὶ ἵπποι καὶ ὄνοι πάνυ ἐλευθέρως καὶ σεμνῶς εἰθισμένοι πορεύεσθαι, κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐμβάλλοντες τῷ αἰὲ ἀπαντῶντι, ἐὰν μὴ ἐξίς-

Plato of already forgetting the liberalism of Book V (Krohn *Pl. St.* p. 214): but an ideal city is one thing, and a lawless democracy another; and *corruptio optimi*, in the relations between the sexes, as in other cases, may well be *peccata*.

563 C 14 ὃ τι νῦν—στόμα: "what rose to our lips just now, whatever it be," as Aeschylus observes." See Aesch. *Frag.* 337 Dindorf=334 Nauck. The reference in νῦν, which here as in some other places (III 414 B n.) has the meaning of 'just now,' is to 562 E καὶ τελευτᾶν μέχρι τῶν θηρίων τὴν ἀναρχίαν ἐμφυμένην. Nauck restores the fragment of Aeschylus in the form ὅτι νῦν ἦλθ' ἐπὶ στόμα: but the enclitic is unpleasing, and as ὅτι is absent from the other two places where the quotation occurs (Plut. *Amat.* 763 B, Them. *Or.* IV 52 B) Aeschylus probably wrote νῦν γὰρ ἦλθ' ἐπὶ στόμα ('just come to my lips') or something of the sort. With the general sense cf. III 394 D. Similar expressions in Greek literature are collected by Schaefer on Dion. Hal. *de comp. verb.* pp. 12, 13. Jackson ingeniously proposes to connect the present passage with Arist. *Eth. Nic.* III 2. 1111<sup>a</sup> 9 ff., where he conjectures ὁλον λέγοντες φασιν ἐκπεσεῖν αὐτοὺς ἃ (for ἡ) οὐκ εἰδέναι ὅτι ἀπόρητα ἦν, ὥσπερ Αἰσχύλος τὰ μυστικά (*Proceedings of the Camb. Phil. Soc.* XIII 8 and *Journal of Philology* XXVII p. 159 f.). "Is it possible" he asks "that the phrase ἦλθ' ἐπὶ στόμα is a proverbial survival of the plea urged by Aeschylus in plain prose on the occasion referred to in the *Ethics*?" I think an Athenian speaking in plain prose would have said ἦλθεν ἐπὶ στόμα or ἐπὶ τὸ στόμα, not ἦλθ' ἐπὶ στόμα. The elision is tragic.

15 οὕτω: i.e. in the spirit of the Aeschylean phrase: the idea occurred to me, and it shall out, though never so extravagant and absurd!

16 ἐλευθερώτερα. For the concord cf.

*Phil.* 45 E and *Laws* 657 D (Ast).

18 τὴν παροιμίαν. The proverb was οἰαίπερ ἡ δέσποινα, τοῖα χά κύνων (Schol.), and meant ὅτι ὁποία δέσποινα, τοιαύτη καὶ ἡ θεραπαινὶς 'like mistress, like maid.' Plato takes κύνων literally: hence ἀτεχνῶς. See Leutsch and Schneidewin *Paroem. Gr.* II p. 44. The traveller in modern Greece will remember the 'democratic dogs' of Peloponnesian villages.

γίγνονται τε δὴ κτλ.: 'aye, and there arise both horses and asses' etc. This explanation—Jowett's—catches the mock-heroic humour of the passage and is at the same time easier grammatically than to supply, with Schneider, οἰαίπερ αἱ δεσπόται or, with Campbell, ἐλεύθεροι or the like. There is no ground for suspecting the text as some have done. Plato's humorous description brings vividly before us the anarchical condition of the Athenian streets. Foot-passengers have a poor time of it where the very beasts of burden forsooth are tainted with the spirit of democracy! "The regulation of traffic," remarks Bosanquet, perhaps a little sententiously, "is in some degree a real test of social order." No doubt this is what Plato means.

20 ἐμβάλλοντες κτλ. See the amusing and characteristic anecdote about Alcibiades' childhood in Plut. *Alc.* 2. 4 μικρὸς ὢν ἐπαίξεν ἀστραγάλους ἐν τῷ στενωπῷ, τῆς δὲ βολῆς καθηκούσης εἰς αὐτὸν ἄμαξα φορτίων ἐπήει. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ἐκέλευε περιμένειν τὸν ἄγοντα τὸ ζεύγος· ὑπέπιπτε γὰρ ἡ βολὴ τῇ παρόδῳ τῆς ἀμάξης· μὴ πευθομένου δὲ δι' ἀγροικίαν, ἀλλ' ἐπάγοντος, οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι παῖδες διέσχον, ὁ δ' Ἀλκιβιάδης καταβαλὼν ἐπὶ στόμα πρὸ τοῦ ζεύγους καὶ παρατένας ἑαυτὸν ἐκέλευεν οὕτως, εἰ βούλεται, διεξελεῖν, ὥστε τὸν μὲν ἀνθρωπον ἀνακρούσαι τὸ ζεύγος ὅπως δέισαντα, τοὺς δ' ἰδόντας ἐκπλαγῆναι καὶ μετὰ βοῆς συνδραμεῖν πρὸς αὐτόν.

Δ τηται· καὶ τᾶλλα πάντα οὕτως ἡ μεστὰ ἐλευθερίας γίγνεται. Τὸ ἐμόν γ', ἔφη, ἐμοὶ λέγεις ὄναρ· αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰς ἀγρὸν πορευόμενος θαμὰ αὐτὸ πάσχω. Τὸ δὲ δὴ κεφάλαιον, ἣν δ' ἐγὼ, πάντων τούτων ξυνηθροισμένων ἐννοεῖς, ὡς ἀπαλὴν τὴν ψυχὴν τῶν πολιτῶν ποιεῖ, ὥστε καὶ ὅτιοῦν δουλείας τις προσφέρηται, ἀγανακτεῖν καὶ μὴ 25 ἀνέχεσθαι; τελευτῶντες γάρ που οἶσθ' ὅτι οὐδὲ τῶν νόμων φρον-  
Ε τίζουσιν γεγραμμένων ἢ ἀγράφων, ἵνα δὴ μηδαμῇ μηδεὶς αὐτοῖς ἢ δεσπότης. Καὶ μάλ', ἔφη, οἶδα.

563 D 21 τὸ ἐμόν γ'—ὄναρ is manifestly proverbial (Schneider). For ὄναρ cf. *Charm.* 173 A ἄκουε δὴ—τὸ ἐμόν ὄναρ and *Theaet.* 201 E.

22 αὐτὸς γὰρ κτλ. 'I frequently experience what you describe when I am on my way to the country,' sc. through the congested streets of Athens. Jowett's 'when I take a country walk' is hardly accurate. The present πορευόμενος should be taken in its full force.

25 καὶ ὅτιοῦν κτλ. If the middle is to be pressed, we must translate: 'if any man applies to himself the very least degree of slavery' etc. That is to say, they are so sensitive that they cannot bear to see any one making himself even a willing slave. In the sacred name of Freedom, Democracy, which is now on the verge of Tyranny, puts freedom down. The sentiment is perhaps a little exaggerated, but otherwise suitable enough; only we should rather have expected Plato to express this meaning by αὐτὸς αὐτῷ προσφέρει. If there were any well-authenticated examples of the middle of προσφέρειν used for the active, it would be better to construe προσφέρηται as if it were προσφέρει, and suppose that the slavery is applied to others: but the instances of προσφέρεσθαι=προσφέρειν in Stephanus-Hase s.v. are either dubious or from late authors. The syllable -ται at the end of a line is sometimes abbreviated in uncial MSS (see Bond and Thompson *Public. of the Pal. Soc.* 1 Plate 106), and this fact lends additional plausibility to W. H. Thompson's conjecture, that we should write προσφέρει for προσφέρηται. I once proposed τισί, and the proposal is approved by a critic in *Hermathena* xxiv p. 252. The citizens become so sensitive that the least degree of pressure applied to any section of them rouses them all. Meantime, as neither of these conjectures is quite convincing,

I have retained the MS reading *pro tempore*, although I think Thompson's conjecture represents what Plato meant to say.

26 τελευτῶντες γὰρ κτλ. There is steady deterioration; and the last stage of democracy is the worst. Aristotle holds the same opinion: see *Pol.* Δ 6. 1293<sup>a</sup> 1 ἡ τελευταία τοῖς χρόνοις ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι γεγενημένη along with 1291<sup>b</sup> 30—1292<sup>a</sup> 37.

οὐδὲ τῶν νόμων κτλ. Cf. *Laws* 701 B and Xen. *Hell.* 1 7. 12 ff. Such a democracy works by means of ψηφίσματα rather than laws, and is ἀνόλογον τῶν μοναρχιῶν τῇ τυραννίδι (Arist. l.c. Cf. also Gilbert *Beiträge zur inn. Gesch. Athens* pp. 79 ff.).

563 E—566 D Such is the seed which develops into Tyranny, excessive freedom generating excessive servitude, in accordance with a common law. The drones wax more numerous and violent, and ruin the democracy in course of time as once they ruined oligarchy. A democratical State contains three classes of citizens (1) the drones, stinging as well as stung, (2) the rich who serve as drones' provender, (3) the Demos, with whom the sovereignty lies. The most active members of the drone-fraternity become leaders of the Demos against the rich. By dint of extortion and calumny the propertied classes are at last compelled in self-defence to form an oligarchical party. Hence arise impeachments etc., and the people range themselves under a single Champion. As in the fable he who tasted human flesh became a wolf, so this Champion of the People, as soon as he spills the blood of fellow-citizens, is doomed to become a tyrant. Civil war begins; the Champion is either driven from the city, and returns a full-fledged tyrant, or receives a body-guard to protect him from secret assaults, and thus achieves his end.



XV. Αὕτη μὲν τοίνυν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ φίλε, ἡ ἀρχὴ οὕτωςι καλλή  
 30 καὶ νεανικῇ, ὅθεν τυραννὶς φύεται, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ. Νεανικῇ δῆτα,  
 ἔφη· ἀλλὰ τί τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο; Ταυτόν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ὅπερ ἐν τῇ  
 ὀλιγαρχίᾳ νόσημα ἐγγενόμενον ἀπώλεσεν αὐτήν, τοῦτο καὶ ἐν  
 ταύτῃ πλέον τε καὶ ἰσχυρότερον ἐκ τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐγγενόμενον κατα-  
 δουλοῦται δημοκρατίαν. καὶ τῷ ὄντι τὸ ἄγαν τι ποιεῖν μεγάλην  
 35 φιλεῖ εἰς τοῦναντίον μεταβολὴν ἀνταποδιδόναι, ἐν ὥραις τε καὶ  
 ἐν | φυτοῖς καὶ ἐν σώμασιν, καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν πολιτείαις οὐχ 564  
 ἥκιστα. Εἰκός, ἔφη. Ἡ γὰρ ἄγαν ἐλευθερία ἔοικεν οὐκ εἰς ἄλλο  
 τι ἢ εἰς ἄγαν δουλείαν μεταβάλλειν καὶ ἰδιώτῃ καὶ πόλει. Εἰκός  
 γάρ. Εἰκότως τοίνυν, εἶπον, οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλης πολιτείας τυραννὶς  
 5 καθίσταται ἢ ἐκ δημοκρατίας, ἐξ οἷμαι τῆς ἀκροτάτης ἐλευθερίας  
 δουλεία πλείστη τε καὶ ἀγριωτάτη. Ἐχει γάρ, ἔφη, λόγον. Ἄλλ'  
 οὐ τοῦτ', οἷμαι, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ἡρώτας, ἀλλὰ ποῖον νόσημα ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ

I. καὶ δὴ καὶ II: καὶ A.

563 E ff. 29 αὕτη μὲν τοίνυν κτλ. In his account of the genesis of tyranny, as in his description of the tyrant himself, Plato has borrowed several features from the career of the most conspicuous tyrant of his own age, Dionysius I of Syracuse. See on 564 A, and for other historical references 566 B al.

καλή καὶ νεανική: 'fair and proud.' For νεανική cf. IV 425 C.

32 νόσημα: viz. the drones, as explained in 564 B (ἐκείνο τοίνυν κτλ.).

33 ἐξουσίας κτλ. See on 557 B. For τῷ ὄντι cf. VI 497 D n.

564 A I καὶ δὴ καὶ κτλ. See *cr. n.* The omission of καὶ δὴ was a natural slip, and a majority of MSS agree with II. For καὶ δὴ καὶ with οὐχ ἥκιστα following cf. (with Schneider) *Soph.* 216 B. The present passage brings out very clearly Plato's conception of the State as a living organism and no mere 'dead machine.' See on this subject Bluntschli *Theory of the State* E. T. pp. 18—24 and cf. 543 A n.

3 ἄγαν δουλείαν. For the omission of the article cf. IV 434 C n. We certainly should not read, with Schaefer, τὴν ἄγαν, or delete ἄγαν with Cobet.

4 οὐκ ἐξ ἄλλης κτλ. In early times, according to Aristotle (*Pol.* E 5. 1305<sup>a</sup> 7 ff.) democracies used to give rise to tyrannies. The tyranny of Dionysius I of Syracuse is a notorious illustration from later history (see Grote c. 81). But

tyranny had other origins as well: it constantly appeared for example during the transition from Aristocracy to an oligarchical form of government (Whibley *Gk. Olig.* pp. 72—83). Plato deliberately selects that particular origin which accords with his psychological standpoint. In the decline of an individual soul, 'lawless' or unnatural (παράνομοι) desires succeed the *ισονομία* in which all desires are treated as equal. Hence tyranny, which is only the political expression of unnatural desire, succeeds democracy in the fall of a State. Granted that Plato thought Athens was still degenerating, he must certainly have expected her, unless the process of decay should be arrested, to end in a tyranny. See also on IX 576 B. With the position of οἷμαι cf. 568 C and other examples in Braun *de hyperb. Plat.* II p. 12.

5 ἀκροτάτης. Herwerden (with Flor. T) conjectures ἀκρατοτάτης: but ἀκρατος does not easily admit the superlative, and the word is less suitable here than in the elaborate similitude about the wine of freedom 562 D. For the superlative of ἀκρος cf. V 459 E al.

7 ἡρώτας: 'you were asking about' (doch wohl nicht danach fragtest du, Schneider), viz. when you said τί τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο; (563 E). Cf. *Crat.* 407 C τὸν Ἄρη ἐρώτα ('ask about Ares'), καὶ τῷ ὄντι—ἀγριωτάτῃ (563 E—564 A) is a digression, and Adimantus' question is

**B** | τε φνόμενον ταῦτόν καὶ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δουλοῦται αὐτήν. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη, λέγεις. Ἐκείνο τοίνυν, ἔφην, ἔλεγον τὸ τῶν ἀργῶν τε καὶ δαπανηρῶν ἀνδρῶν γένος, τὸ μὲν ἀνδρειότατον ἡγούμενον αὐτῶν, τὸ 10 δ' ἀνανδρότερον ἐπόμενον· οὓς δὴ ἀφωμοιοῦμεν κηφήσι, τοὺς μὲν κέντρα ἔχουσι, τοὺς δὲ ἀκέντροις. Καὶ ὀρθῶς γ', ἔφη. Τούτῳ τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ταράττετον ἐν πάσῃ πολιτείᾳ ἐγγιγνομένῳ, οἷον **C** περὶ σῶμα φλέγμα τε καὶ χολή·<sup>1</sup> ὃ δὲ καὶ δεῖ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ἰατρόν τε καὶ νομοθέτην πόλεως μὴ ἦττον ἢ σοφὸν μελιττουργὸν πόρρωθεν 15 εὐλαβεῖσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν ὅπως μὴ ἐγγενήσασθον, ἂν δὲ ἐγγένησθον, ὅπως ὅ τι τάχιστα ξὺν αὐτοῖσι τοῖς κηρίοις ἐκτετμήσασθον. Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἡ δ' ὅς, παντάπασί γε. Ὡδε τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, λάβωμεν, ἕν' εὐκρινέστερον ἴδωμεν ὃ βουλόμεθα. Πῶς; Τριχῇ διαστησώμεθα τῷ λόγῳ δημοκρατουμένην πόλιν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἔχει. ἐν 20 **D** μὲν γάρ που τὸ τοιοῦτον<sup>1</sup> γένος ἐν αὐτῇ ἐμφύεται δι' ἐξουσίαν οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ ἐν τῇ ὀλιγαρχουμένῃ. Ἔστιν οὕτω. Πολὺν δέ γε δριμύτερον ἐν ταύτῃ ἢ ἐν ἐκείνῃ. Πῶς; Ἐκεῖ μὲν διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔντιμον εἶναι, ἀλλ' ἀπελαύνεσθαι τῶν ἀρχῶν, ἀγύμναστον καὶ οὐκ

11. ἀφωμοιοῦμεν Ξ q<sup>2</sup>: ἀφομοιοῦμεν ΑΠ q<sup>1</sup>.  
 17. ἐκτετμήσασθον Α<sup>2</sup> cum v aliisque: ἐκτετμήσθον Α<sup>1</sup>ΠΞ q.

15. μελιττουργὸν Α<sup>2</sup>Π: μελι-

not answered until Socrates specifies what particular νόσημα was meant by the allusion in 563 E. J. and C. erroneously refer ἡρώτας το πῶς—to τοιοῦτον λέγομεν; (562 E).

564 B 9 ἐκείνο κτλ. 'Well then,' said I, 'I was referring to yon class' etc. ἐκείνο = 'already-mentioned' (in 552 C and later). On τὸ μὲν—ἐπόμενον see 564 D n.

11 ἀφωμοιοῦμεν. See *cr. n.* The present is less suitable, especially with δὴ (=ut scis, Schneider). For the error see *Introd.* § 5.

13 ταράττετον κτλ. ταράττετον is used absolutely as in *Hipp. Min.* 373 B Σωκράτης—ἀεὶ ταράττει ἐν τοῖς λόγοις. On φλέγμα τε καὶ χολή the Oxford editors refer to Arist. *Probl.* I 29. 862<sup>b</sup> 27 τῶν κατὰ τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἡ χολή μὲν ἐστὶ θερμὴ, τὸ δὲ φλέγμα ψυχρόν, and rightly hold that 'the hot humour answers to the stinging, the cold to the stingless drones.' Cf. *Tim.* 85 D ff.

564 C 15 μελιττουργὸν is the reading of Ξ q M as well as II (see *cr. n.*), and is elsewhere better attested than μελιτουργὸν,

which "api magis quam homini convenit" (Schneider).

17 ξὺν has been suspected by W. H. Thompson and Herwerden; but the preposition is occasionally found with this idiom both in poetry and prose (Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 356 and Lina *de praep. usu Plat.* p. 33). The half-poetic ξὺν (see on IV 424 E and VII 518 C) suits well with the archaic form αὐτοῖσι (I 330 B n.).

19 τριχῇ διαστησώμεθα. With what follows cf. Eur. *Suppl.* 238—245 τρεῖς γὰρ πολιτῶν μερίδες· οἱ μὲν δλβιοι | ἀνωφελεῖς τε πλειόνων τ' ἐρῶσ' ἀεὶ· | οἱ δ' οὐκ ἔχοντες καὶ σπανίζοντες βλοῦ | δεινοί, νέμοντες τῷ φθόνῳ πλέον μέρος, | ἐς τοὺς ἔχοντας κέντρ' ἀφιάσιν κακά, | γλῶσσαις πονηρῶν προστατῶν φηλούμενοι· | τριῶν δὲ μοιρῶν ἡ ἓν μέσῳ σώζει πόλεις | κόσμον φυλάσσουσ' ὄντιν' ἂν τάξῃ πόλις. Plato is thinking primarily of course of Athens. See also Arist. *Pol.* Δ 11. 1295<sup>b</sup> 1 ff. and (on the whole subject) Whibley *Pol. Parties in Athens* pp. 35 ff. and Beloch *Att. Pol.* pp. 1—19.

21 τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος: viz. the drones.

564 D ἐξουσίαν. See on 557 B.

- 25 ἔρρωμένον γίγνεται, ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ δὲ τοῦτό που τὸ προεστὸς αὐτῆς ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων, καὶ τὸ μὲν δριμύτατον αὐτοῦ λέγει τε καὶ πράττει, τὸ δ' ἄλλο περὶ τὰ βήματα προσίζον βομβεῖ τε καὶ οὐκ ἀνέχεται τοῦ ἄλλα<sup>1</sup> λέγοντος, ὥστε πάντα ὑπὸ τοῦ τοιοῦτου διοικεῖται ἐν Ε τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ χωρὶς τινων ὀλίγων. Μάλα γε, ἡ δ' ὅς.
- 30 Ἄλλο τοῖνυν τοῖνδε ἀεὶ ἀποκρίνεται ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους. Τὸ ποῖον; Χρηματιζομένων που πάντων οἱ κοσμιώτατοι φύσει ὥς τὸ πολὺ πλουσιώτατοι γίγνονται. Εἰκός. Πλείστον δὴ, οἶμαι, τοῖς κηφῆσι μέλι, καὶ εὐπορώτατον ἐντεῦθεν βλῖττειν. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν, ἔφη, παρὰ

25. προεστὸς Π et nisi fallor A<sup>1</sup>: προεστὼς A<sup>2</sup>.  
ΑΠ<sup>1</sup>: βλύττει Π<sup>2</sup>Ξγ.

33. βλῖττειν nos: βλίττει

25 προεστὸς refers not only to the εἰς προστάτης τοῦ δήμου (565 c n.), but to δημαγωγοί in general and all who lead the people whether as orators or as officers (λέγει τε καὶ πράττει).

26 ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων. The leaders in a democracy, says Plato, belong to the class of drones—with a few exceptions. Pericles, for example, was an illustrious exception (Thuc. II 65, 8, 9 and Xen. *Symp.* 8, 39); and so, according even to Plato himself, was Aristides (*Gorg.* 526 B). Plato's general attitude towards Athenian demagogues has often been censured; but nearly all the greatest writers of antiquity, except the orators, pronounce the same verdict.

τὸ μὲν δριμύτατον—βομβεῖ. Cf. Dem. *Ol.* II 29 πολιτεύεσθε κατὰ συμμορίας. ῥήτωρ ἡγέμενος ἑκατέρων, καὶ στρατηγὸς ὑπὸ τούτῳ, καὶ οἱ βοησόμενοι τριακόσιοι. οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι προσενέμεσθε οἱ μὲν ὡς τούτους, οἱ δὲ ὡς ἐκείνους. προσίζον (used of a bee alighting in Arist. *Hist. An.* VIII 11. 596<sup>b</sup> 15) and βομβεῖ keep up the figure.

28 τοῦ ἄλλα λέγοντος. Vermehren proposes του, comparing V 479 A οὐδαμῇ ἀνεχόμενος ἂν τις—φῆ and IX 579 A. If Plato had wished to say 'any one,' he would, I think, have written οὐδενός: του is too weak. The article is generic.

564 E 28 τοῦ τοιοῦτου: the class of drones in general, not simply τὸ δριμύτατον αὐτοῦ. Cf. τὸ τοιοῦτον γένος in C above.

29 χωρὶς τινων ὀλίγων is neuter and should be taken with πάντα. The different liturgies etc. would scarcely be performed by the drones; and some departments of civic administration might be in

the hands of the few exceptions noted above (ἐκτὸς ὀλίγων D).

30 τοῖνυν is 'also': see I 339 E n.

31 χρηματιζομένων κτλ.: 'if all are engaged in making money' etc. πάντων is the whole of which οἱ κοσμιώτατοι form a part; not 'all the citizens of a democracy,' for the aim of democracy is not πλοῦτος but ἐλευθερία, and the drones at least are not engaged in money-making.

32 πλείστον δὴ κτλ.: 'thus, I imagine, there is plenty of honey for the drones, and it is most easy to squeeze honey from this source.' My correction βλίττειν for βλίττει (see *cr. n.*) is regarded as certain by a reviewer of my *Text of the Republic in Hermathena* XXIV p. 252. βλίττει is retained by J. and C.; but there is no authority for the intransitive use of the verb, and βλίσκειν in the very next sentence is active. Schneider reads βλύττει, which would be a ἀπαξ εἰρημένον. Ruhnken's βλίττεται is unexceptionable in point of sense, and has found much favour. The author of this emendation claims (in his note on Tim. *Lex.* s.v. βλίττειν) that it is confirmed "cum Scholiastae, tum Codicis Parisini auctoritate." But the Paris MSS have all either βλίττει or βλύττει; and Bekker's collation of the Scholium is βλίττει ἀφαιρεί (not ἀφαιρείται) τὸ μέλι ἀπὸ τῶν κηρίων. Moreover, although the syllable ται was sometimes abbreviated in uncial MSS (see on 563 D), it is easier to suppose that the horizontal stroke for final ν was here accidentally omitted, as constantly in the *Republic*: see *Introd.* § 5. For the sense cf. I 343 A n. and on the word βλίττειν (i.e. \*μ(β)λίττειν from μέλι) Blaydes on Ar. *Knights* 794.



γε τῶν σμικρὰ ἔχόντων τις βλίσσειεν; Πλούσιοι δὴ, οἶμαι, οἱ τοιοῦτοι καλοῦνται, κηφήνων βοτάνη. Σχεδόν τι, ἔφη.

35

565 XVI. Δῆμος δ' ἂν εἴη | τρίτον γένος, ὅσοι αὐτουργοὶ τε καὶ ἀπράγμονες, οὐ πᾶν πολλὰ κεκτημένοι· ὃ δὴ πλεῖστον τε καὶ κυριώτατον ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ, ὅταν περ ἀθροισθῇ. "Εστὶν γάρ, ἔφη· ἄλλ' οὐ θαμὰ ἐθέλει ποιεῖν τοῦτο, ἐὰν μὴ μέλιτός τι μεταλαμβάνῃ. Οὐκοῦν μεταλαμβάνει, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, αἰεὶ, καθ' ὅσον δύνανται οἱ προεσ- 5 τῶτες, τοὺς ἔχοντας τὴν οὐσίαν ἀφαιρούμενοι, διανέμοντες τῷ δήμῳ B τὸ πλεῖστον αὐτοὶ ἔχειν. Μεταλαμβάνει γὰρ ἰ οὖν, ἦ δ' ὅς, οὕτως. Ἀναγκάζονται δὴ, οἶμαι, ἀμύνεσθαι, λέγοντές τε ἐν τῷ δήμῳ καὶ πράττοντες ὅπῃ δύνανται, οὗτοι ὦν ἀφαιροῦνται. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Αἰτίαν δὴ ἔσχον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐτέρων, κὰν μὴ ἐπιθυμῶσι νεωτερίζειν, 10 ὥς ἐπιβουλεύουσι τῷ δήμῳ καὶ εἰσὶν ὀλιγαρχικοί. Τί μὴν; Οὐκοῦν καὶ τελευτῶντες, ἐπειδὴν ὀρώσι τὸν δῆμον οὐχ ἐκόντα ἄλλ'

34. βλίσσει (sic) m: βλίσσειεν A: βλύσειε Ξq: βλίσσειεν ut videtur Π<sup>1</sup>: βλύσειεν Π<sup>2</sup>.

34 πλούσιοι—καλοῦνται. The oligarchs were frequently called πλούσιοι, κτηματικοὶ and the like: see Whibley *Pol. Part. in Ath.* p. 48 and Beloch *Att. Pol.* p. 2.

35 κηφήνων βοτάνη has a proverbial ring: the proverb κηφήνες μύχθους ἄλλων κατέδονται (Leutsch u. Schneidewin *Paroem. Gr.* II p. 179). The same expression, as Schneider points out *Addit.* p. 69, is used by Plut. *Mor.* 42 A with a different meaning.

565 A 3 κυριώτατον. In a democracy the sovereignty lies with the δῆμος in its assemblies.

4 οὐ θαμὰ κτλ. Under the earliest and best form of democratical government, according to Aristotle, the δῆμος consists chiefly of farmers, and ἐκκλησίαι are infrequent, for διὰ τὸ ἐσπάρθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν οὐτ' ἀπαντῶσιν οὐθ' ὁμοίως δέονται τῆς συνόδου ταύτης (*Pol.* Ζ 4. 1319<sup>a</sup> 30 ff., 3. 1318<sup>b</sup> 11, and Δ 5. 1292<sup>b</sup> 27). It is a later and degenerate phase when assemblies are multiplied by the payment of ἐκκλησιαστικὸς μισθός and other forms of 'honey' (ib. Δ 6. 1293<sup>a</sup> 1 ff.). Plato in this passage contributes some hints towards a historical analysis of the evolution of Greek democracy such as we find in Aristotle.

ἐὰν μὴ—μεταλαμβάνῃ. Cf. *Ar. Peace* 632—643. There is little doubt that

the compulsory migration of Athenian farmers into Athens at the beginning of the Peloponnesian war had a decisive effect on the course of Athenian democracy: cf. Thuc. II 14 and 16 and Gilbert *Beitrag* etc. pp. 98 ff.

6 τοὺς ἔχοντας κτλ. On the oppression of the rich in Athens see Hermann-Thumser *Gr. Staatsalt.* pp. 688 ff., 747.

διανέμοντες κτλ.: 'while dividing it among the people to retain the lion's share themselves.' The epigram is spoiled if (with Cobet) we read <ὀλγα> διανέμοντες. For the sentiment cf. Dem. *Ol.* III 31, *Ar. Peace* l.c., *Knights* 46 ff., 792 ff., 1218 ff. and (with J. and C.) *Wasps* 655—679.

565 B 7 οὕτως: emphatic, 'with that proviso' (D. and V.).

9 πράττοντες is quite satisfactory: cf. λέγει τε καὶ πράττει 564 D. Richter should not have proposed ταράττοντες.

ὅπῃ δύνανται κτλ.: 'in any way they can.' Their opportunities of public action in self-defence are limited; hence they form e.g. secret associations and the like. On the tense of ἔσχον see 548 D n., and for the statement itself (αἰτίαν—ὀλιγαρχικοί) many passages in Aristophanes, e.g. *Wasps* 488 ff. and others quoted by Whibley *Pol. Part. in Athens* p. 65 n. 3.

ἀγνοήσαντά τε καὶ ἐξαπατηθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν διαβαλλόντων ἐπιχει-  
 ροῦντα <sup>1</sup> σφᾶς ἀδικεῖν, τότ' ἤδη, εἴτε βούλονται εἴτε μή, ὡς ἀληθῶς C  
 15 ὀλιγαρχικοὶ γίνονται, οὐχ ἐκόντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ κακὸν  
 ἐκείνος ὁ κηφὴν ἐντίκτει κεντῶν αὐτοῦς. Κομιδῇ μὲν οὖν. Εἰσαγ-  
 γελίαι δὴ καὶ κρίσεις καὶ ἀγῶνες περὶ ἀλλήλων γίνονται. Καὶ  
 μάλα. Οὐκοῦν ἓνα τινὰ ἀεὶ δῆμος εἴωθεν διαφερόντως προῖστασθαι  
 20 ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦτον τρέφειν τε καὶ αὖξειν μέγαν; Εἴωθε γάρ. Τοῦτο  
 μὲν ἄρα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, <sup>1</sup> δῆλον, ὅτι, ὅταν περ φύηται τύραννος, ἐκ D  
 προστατικῆς ῥίξης καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἐκβλαστάνει. Καὶ μάλα  
 δῆλον. Τίς ἀρχὴ οὖν μεταβολῆς ἐκ προστάτου ἐπὶ τύραννον; ἡ  
 δῆλον ὅτι ἐπειδὴν ταῦτον ἄρξῃται δρᾶν ὁ προστάτης τῷ ἐν τῷ  
 μύθῳ, ὃς περὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λυκαίου ἱερὸν λέγε-

**565 C 14** τότ' ἤδη—οὐχ ἐκόντες. Isocrates makes a similar complaint (*Antid.* 318): οὐ τοὺς μὲν ἐνδοξοτάτους τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ μάλιστα δυναμένους ποιῆσαι τι τὴν πόλιν ἀγαθόν, ὀλιγαρχίαν διειδίζοντες καὶ λακωνισμὸν, οὐ πρότερον ἐπαύσαντο (sc. οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν) πρὶν ἡνάγκασαν ὁμοίους γενέσθαι ταῖς αἰτίαις ταῖς λεγομέναις περὶ αὐτῶν; Cf. also Arist. *Pol.* E 5. 1304<sup>b</sup> 21 ff. Observe how Plato now begins to insist on the inevitable necessity which dogs the footsteps of political decay: see on 566 A and 567 C.

**16** εἰσαγγελλαί: 'impeachments,' as e.g. for κατάλυσις τοῦ δήμου. On eisan-gelia in Attic legal procedure see Hager *Dict. Ant.* s.v. and Meier u. Schömann *Att. Proc.* I pp. 312—335.

**17** ἀγῶνες περὶ ἀλλήλων: 'trials of one another' (Jowett): lit. 'trials about one another,' i.e. trials in which the individuals chiefly concerned, viz. the defendants, belong to one or other of the two parties in the State. ἀλλήλων by itself would be better suited to the words εἰσαγγελλαί καὶ κρίσεις, but ἀγῶνες ἀλλήλων is too harsh an expression, and that, I think, is why Plato writes ἀγῶνες περὶ ἀλλήλων. This explanation is in my opinion better than to translate "Pro-cesse um Leben und Tod" (Schneider: cf. ἀγῶνας—περὶ σφέων αὐτῶν Hdt. VIII 102). Some may think that ἀλλήλους should replace ἀλλήλων: but περὶ with the accusative would not express a close enough connexion in this passage.

**18** οὐκοῦν κτλ. So in Ar. *Knights* 1127 Demos says βούλομαι τρέφειν ἓνα προστάτην. The προστάτης τοῦ δήμου in

Athens was simply "the leading demagogue, who acted as guardian and representative of the demos, as the ordinary προστάτης did of the metoec" (Whibley *Pol. Part. in Ath.* p. 51). He was not a magistrate, although his position was recognised and much sought after. Pericles was certainly προστάτης, and, among his successors, apparently Cleon and others. For the authorities see Whibley l.c. and Gilbert *Beiträge* etc. pp. 78 ff. For ἓνα τινὰ Cobet substitutes ἓνα γέ τινα, without sufficient reason: cf. VI 494 D n. To my mind the emphasis on ἓνα is much stronger without γε: and Plato clearly intends to emphasise that word, for it is by the rise of a single champion that tyranny is caused.

**565 D 20** ἐκ προστατικῆς ῥίξης κτλ. Arist. *Pol.* E 10. 1310<sup>b</sup> 14 ff. σχεδὸν γὰρ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν τυράννων γεγόνασιν ἐκ δημαγωγῶν ὡς εἰπεῖν, πιστευθέντες ἐκ τοῦ διαβάλλειν τοὺς γνωρίμους. This was especially true of earlier times, when the orator also held military command (ib. 5. 1305<sup>a</sup> 7 ff.). See Gilbert *Gr. Staatsalt.* II pp. 280 ff.

**21** καὶ οὐκ ἄλλοθεν. If we treat this sentence as a statement of historical fact, Plato expresses himself too strongly; for tyranny sometimes arose in other ways. See however on 564 A and 543 A, 544 C nn.

**23** τῷ μύθῳ. See [Hecat.] *Frag.* 375 in Müller *Frag. Hist. Gr.* I p. 31 and Paus. VIII 2. 6. In his note on the latter passage, Frazer collects the ancient legends about werewolves. For the later history of the superstition consult M'Lennan's

ται; Τίς; ἔφη. Ὡς ἄρα ὁ γευσάμενος τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σπλάγχ- 25  
 νου, ἐν ἄλλοις ἄλλων ἱερείων ἐνὸς ἐγκατατετμημένου, ἀνάγκη δὴ  
 Ε τούτῳ | λύκῳ γειέσθαι. ἢ οὐκ ἀκήκοας τὸν λόγον; Ἐγώ γε. Ἄρ'  
 οὖν οὕτω καὶ ὃς ἂν δήμου προεστὼς, λαβὼν σφόδρα πειθόμενον  
 ὄχλον, μὴ ἀπόσχηται ἐμφυλίου αἵματος, ἀλλ' ἀδίκως ἐπαιτιώμενος,  
 οἷα δὴ φιλοῦσιν, εἰς δικαστήρια ἄγων μαιφονῇ, βίον ἀνδρὸς ἀφανί- 30  
 ζων, γλώττη τε καὶ στόματι ἀνοσίῳ γευόμενος φόνου ξυγγενοῦς, καὶ  
 566 ἀνδρηλατῇ καὶ ἀποκτιννύῃ | καὶ ὑποσημαίνῃ χρεῶν τε ἀποκοπὰς  
 καὶ γῆς ἀναδασμόν, ἴρα τῷ τοιούτῳ ἀνάγκη δὴ τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο καὶ  
 εἴμαρται ἢ ἀπολωλέναι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἢ τυραννεῖν καὶ λύκῳ ἐξ  
 ἀνθρώπου γεεέσθαι; Πολλὴ ἀνάγκη, ἔφη. Οὗτος δὲ, ἔφη, ὁ

28. προεστὼς Ξγ: προσεστὼς A: προσετὼς (sic) Π.

article *Lycanthropy* in Enc. Brit. ed. 9, and for parallels in non-classical mythologies Tylor *Prim. Culture*<sup>2</sup> I pp. 308—315.

26 ἐνός is bracketed by Herwerden; but τοῦ in τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σπλάγχχνου proves it genuine. But for ἐνός Plato must have written τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου σπλάγχχνου <τοῦ> ἐν ἄλλοις κτλ. The werewolf superstition was similarly associated with cannibalism in some of its later European forms (McLennan l.c.).

ἀνάγκη δὴ κτλ. The anacoluthon is illustrated by Engelhardt *Spec. Anac. Pl.* III p. 40.

565 Ε 29 ἐμφυλίου αἵματος. Cf. Pind. *Pyth.* II 32 ἐμφύλιον αἷμα πρῶ-  
 τιστος οὐκ ἄτερ τέχνας ἐπέμειξε θνατοῖς. The style rises into poetry as usual in passages of solemn import and sustained emotion; cf. 560 B, D *nn.*

30 ἀνδρός is poetic for ἀνθρώπου: cf. Aesch. *Ag.* 1020 f. ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἷμα τίς ἂν πάλιν | ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ἐπαείδων; and often in Pindar (*Ol.* I 35, 66 etc.).

31 γλώττη τε καὶ—ξυγγενοῦς. The blood of fellow-citizens is kindred blood: for all are sons of the same fatherland. 'The unholy tongue and lips' is an eloquent amplification of γευόμενος, in harmony with the story to which Plato has referred in D above. J. and C. seem to me to mar the effect of Plato's eloquence by remarking that "the tongue and lips which make the slanderous accusation are vividly imagined as actually tasting blood."

32 ἀνδρηλατῇ κτλ. Cf. *Gorg.* 466 C τί δέ; οὐχ ὥσπερ οἱ τύραννοι ἀποκτιννύασι

τε (sc. οἱ ῥήτορες) δὲ ἂν βούλονται, καὶ ἀφαιροῦνται χρήματα καὶ ἐκβάλλουσιν ἐκ τῶν πόλεων δὲ ἂν δοκῇ αὐτοῖς; Νῆ τὸν κύνα. The unscrupulous mob-orator is a budding tyrant.

566 A 1 ὑποσημαίνῃ: 'hints at.'

χρεῶν—ἀναδασμόν: phrases ominous of revolution to a Greek ear: see *Laus* 684 E, [Dem.] 24. 149 ψηφιοῦμαι—οὐδὲ τῶν χρεῶν τῶν ἰδίων ἀποκοπὰς οὐδὲ γῆς ἀναδασμόν τῆς Ἀθηναίων οὐδ' οἰκίων (in the Heliastic oath), Isocr. *Panath.* 259, Arist. *Pol.* E 5. 1303<sup>a</sup> 5 al. and Sandys on *Ath. Pol.* 6. 1. Cf. also Gilbert *Gr. Staatsalt.* II p. 279.

2 ἀνάγκη—καὶ εἴμαρται κτλ. Once more Necessity rings her knell (565 C *n.*): the instinct of self-preservation makes the final stage inevitable. For the same reason Xenophon remarks (*Hier.* 7. 12, 13) that a tyrant never dare lay down his power: cf. also Periander in D. L. I 97 and the pathetic saying καλὸν μὲν εἶναι τὴν τυραννίδα χωρὶον, οὐκ ἔχειν δὲ ἀπόβασιν (*Plut. Sol.* 14. 10). See also on 545 C and 547 A.

4 οὗτος κτλ. 'This then,' said I, 'is the man who is guilty of sedition against the holders of property.' γίγνεται is not 'becomes' ('the leader of the faction against the rich becomes that person' J. and C.), but 'turns out to be,' 'is' sc. in our argument or picture: cf. 562 A *n.* οὗτος γίγνεται is similarly used at the end of the picture of the tyrannical man in IX 576 B. Schneider seems to suppose that στασιάζων refers to civil war ("vim et arma civilia") such as is described in what follows, but the incidents just enumerated



- 5 στασιάζων γίνεται πρὸς τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰς οὐσίας. Οὗτος. 'Αρ' οὖν ἐκπεσὼν μὲν καὶ κατελθὼν βία τῶν ἐχθρῶν τύραννος ἀπειργασμένος κατέρχεται; Ἀήλον. 'Εὰν δὲ ἀδύνατοι ἐκβάλλειν αὐτὸν ὦσιν ἢ ἰ ἀποκτείνει διαβάλλοντες τῇ πόλει, βιαίῳ δὴ θανάτῳ **B** ἐπιβουλεύουσιν ἀποκτινύναι λάθρα. Φιλεῖ γοῦν, ἢ δ' ὅς, οὕτω  
10 γίγνεσθαι. Τὸ δὲ τυραννικὸν αἴτημα τὸ πολυθρύλητον ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάντες οἱ εἰς τοῦτο προβεβηκότες ἐξευρίσκουσιν, αἰτεῖν τὸν δῆμον φύλακάς τινος τοῦ σώματος, ἵνα σῶς αὐτοῖς ἢ ὁ τοῦ δήμου βοηθός. Καὶ μάλ', ἔφη. Διδόασι δὴ, οἶμαι, δείσαντες μὲν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου, θαρρήσαντες δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν. Καὶ ἰ μάλα. Οὐκοῦν τοῦτο ὅταν **C**  
15 ἴδῃ ἀνὴρ χρήματα ἔχων καὶ μετὰ τῶν χρημάτων αἰτίαν μισόδημος εἶναι, τότε δὴ οὗτος, ὦ ἑταῖρε, κατὰ τὸν Κροίσῳ γενόμενον χρησμόν

πολυψήφιδά παρ' Ἑρμον  
φεύγει, οὐδὲ μένει, οὐδ' αἰδεῖται κακὸς εἶναι.

- 20 Οὐ γὰρ ἄν, ἔφη, δεύτερον αὐθις αἰδεσθεῖν. 'Ο δέ γε, οἶμαι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καταληφθεὶς θανάτῳ δίδοται. Ἀνάγκη. 'Ο δὲ δὴ προστάτης ἐκεῖνος αὐτὸς δῆλον δὴ ὅτι μέγας μεγαλωστί ἰ οὐ κέεται, ἀλλὰ **D** καταβαλὼν ἄλλους πολλοὺς ἔστηκεν ἐν τῷ δίφρῳ τῆς πόλεως,

23. καταβαλὼν A<sup>2</sup>Π: καβαλὼν (sic) A<sup>1</sup>.

would certainly be called στάσις by a Greek, and οὗτος δὴ—γίγνεται points backward rather than forward, as is clear both from δὴ and from Adimantus' reply.

6 ἐκπεσὼν κτλ. He is transformed into a full and finished tyrant in one of two ways: either by being expelled (in course of the στάσις) and returning βία τῶν ἐχθρῶν, or else in the way described in ἐάν δέ—ἀποτελεσμένος (D). Pisistratus is not a perfect example to illustrate ἐκπεσὼν etc., for he had made himself a tyrant before he was expelled (Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 14. 3).

566 B 8 διαβάλλοντες τῇ πόλει: 'by setting the citizens against him' (J. and C.) rather than 'by accusing him to the State' (D. and V.). Cf. VI 498 C and *Phaed.* 67 E.

βιαίῳ—λάθρα. Cf. Thuc. VIII 65. 2.

10 αἴτημα τὸ πολυθρύλητον: as in the case of Theagenes of Megara, Pisistratus, and Dionysius of Syracuse: see Arist. *Rhet.* I 2. 1357<sup>b</sup> 30—33 with Cope ad loc., and (for Dionysius) Grote X pp. 202 ff. and Freeman's *Sicily* III p. 558.

Gilbert (*Gr. Staatsalt.* II p. 281 n. 1) remarks that the body-guard plays a part in the genesis of nearly every Tyrannis.

566 C, D 14 θαρρήσαντες—ἑαυτῶν. Cf. Solon *Frag.* 11. 5—8 Bergk.

16 τὸν Κροίσῳ κτλ. See Hdt. I 55.

20 αἰδεσθεῖν κτλ. Liebholt's conjecture οἰκισθεῖν is of course absurd. The expression θανάτῳ δίδοναι is *paullo exquisitius dictum*, resembling our phrase 'is done to death': cf. (with Stallbaum) IX 571 E, 574 C and *Phaedr.* 254 E (δδύναις ἔδωκεν, imitated from Homer *Od.* XVII 567).

22 μέγας μεγαλωστί. *Il.* XVI 776.

23 ἐν τῷ δίφρῳ κτλ. The figure—a common one—is of course suggested by the Homeric allusion. Cebriones ἀρνευτῆρι εἰκὼς | κάππεσ' ἀπ' εὐεργέος δίφρου (ib. 743). Not so the προστάτης: he fells others, but himself (αὐτὸς) ἔστηκεν ἐν τῷ δίφρῳ τῆς πόλεως.

566 D—569 C The tyrant begins his reign with popular measures, but as soon as his position is secure, he impoverishes and oppresses the citizens by a continual

τύραννος ἀντὶ προστάτου ἀποτετελεσμένος. Τί δ' οὐ μέλλει; ἔφη.

25

XVII. Διέλθωμεν δὴ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, τοῦ τε ἀνδρός καὶ τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ ἂν ὁ τοιοῦτος βροτὸς ἐγγένηται; Πάνν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, διέλθωμεν. Ἄρ' οὖν, εἶπον, οὐ ταῖς μὲν πρώταις ἡμέραις τε καὶ χρόνῳ προσγελᾷ τε καὶ ἀσπάζεται πάντας, ᾧ ἂν **E** περιτυγχάνῃ, καὶ οὔτε τύραννός ἢ φησιν εἶναι ὑπισχνεῖται τε <sup>30</sup> πολλὰ καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσία, χρεῶν τε ἡλευθέρωσε καὶ γῆν διένειμεν δῆμῳ τε καὶ τοῖς περὶ ἑαυτόν, καὶ πᾶσιν ἔλεός τε καὶ πρᾶος εἶναι προσποιεῖται; Ἀνάγκη, ἔφη. Ὅταν δέ γε, οἶμαι, πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω ἐχθροὺς τοῖς μὲν καταλλαγῇ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ διαφθείρῃ, καὶ ἡσυχία ἐκείνων γένηται, πρῶτον μὲν πολέμους τινὰς αἰὲν κινεῖ, ἵν' ἐν χρεῖα <sup>35</sup>

24. μέλλει A<sup>3</sup>Π: μέλει A<sup>2</sup>.

succession of wars. All who expostulate, he 'removes': it is a sad necessity of his situation that he should purge the city of wealth and virtue. To provide against his growing unpopularity, he must increase his standing army by enlisting foreign mercenaries and the slaves of private citizens. These are his 'new citizens' forsooth! Euripides and other tragedians praise tyranny and its retinue: that is why we exclude them from our city. The higher they climb the hill of commonwealths, the more the honour paid to poets flags. As for the tyrant, after exhausting the property of temples and the proscribed, he will compel the Demos that begat him to support his rabble rout. All remonstrance is in vain. The Demos now learns what slavery means—slavery in its most cruel form, where slaves are masters.

566 D ff. 26 διέλθωμεν δὴ κτλ. Throughout the whole of this picture, it is tolerably clear that Plato has Dionysius the first of Syracuse in his mind: see on 566 E, 567 B, E, 568 A, D. The reader should compare Aristotle's brief account of the three kinds of Tyranny in *Pol.* Δ 10. 1295<sup>a</sup> 1—24. That which Plato describes is of course the worst variety ἥτις ἀντιθέτως ἀρχει τῶν ὁμοίων καὶ βελτιόνων πάντων πρὸς τὸ σφέτερον αὐτῆς συμφέρον, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ τῶν ἀρχομένων (ib. 20—22).

27 βροτός: 'creature' (Jowett). The tyrant is something less than human.

29 πάντας ᾧ ἂν κτλ. For the grammatical concord cf. IV 426 C n. The sense is well illustrated by Stallbaum from

Eur. *I. A.* 337—342, where Menelaus says to Agamemnon: οἴσθ' ὅτ' ἐσπούδαζες ἀρχειν Δαναίδαις πρὸς Ἴλιον|—ὡς ταπεινὸς ἦσθα, πάσης δεξιᾶς προστιγγάνων, | καὶ θύρας ἔχων ἀκλήστους τῷ θέλοντι δημοτῶν, | καὶ διδοὺς πρόσρησιν ἐξῆς πᾶσι, κελ μῆτις θέλοι, | τοῖς τρόποις ζητῶν πρᾶσθαι τὸ φιλότιμον ἐκ μέσου; On οὔτε followed by τε (neque—et) where the stress falls on the affirmative clause (non modo non—sed etiam) see IV 430 B n.

566 E 31 ἡλευθέρωσε—διένειμεν: fulfilling the hopes held out by him as προστάτης (566 A n.). A redistribution of landed property was one of Dionysius' earliest measures after he had established himself in the tyranny (Grote x pp. 221 ff.). As Mr Giles points out, such a step would tend to keep up the enthusiasm of the πλῆθος, especially when the tyrant succeeded to an oligarchy which had added field to field by lending on mortgage to the small farmers and selling them up after a bad year. It would be easy enough to carry out, because the tyrant's opponents would have fled the country: cf. 566 C. For the aorists see 548 D n.

33 πρὸς τοὺς ἔξω ἐχθροὺς κτλ.: 'in his relations to foreign enemies' etc. With the construction of τοῖς μὲν κτλ. cf. IX 591 E—592 A ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τιμᾶς γε—τῶν μὲν μετέξει καὶ γεύσεται ἐκόν, ἃς ἂν ἡγήται ἀμείνω αὐτὸν ποιήσειν, ἃς δ' ἂν λύσειν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἔξιν, φεύξεται ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ. In both cases the idiom resembles so-called partitive apposition, for which see IV 431 A n.

35 πολέμους τινὰς κτλ. Cf. Arist. *Pol.*

ἡγεμόνος ὁ δῆμος ἦ. Εἰκός γε. | Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἵνα χρήματα εἰσφέ- 567  
 ροντες πένητες γιγνώμενοι πρὸς τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀναγκάζωνται εἶναι  
 καὶ ἡττον αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλεύωσι; Δῆλον. Καὶ ἂν γέ τινας, οἶμαι,  
 ὑποπτεύη ἐλεύθερα φρονήματα ἔχοντας μὴ ἐπιτρέψειν αὐτῷ ἄρχειν,  
 5 ὅπως ἂν τούτους μετὰ προφάσεως ἀπολλύη ἐνδοῦς τοῖς πολέμοις;  
 τούτων πάντων ἔνεκα τυράννω ἀεὶ ἀνάγκη πόλεμον ταραττεῖν;  
 Ἀνάγκη. Ταῦτα δὴ ποιοῦντα ἔτοιμον μᾶλλον ἀπεχθάνεσθαι | τοῖς B  
 πολίταις; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Οὐκοῦν καὶ τινας τῶν ξυγκαταστησάν-  
 των καὶ ἐν δυνάμει ὄντων παρρησιάζεσθαι καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς  
 10 ἀλλήλους, ἐπιπλήττοντας τοῖς γιγνομένοις, οἳ ἂν τυγχάνωσιν  
 ἀνδρικώτατοι ὄντες; Εἰκός γε. Ὑπεξαιρεῖν δὴ τούτους πάντας  
 δεῖ τὸν τύραννον, εἰ μέλλει ἄρξειν, ἕως ἂν μήτε φίλων μήτ' ἐχθρῶν  
 λίπη μηδένα ὅτου τι ὄφελος. Δῆλον. Ὅξέως ἄρα δεῖ ὁρᾶν αὐτόν,  
 τίς ἀνδρεῖος, τίς μεγαλόφρων, | τίς φρόνιμος, τίς πλούσιος· καὶ C  
 15 οὕτως εὐδαίμων ἐστίν, ὥστε τούτοις ἅπασιν ἀνάγκη αὐτῷ, εἴτε  
 βούλεται εἴτε μή, πολεμῖω εἶναι καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἕως ἂν καθήρη  
 τὴν πόλιν. Καλὸν γε, ἔφη, καθαρμόν. Ναί, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὸν  
 ἐναντίον ἢ οἱ ἱατροὶ τὰ σώματα· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τὸ χεῖριστον ἀφαι-  
 ροῦντες λείπουνσι τὸ βέλτιστον, ὃ δὲ τοῦναντίον. Ὡς ἔοικε γάρ,  
 20 αὐτῷ, ἔφη, ἀνάγκη, εἴπερ ἄρξει.

2. τῷ Ξγ: τὸ A<sup>1</sup>Π: τῷ (sic) A<sup>2</sup>.  
 13. αὐτόν A<sup>1</sup>Π: ὁσόν A<sup>2</sup>.

11. ὑπεξαιρεῖν Π: ὑπεξαίρειν A.

E II. 1313<sup>b</sup> 28 ff. ἔστι δὲ καὶ πολεμοποιὸς  
 ὁ τύραννος, ὅπως δὴ ἄσχολοι γε ὥσι καὶ  
 ἡγεμόνος ἐν χρεῖα διατελῶσιν ὄντες.  
 The history of Dionysius the elder is again  
 in point: see Grote X pp. 224—331.

567 A I οὐκοῦν καὶ κτλ. Arist. Pol.  
 l.c. 1313<sup>b</sup> 18 ff. καὶ τὸ πένητας ποιεῖν  
 τοὺς ἀρχομένους τυραννικὸν ὅπως—πρὸς  
 τῷ καθ' ἡμέραν ὄντες ἄσχολοι ὥσιν  
 ἐπιβουλεύειν—καὶ ἡ εἰσφορά τῶν τε-  
 λῶν, οἷον ἐν Συρακούσαις· ἐν πέντε γὰρ  
 ἔτεσιν ἐπὶ Διονυσίῳ τὴν οὐσίαν ἅπασαν  
 εἰσενηνοχέαι συνέβαινεν. Cf. Grote l.c.  
 p. 223.

2 πρὸς τῷ. A majority of mss have  
 πρὸς τῷ, which is also the older reading  
 (see *cr. n.*); but εἰμι πρὸς τι in this sense  
 lacks authority, and is inherently im-  
 probable. Cf. *Phaedr.* 249 D and IX  
 585 A, X 604 C, D n.

5 ὅπως—πολέμοις: sc. πολέμους  
 τινὰς ἀεὶ κινεῖ as before. ἔτοιμον in line 7  
 is impersonal—a rare usage, for which cf.  
*Epp.* 7. 333 A and Eur. *H.* F. 86.

567 B II ὑπεξαιρεῖν. For the cor-

ruption ὑπεξαίρειν (*cr. n.*) cf. Xen. *Hiero*  
 5. 2 δταν δὲ τοὺς τοιοῦτους—ὑπεξαίρωνται  
 (J. G. Schneider's conjecture for ὑπεξαί-  
 ρωνται of the mss). On this passage the  
 poet Gray remarks: "Compare this de-  
 scription with the *Hiero* of Xenophon:  
 it is in almost every step a picture of  
 the politics and way of life of the elder  
 Dionysius."

12 ἕως ἂν μήτε φίλων κτλ. There is  
 no solitude or desolation like the tyrant's:  
 for he is the enemy of the whole human  
 race. See the passages quoted by Nä-  
 gelsbach *Nachhoh. Theol.* p. 304.

567 C 17 καλὸν γε—καθαρμόν. Cf.  
 VII 540 E n. The famous anecdote of  
 Thrasybulus and Periander (*Hdt.* V 92:  
 cf. Arist. *Pol.* I 13. 1284<sup>a</sup> 26 ff., E 10.  
 1311<sup>a</sup> 20 ff., also Eur. *Suppl.* 445—449,  
 where the poet borrows his imagery from  
 the same story) is one instance out of  
 many in Greek history: see Greenidge  
*Gk Const. H.* pp. 31 ff.

20 ἀνάγκη: sc. ἐστίν. J. and C.  
 strangely say that "ἀνάγκη is the subject



D XVIII. Ἐν μακαρία ἄρα, εἶπον ἐγώ, ἀνάγκη δέδεται, ἢ προστάττει αὐτῷ ἢ μετὰ φαίλων τῶν πολλῶν οἰκεῖν καὶ ὑπὸ τούτων μισούμενον ἢ μὴ ζῆν. Ἐν τοιαύτῃ, ἢ δ' ὅς. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐχὶ ὅσῳ ἂν μᾶλλον τοῖς πολίταις ἀπεχθάνηται ταῦτα δρῶν, τοσοῦτ' ὡς πλειόνων καὶ πιστοτέρων δορυφόρων δεήσεται; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; 25 Τίτες οὖν οἱ πιστοί, καὶ πόθεν αὐτοὺς μεταπέμψεται; Αὐτόματοι, ἔφη, πολλοὶ ἥξουσιν πετόμενοι, ἐὰν τὸν μισθὸν διδῷ. Κηφήνας, E ἦν δ' ἐγώ, νῆ τὸν κύνα, δοκεῖς αὖ τινάς μοι λέγειν ἢ ξενικούς τε καὶ παντοδαπούς. Ἀληθῆ γάρ, ἔφη, δοκῶ σοι. Τί δέ; αὐτόθεν ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειεν—Πῶς; Τοὺς δούλους ἀφελόμενος τοὺς πολίτας, 30 ἐλευθερώσας, τῶν περὶ ἑαυτὸν δορυφόρων ποιήσασθαι; Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη· ἐπεὶ τοι καὶ πιστότατοι αὐτῷ οὗτοί εἰσιν. Ἡ μακίριον, 568 ἦν δ' ἐγώ, λέγεις τυράννου χρῆμα, εἰ τοιούτοις φίλοις τε καὶ | πιστοῖς ἀνδράσι χρῆται τοὺς προτέρους ἐκείνους ἀπολέσας. Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη, τοιούτοις γε χρῆται. Καὶ θαυμάζουσι δὴ, εἶπον, οὗτοι οἱ ἑταῖροι αὐτόν, καὶ ξύνεισιν οἱ νέοι πολῖται, οἱ δ' ἐπικεικὲς μισοῦσί

21. μακαρία A<sup>2</sup>Π: μακαρία A<sup>1</sup>. ἀνάγκη Π: ἀνάγκη A. 29. τί δέ (nullo interrogationis signo) q: τίς δέ AΠΞ.

of *ἔοικε*." For αὐτῷ ἀνάγκη cf. 568 E and IX 579 A. On the force of ἀνάγκη here and just below see 565 C, 566 A ηη.

567 D 27 ἥξουσιν πετόμενοι: 'will wing their way.' πετόμενοι leads up to κηφήνας.

τὸν μισθόν: 'the pay,' i.e. 'the necessary pay' (J. and C.). W. H. Thompson would omit τὸν or replace it by μόνον: but *insufficient* pay would not attract mercenaries.

567 E 28 ξενικούς — παντοδαπούς. The body-guard of foreign mercenaries was a familiar feature in Greek tyrannies: see Xen. *Hiero* 5. 3 and (for Dionysius in particular) Grote x p. 221.

29 τί δέ;—ποιήσασθαι: The words from αὐτόθεν to ποιήσασθαι form a single sentence, πῶς being neglected: cf. πῇ δὴ—γίγνεται in 549 C, where see note and Jebb quoted ad loc. αὐτόθεν by its emphatic position already suggests what Socrates is about to say; and Adimantus' interruption, besides its stylistic effect, expresses the anxiety and horror with which the bare idea of such a proceeding would inspire a Greek. "Slaves were normally of non-Greek race; so this is what enlisting a band of negroes would be in the United States to-day" (Bosanquet). The best MSS read τίς δέ αὐτόθεν

κτλ., but τίς is indefensible, and retained by no editor. Schneider's τοὺς δέ αὐτόθεν (with several MSS of inferior authority) seems to me grammatically awkward, as well as lifeless and dull. In Richards' proposal τί δέ; αὐτόθεν ἄρ' οὐκ ἂν ἐθελήσειέ πως τοὺς δούλους etc., the enclitic πως is singularly weak. J. and C., who print, with Hermann and Stallbaum, τί δέ; αὐτόθεν—ἐθελήσειε; and a full-stop after ποιήσασθαι, supply "some general notion such as λαβεῖν or ποιήσασθαι" with ἐθελήσειεν "from μεταπέμψεται in the previous sentence"—surely an impossible solution. The punctuation in the text removes, I think, all difficulty, if the words are taken as I take them.

30 τοὺς δούλους κτλ. As Dionysius, for example, did (Grote x p. 221 and Freeman's *Sicily* iv p. 13).

568 A 4 οἱ νέοι πολῖται: 'the new citizens,' viz. these quondam slaves etc., not (as D. and V.) 'the young citizens.' It is, in view, for example, of νέους ἐταίρους 'new friends' IX 575 D, quite unnecessary to read οἱ νεοπολῖται (apparently with Pollux III 56: cf. also id. ix 26), although according to Diodorus XIV 7 Dionysius called his body-guard of emancipated slaves νεοπολῖται. See Freeman's *Sicily* l.c.

5 τε καὶ φεύγουσι; Τί δ' οὐ μέλλουσιν; Οὐκ ἐτός, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἥ τε  
 τραγωδία ὅλως σοφὸν δοκεῖ εἶναι καὶ ὁ Εὐριπίδης διαφέρων ἐν  
 αὐτῇ. Τί δὲ; "Οτι καὶ τοῦτο πυκνῆς διανοίας ἐχόμενον ἐφθέγγετο,  
 ὥς ἄρα σοφοὶ τύραννοί <sup>1</sup> εἰσι τῶν σοφῶν συνουσία. καὶ B  
 ἔλεγε δῆλον ὅτι τούτους εἶναι τοὺς σοφοὺς, οἷς ξύνεστιν. Καὶ ὥς  
 10 ἰσοθέον γ', ἔφη, τὴν τυραννίδα ἐγκωμιάζει, καὶ ἕτερα πολλά, καὶ  
 οὗτος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ποιηταί. Τοιγάρτοι, ἔφην, ἅτε σοφοὶ ὄντες οἱ  
 τῆς τραγωδίας ποιηταὶ συγγιγνώσκουσιν ἡμῖν τε καὶ ἐκείνοις, ὅσοι  
 ἡμῶν ἐγγὺς πολιτεύονται, ὅτι αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν οὐ παραδε-  
 ξόμεθα ἅτε τυραννίδος ὑμνητάς. Οἶμαι ἔγωγ', ἔφη, συγγιγνώσκου-  
 15 σιν ὅσοιπέρ γε <sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν κομψοί. Εἰς δέ γε, οἶμαι, τὰς ἄλλας περι- C

15. περιόντες A<sup>2</sup>Ξg: περιόντες A<sup>1</sup>Π.

5 οὐκ ἐτός κτλ. A highly ironical and sarcastic sentence. It is not without reason that tragedy 'in general' (ὅλως is not 'on the whole' as D. and V. render) is thought σοφόν, and Euripides a master-tragedian (Euripides was notoriously 'σοφός'—see Blaydes on Ar. *Clouds* 1378): for he gave utterance *inter alia* to this sapient remark (for ἐφθέγγετο of an oracular, would-be-profound observation, see on VI 505 C): σοφοὶ τύραννοι τῶν σοφῶν συνουσία, in which by 'τῶν σοφῶν' he meant of course οἷς ξύνεστιν (δὲ τύραννος), the associates of the tyrant, i.e., as we have seen, a rabble of emancipated slaves and foreign mercenaries. In τραγωδία—σοφὸν δοκεῖ εἶναι Plato is also perhaps scoffing at the constant use of σοφός in tragedy, especially by Euripides: σοφός is, no doubt, that σοφόν says! None but a σοφός could have written σοφοὶ τύραννοι τῶν σοφῶν συνουσία. The poet of course really meant that tyrants gain wisdom from the wise men who throng the 'rich man's courts' (VI 489 B n.); but Plato maliciously twists the words into a compliment to tyrants and their rabble rout, and makes them a reason for tabooing tragic poets as τυραννίδος ὑμνητάς (B). Cobet would omit τοὺς before σοφούς: but the article is necessary because τοὺς σοφούς represents τῶν σοφῶν of the quotation. As regards the verse itself, it was Sophocles (in his *Alas* ὁ Λοκρός), and not Euripides, who was the author: see the references in Schneider, with Blaydes on Ar. *Thesm.* 21, *Frag.* 311 and Dindorf on Soph. *Frag.* 12 = Nauck *Frag.* 13. Plato's error is repeated in *Theag.* 125 B, and the Scholiast on Ar. *Thesm.* l.c. remarks

that Aristophanes and Antisthenes made the same mistake, suggesting that either Aristophanes misled the others (so also Hirmer *Entst. u. Komp. d. pl. Pol.* p. 658 n. 2), or that the two tragedians wrote the same line independently (so Schneider also thinks). The latter supposition is unlikely. Perhaps the reduplication of the cant Euripidean σοφός is responsible for a kind of error which was easier in antiquity than it would be now. There is little to be said in favour of Dümmler's conjecture (*Akadem.* p. 16), that Antisthenes had quoted the line as from Euripides in an attack on Plato for associating with tyrants (Dionysius I and II), and that Plato, in his hurry to reply, forgets to rectify his assailant's error. Still less should we suppose that Plato's perverse exegesis is meant to caricature Antisthenes' way of expounding poetry.

568 B 10 ἰσοθέον γε κτλ. Eur. *Troad.* 1169 τῆς ἰσοθέου τυραννίδος. Isocrates *ad Nic.* 5 appears to allude to the same verse (Dümmler *Chronol. Beiträge* p. 32).

ἕτερα πολλά: e.g. *Phoen.* 524 f., *Fragg.* 252, 336 Dindorf. In point of fact, however, Euripides blames tyranny at least as often as he praises it: see e.g. *Ion* 621 ff., *Suppl.* 429 ff., *Fragg.* 277, 288, 668 and other passages in Stob. *Flor.* 49. The elder Dionysius himself had the effrontery or candour to write the line ἡ γὰρ τυραννὶς ἀδικίας μήτηρ ἔφην (Stob. *Flor.* 49. 9, quoted in Freeman's *Sicily* IV p. 7 n. 1).

13 παραδεξόμεθα: not παραδεχόμεθα (as Stephanus suggested), in spite of the present συγγιγνώσκουσιν, for "civitas ipsa

ιόντες πόλεις, ξυλλέγοντες τοὺς ὄχλους καλὰς φωνὰς καὶ μεγάλας καὶ πιθανὰς μισθωσάμενοι, εἰς τυραννίδας τε καὶ δημοκρατίας ἔλκουσι τὰς πολιτείας. Μάλα γε. Οὐκοῦν καὶ προσέτι τούτων μισθοὺς λαμβάνουσι καὶ τιμῶνται, μάλιστα μὲν, ὥσπερ τὸ εἰκός, ὑπὸ τυράννων, δεύτερον δὲ ὑπὸ δημοκρατίας· ὅσῳ δ' ἂν ἀνωτέρω 20  
 D ἴωσιν πρὸς τὸ ἀναντες τῶν πολιτειῶν, μᾶλλον ἀπαγορεύει | αὐτῶν ἢ τιμή, ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἀσθματος ἀδυνατοῦσα πορεύεσθαι. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.

XIX. Ἀλλὰ δὴ, εἶπον, ἐνταῦθα μὲν ἐξέβημεν· λέγωμεν δὲ πάλιν ἐκεῖνο τὸ τοῦ τυράννου στρατόπεδον, τὸ καλόν τε καὶ πολὺ 25 καὶ ποικίλον καὶ οὐδέποτε ταῦτόν, πόθεν θρέφεται. Δῆλον, ἔφη, ὅτι, εἰάν τε ἱερὰ χρήματα ἢ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα ἀναλώσει, ὅποι ποτὲ ἂν αἰεὶ ἐξαρκῇ, <καὶ> τὰ τῶν ἀπολομένων, ἐλάττους εἰσφορὰς

22. ὥσπερ Π: ἢ ὥσπερ Α. 28. <καὶ> Baiter: om. codd. ἀπολομένων q et corr. A<sup>2</sup>: ἀποδομένων A<sup>1</sup>ΠΞ.

nondum exstitit, sed veniam iam nunc sibi dari sperat Socrates" (Schneider).

568 C 16 καλὰς φωνὰς κτλ. τὰς τῶν ὑποκριτῶν (Schol.). With this whole sentence should be compared *Laus* 817 C, where Plato addresses tragic poets in these words: μὴ δὴ δόξητε ἡμᾶς ῥαδίως γε οὕτως ὑμᾶς ποτε παρ' ἡμῖν ἑάσειν σκηνὰς τε πῆξαντας κατ' ἀγορὰν καὶ καλλιφώνους ὑποκριτὰς εἰσαγαγομένους, μείζον φθειγγόμενους ἡμῶν, ἐπιτρέψειν ὑμῖν δημογορεῖν πρὸς παῖδας τε καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὸν πολλὸν ὄχλον κτλ.

17 τυραννίδας τε καὶ δημοκρατίας. Democracy is next door to tyranny: in fact, ἡ δημοκρατία ἡ τελευταία τυραννὶς ἐστίν (Arist. *Pol.* E 10. 1312<sup>b</sup> 5). Attic tragedy, of course, praises Democracy more often than Tyranny. On the political influence of poetry see *Laus* 817 C ff., *Gorg.* 501 E ff. and other passages in Reber *Platon u. die Poesie* pp. 55—59.

19 μισθοὺς κτλ. We may recall Pindar's ἀργυρωθεῖσαι πρόσωπα μαλθακῶφονοι αἰοῖδαι (*Isthm.* 2. 8).

τιμῶνται κτλ. "For good and evil," says Bosanquet, "Plato's assertion is true on the whole." But as far as concerns Greece, at any rate, we may doubt whether tragic poets were not more honoured in the democracy of Athens than in imperial courts.

20 ὑπὸ τυράννων: e.g. Hiero, Archelaus, and such like patrons of poetry and the drama.

ὅσῳ δ' ἂν κτλ. The honour paid

to Poetry varies inversely with the merit of the constitution. This is perhaps the severest thing which Plato has yet said against Poetry. The striking metaphor in ὥσπερ ὑπὸ ἀσθματος κτλ. is curiously like Dante, as Bosanquet points out.

568 D 26 θρέφεται. Is the verb middle or passive? It is passive in E below, but that does not decide the question: see on 546 D. If we confine our attention to the single sentence λέγωμεν—θρέφεται, the verb is most readily understood as passive; but ἀναλώσει in the next sentence favours the view that it is middle. On the whole, I prefer the passive. It is easy to supply the subject of ἀναλώσει from τοῦ τυράννου.

27 εἰάν τε ἱερὰ κτλ. The elder Dionysius in particular greatly shocked the conscience of Hellas by plundering temples: see Grote x pp. 300, 302 n. 3.

28 <καὶ> τὰ τῶν ἀπολομένων: 'and the property of his victims': cf. ἀπολλύη 567 A, ἀπολέσας 568 A, as well as the καθαρμὸς of 567 B, C. ἀπολομένων is itself so used in *Laus* 628 B. In the indictment of Dionysius I by the Syracusan knight Theodorus (Diodor. xiv 65) occur the words οὗτος δὲ τὰ μὲν ἱερὰ συλῆσας, τοὺς δὲ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν πλοῦτους ἅμα ταῖς τῶν κερκτημένων ψυχαῖς ἀφελόμενος τοὺς οἰκίας μισθοδοτεῖ κατὰ τῆς τῶν δεσποτῶν δουλείας. The sentence exactly illustrates what Plato here says. On the text and other views of this passage see App. VI.



ἀναγκάζων τὸν δῆμον εἰσφέρειν. ἴ Τί δ' ὅταν δὴ ταῦτα ἐπιλίπη; **E**  
 30 Δῆλον, ἔφη, ὅτι ἐκ τῶν πατρῶν θρέψεται αὐτός τε καὶ οἱ συμπόται  
 τε καὶ ἐταῖροι καὶ ἐταῖραι. Μανθάνω, ἔφην ἐγώ· ὅτι ὁ δῆμος, ὁ  
 γεννήσας τὸν τύραννον, θρέψει αὐτὸν τε καὶ ἐταῖρους. Πολλή  
 αὐτῷ, ἔφη, ἀνάγκη. Πῶς δὲ λέγεις, εἶπον, εἴν τι ἀγανακτῇ τε καὶ  
 λέγῃ ὁ δῆμος, ὅτι οὔτε δίκαιον τρέφεισθαι ὑπὸ πατρὸς υἱὸν ἡβῶντα,  
 35 ἀλλὰ τούναντίον ὑπὸ υἱοῦ πατέρα, οὔτε τούτου αὐτὸν ἕνεκα  
 | ἐγέννησέν τε καὶ κατέστησεν, ἵνα, ἐπειδὴ μέγας γένοιτο, τότε **569**  
 αὐτὸς δουλεύων τοῖς αὐτοῦ δούλοις τρέφοι ἐκείνόν τε καὶ τοὺς  
 δούλους μετὰ ξυγκλῦδων ἄλλων, ἀλλ' ἵνα ἀπὸ τῶν πλουσίων τε  
 καὶ καλῶν κάγαθων λεγομένων ἐν τῇ πόλει ἐλευθερωθῇ ἐκείνου  
 5 προστάντος, καὶ νῦν κελεύει ἀπιέναι ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτόν τε καὶ  
 τοὺς ἐταῖρους, ὥσπερ πατὴρ υἱὸν ἐξ οἰκίας μετὰ ὀχληρῶν συμποτῶν  
 ἐξελαύνων; Γινώσεται γε, νῆ Δία, ἡ δ' ὅς, τότ' ἡδὴ ὁ δῆμος, ἰοῖος **B**  
 οἶον θρέμμα γεννῶν ἡσπάζετό τε καὶ ἠῖξεν, καὶ ὅτι ἀσθενέστερος  
 ὢν ἰσχυροτέρους ἐξελαύνει. Πῶς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, λέγεις; τολμήσει τὸν  
 10 πατέρα βιάζεσθαι, κἂν μὴ πείθεται, τύπτειν ὁ τύραννος; Ναί,

29. ἐπιλίπη Ξ q: ἐπιλείπη ΑΠ.

31. ἔφην ἐγώ nos: ἔφην δ' ἐγώ Α<sup>1</sup>Π: ἔφην ἦν δ' ἐγώ q.

ετέρους Α.

33. εἰν τι q: εἰν τε ΑΠΞ.

30. συμπόται Π: συμπο<sup>λι</sup>.ται (sic) Α.

32. ἐταῖρους Π:

3. ἀπὸ q: ὑπὸ ΑΠΞ.

**568 E** 29 δῆ. Badham suggests ἡδῆ, needlessly: cf. IX 573 E and 574 C (Baiter).

ἐπιλίπη κτλ. ἐπιλείπη (see *cr. n.*) is retained by Hermann, but the aorist, which nearly all the MSS read, is no less necessary here than in I 340 E, IX 573 E and X 601 B. Cf. Heller *Curiae Criticae* pp. 3 ff. On τῶν πατρῶν see IX 574 A n.

31 μανθάνω—ὅτι. A comparison with 584 A line 8 and with 496 A line 8 (see *cr. n.* ad loc.) shews that ἔφην ἐγώ, and not ἦν δ' ἐγώ is in all probability the right reading in this place. ὅτι=(you say so) 'because,' not 'that': see on I 332 A.

33 πῶς δὲ λέγεις κτλ. 'And how say you,' quoth I, 'if the Demos be somewhat wroth,' etc. I formerly read πῶς λέγεις with Ξ and some other inferior MSS, but now revert to the best supported reading, except that, with q, I print εἰν τι for εἰν τε (see *cr. n.*). If we read πῶς λέγεις, we must take the words as referring to πολλῇ αὐτῷ—ἀνάγκη: if πῶς δὲ λέγεις, the reference will be to the words which follow εἶπον, and πῶς δὲ λέγεις will then invite the reply which Adimantus gives below, viz. γινώσεται γε—ἐξελαύνει. It seems to me better in every

way to make the question refer to the new point which is about to be raised by Socrates; for the statement that the Demos will have to support the tyrant is already complete, and needs neither further elucidation nor any expression of surprise. A majority of editors read εἰν δέ for εἰν τε. I think that τε must be wrong in any case, unless (with Schneider) we postulate an awkward anacoluthon, as though Socrates meant to add εἰν τε μή. The reading of τι for τε enables us to retain πῶς δὲ λέγεις, and refer the question to what follows: for which reasons I now follow q.

**569 A** 3 ἀπὸ is read by Flor. U and V as well as q. Schneider alone retains ὑπὸ, but ἐλευθεροῦσθαι ὑπὸ means only 'be freed by.' It is better to write ἀπὸ than (with Baiter) to excise the preposition. For the corruption see Bast *Comment. Pal.* p. 794.

4 καλῶν κάγαθων. See on VI 489 E.

5 κελεύει. Baiter's conjecture κελεύη is a curious error. κελεύει depends of course on ὅτι: in *oralio recta* the δῆμος would say κελεύω σε ἀπιέναι. Cf. διακελεύοντο in X 614 D and note ad loc.

ἔφη, ἀφελόμενός γε τὰ ὄπλα. Πατραλοῖαν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, λέγεις τύραννον καὶ χαλεπὸν γηροτρόφον, καὶ ὡς ἔοικε τοῦτο δὴ ὁμολογουμένην ἂν ἤδη τυραννὶς εἴη, καί, τὸ λεγόμενον, ὁ δῆμος φεύγων ἂν καπνὸν C δουλείας ἐλευθέρων εἰς πῦρ<sup>1</sup> δούλων δεσποτείας ἂν ἐμπεπτωκὼς εἴη, ἀντὶ τῆς πολλῆς ἐκείνης καὶ ἀκαίρου ἐλευθερίας τὴν χαλεπωτάτην 15 τε καὶ πικροτάτην δούλων δουλείαν μεταμπισχόμενος. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη, ταῦτα οὕτω γίγνεται. Τί οὖν; εἶπον· οὐκ ἐμμελῶς ἡμῖν εἰρήσεται, ἐὰν φῶμεν ἱκανῶς διεληλυθέναι, ὡς μεταβαίνει τυραννὶς ἐκ δημοκρατίας γενομένη τε οἷα ἐστίν; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν ἱκανῶς, ἔφη.

τέλος πολιτείας Η'.

569 B 13 τὸ λεγόμενον. τὸν καπνὸν φεύγων εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέπεσον. ἐπὶ τῶν τὰ μικρὰ τῶν δεινῶν φευγόντων, καὶ εἰς μείζονα δεινὰ ἐμπιπτόντων. (Diogen. VIII 45 in Leutsch u. Schneidewin *Paroem. Gr.* I p. 314, where the other authorities are also cited.)

φεύγων κτλ.: 'in trying to escape the smoke of servitude to free men will have fallen into the fire of the masterdom of slaves.' Herwerden proposes to excise ἐλευθέρων and δούλων (both here and in C below). It is difficult to believe that he

had read 567 E and 569 A (δουλεύων τοῖς αὐτοῦ δούλοις) before making this audacious suggestion. The chiasmus δουλείας ἐλευθέρων—δούλων δεσποτείας is in Plato's finest style.

569 C 15 ἀκαίρου. ἀκράτου (Herwerden: cf. 562 D) would be grossly incongruous with μεταμπισχόμενος, and is otherwise less suitable here than ἀκαίρου.

16 δούλων is emphatic: 'the most galling form of slavery' is slavery to slaves (J. and C.). Cf. 567 E n.

## APPENDICES TO BOOK VIII.

### I.

#### THE NUMBER.

The famous Number of Plato is notoriously the most difficult passage in his writings. The difficulty lies in the Greek, and not in the calculations, which are, as will be seen, extraordinarily simple, and can be understood by any one who has a rudimentary acquaintance with the multiplication table, and is willing to believe a single proposition of Euclid, viz. 1 47. I have explained my conception of the passage as a whole in the note on 545 c: and in this Appendix I propose to investigate and illustrate the entire section in detail with a view to justifying the explanations which I have given throughout the notes.

The literature of the subject is immense. Many of the passages relating to the Number in ancient authors have been collected by Schneider, who has also made a digest of the leading publications on the subject from the revival of learning down to 1830 (*Platonis Opera Graece* III pp. i—lxxxviii). For more information on the literature between 1830 and 1881 reference may be made to Dupuis *Le nombre géométrique de Platon*, Paris 1881. In addition to the commentators on the *Republic* and on Aristotle *Pol.* E 12. 1316<sup>a</sup> 4 ff., to Proclus in Kroll's *Procli in Pl. remp. comm.* II pp. 1—80, and to the summary of earlier opinions contained in Schneider's edition, I have found some of the following discussions interesting and occasionally suggestive: Monro, *Journal of Philology* VIII pp. 275—289, and *Classical Review* VI pp. 152—156, 242—244: Gow, *Journal of Philology* XII pp. 91 ff., and *Academy* no. 522: Hultsch, *Zeitschrift für Mathematik und Physik* XXVII, Historisch-literarische Abtheilung, pp. 41—60, *de numero Platonis a Proclo enarrato disputatio* in Schoell's *Procli commentariorum in remp. Platonis partes ineditae* pp. 140—148, and *Exkurs zu Μέλισσα ΔΕ* in Kroll's *Procli in Pl. remp. commentarii* II pp. 400—415: Rettig, *Proleg. in remp.* pp. 315 ff.: Donaldson in the *Proceedings of the Philological Society* I pp. 81 ff.: Martin in the *Revue Archéologique* XIII pp. 257 ff.: Dupuis *Le Nombre Géométrique de Platon, Interprétation Nouvelle*, Paris 1881, *Seconde Interprétation*, Paris 1882, and *Mémoire Définitif* in his edition of Theo Smyrnaeus pp. 365—400: Tannery in the *Revue Philosophique* I pp. 170 ff., XIII pp. 210 ff., XV pp. 567 ff.: Demme in the *Zeitschrift für Math. und Phys.* XXXII,



Historisch-literarische Abth. pp. 81—99 and 121—132: Albert *Die Platonische Zahl und Einige Conjecturen zu Platon* etc.: Jowett in *The Republic of Plato translated*, 1888, pp. cxxx ff., and Zeller<sup>1</sup> II 1, pp. 857—860 n.

It should be mentioned that this Appendix is in a few passages identical with the treatise on *The Number of Plato* which I published in 1891. During the eleven years which have elapsed since my earlier publication, my views have been considerably modified, especially as regards the interpretation of the words *τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις—φθινόντων* and the philosophical significance of the latter part of the Number; and the explanations contained in this Appendix are those which I now believe to be right. I may perhaps be allowed to express my obligations to those scholars who have supplied me with criticisms, whether written or printed, on my former work. The Provost of Oriel's discussions on my *Number of Plato* in the *Classical Review* have been constantly before me while engaged upon this subject. Some of his objections to my earlier theory were sound: others, and these the most important, I believe that I have refuted in the course of the present discussion. I am wholly unable to acquiesce in the *præiudicata opinio* that "there is no complete solution because there was no consistent meaning in Plato's mind" (*J. of Ph.* VIII p. 285), but my revised explanation owes something to Mr Monro's resolute and sturdy application of the 'negative arm of the elenchus,' and I am not less grateful to him for the opportunity which he has given me of shewing (in Parts II and III of this Appendix) that the incomplete solution which he himself suggests is one which cannot be attributed either to Plato or Aristotle, without infringing, as it seems to me, the laws alike of logic, arithmetic and Greek<sup>1</sup>.

It will be convenient to quote the passage in full and also, for the sake of facilitating reference, to divide the words with which we are more immediately concerned into five sections, A, B, C, D, E.

<sup>1</sup> Mr Archer-Hind's criticisms in the *Cambridge Review* for Jan. 28, 1892, have also affected my view on the meaning of the two *ἀπουσίαι*: and I now also agree with him in his suggestion that *συzygels* in *ἐπὶ τριπλῶς πνυθμῶν πεμπάδι συzygels* invites us to multiply together the three numbers 3, 4 and 5. The review by Hultsch in *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1892 pp. 1256 ff. may also be mentioned. Hultsch agrees with me in making the two numbers 216 and 12,960,000: he was also the first, so far as I know, to see that the sides of the *ἀπουσίαι* should be multiplied and not added, and that the rectangle is equal to the square: but in other respects his proposed solution is almost entirely different from mine. It is due to Hultsch and to the reader, that I should give the two solutions side by side, and I now do so.

#### A. Hultsch's Solution.

$$(1) 2^3 \times 3^3 = 216 \text{ (so also Schneider)}$$

$$(2) (3 + 4 + 5) 3 = 36,$$

and 36 by somehow or other developing out of itself a square number multiplied by 100, becomes 3600<sup>2</sup>, which is the first harmony. The second is the rectangle whose sides are

$$(1) 100 \times 7 \sqrt{7 - \frac{1}{2}}$$

and

$$(2) 100 \times 3^3 \sqrt{7 - \frac{1}{2}}.$$

For further information the reader should consult Hultsch's article in *Zeitschrift f. Math.* etc. l.c.

#### B. The solution now proposed.

$$(1) 3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216,$$

$$(2) (3 \times 4 \times 5)^3 = 3600^2 = 4800 \times 2700.$$

In the interpretation of Plato's Greek I am seldom if ever able to agree with Hultsch.

Φέρε τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πειρώμεθα λέγειν, τίνα τρόπον τιμοκρατία γένοιτ' 545 C  
 ἂν ἐξ ἀριστοκρατίας. ἡ τόδε μὲν<sup>1</sup> ἀπλοῦν, ὅτι πᾶσα πολιτεία μεταβάλλει 545 D  
 ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔχοντος τὰς ἀρχάς, ὅταν ἐν αὐτῷ τούτῳ στάσις ἐγγένηται· ὁμο-  
 νοῦντος δέ, καὶ πᾶν ὀλίγον ἦ, ἀδύνατον κινηθῆναι; Ἔστι γὰρ οὕτω. Πῶς  
 οὖν δῆ, εἶπον, ὦ Γλαῦκων, ἡ πόλις ἡμῖν κινηθήσεται, καὶ πῇ στασιάσουσιν οἱ  
 ἐπικούροι καὶ οἱ ἀρχοῖτες πρὸς ἀλλήλους τε καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς, ἡ βούλει,  
 ὥσπερ Ὀμηρος, εὐχόμεθα ταῖς Μούσαις εἰπεῖν ἡμῖν, ὅπως δὴ πρῶτον στάσις  
 ἔμπεσε, καὶ φῶμεν αὐτὰς<sup>1</sup> τραγικῶς, ὡς πρὸς παῖδας ἡμᾶς παιζούσας καὶ 545 E  
 ἐρεσχηλούσας, ὡς δὴ σπουδῇ λεγούσας, ὑψηλολογουμένας λέγειν; Πῶς; Ὡδὲ  
 πως. | χалеπὸν μὲν κινηθῆναι πόλιν οὕτω ἐνστάσαν· ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ γενομένῳ 546 A  
 πατιτὶ φθορά ἐστιν, οὐδ' ἡ τοιαύτη ἐνστάσις τὸν ἅπαντα μενεῖ χρόνον, ἀλλὰ  
 λυθήσεται. λύσις δὲ ἦδε· οὐ μόνον φυτοῖς ἐγγείοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν ἐπιγείοις  
 ζῴοις φορὰ καὶ ἀφορία ψυχῆς τε καὶ σωμάτων γίνονται, ὅταν περιτροπαὶ  
 ἐκάστοις κύκλων περιφορὰς συνάπτωσι, βραχυβίοις μὲν βραχυπόρους, ἐναν-  
 τίοις δὲ ἐναντίας· γένους δὲ ὑμετέρου εὐγονίας τε καὶ ἀφορίας, καίπερ<sup>1</sup> ὄντες 546 B  
 σοφοὶ οὓς ἡγεμόνας πόλεως ἐπαιδεύσασθε, οὐδὲν μᾶλλον λογισμῷ μετ' αἰσ-  
 θήσεως τεύξονται, ἀλλὰ πάρεισιν αὐτοὺς καὶ γεννήσουσι παῖδας ποτε οὐ  
 A δέον. | ἔστι δὲ θεῖω μὲν γεννητῷ περίοδος, ἦν ἀριθμὸς περιλαμβάνει τέλειος, |  
 B ἀνθρωπείῳ δὲ ἐν ᾧ πρώτῳ αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστεύομεναι, τρεῖς  
 ἀποστάσεις, τέτταρας δὲ ὅρους λαβοῦσαι, ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ  
 αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων, πάντα προσήγορα καὶ<sup>1</sup> ῥήτῃ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἀπέ- 546 C  
 C φηναν· | ὦν ἐπίτритος πυθμὴν πεμπαδὶ συζυγεῖς δύο ἀρμονίας παρέχεται τρεῖς  
 D, E αὐξηθείς, | τὴν μὲν ἴσην ἰσάκεις, ἑκατὸν τοσαντάκεις, | τὴν δὲ ἰσομήκη μὲν τῇ,  
 προμήκη δέ, ἑκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν ἀπὸ διαμέτρων ῥητῶν πεμπαδός, δεομένων  
 ἐνὸς ἐκάστων, ἀρρήτων δὲ δυοῖν, ἑκατὸν δὲ κύβων τριάδος. | ἔμπας δὲ οὗτος,  
 ἀριθμὸς γεωμετρικός, τοιοῦτον κύριος, ἀμεινόνων τε καὶ χειρόνων γενέσων,  
 ἃς ὅταν ἀγνοήσαντες ὑμῖν<sup>1</sup> οἱ φύλακες συνοικίζωσιν ὀνύμφας νυμφίοις παρὰ 546 D  
 καιρόν, οὐκ εὐφυεῖς οὐδ' εὐτυχεῖς παῖδες ἔσονται.

For the sake of clearness I will endeavour as far as possible to confine myself in the first instance to the elucidation of the numbers and numerical processes, reserving the question of the philosophical significance of the Platonic Number for separate treatment in Part ii of this Appendix. But as it is impossible thoroughly to grasp the numbers apart from their meaning, or their meaning apart from the numbers, I may perhaps be allowed to suggest that the student, after he has read a section in Part i, before going on to the succeeding section, should glance at the corresponding division of Part ii. I have added a third Part by way of epilogue, in which Aristotle's criticism of the Platonic Number is fully discussed.

Before we embark on our task, it is desirable to allude to the evidence which there is for believing that Plato made use of the Pythagorean triangle in his Number. The triangle in question, as is well known<sup>1</sup>, is the right-angled triangle whose sides are 3 and 4, whose hypotenuse<sup>2</sup> is consequently 5, and whose area<sup>3</sup> is  $\frac{4 \times 3}{2} = 6$ . See Fig. 1.

<sup>1</sup> See Gow, *History of Greek Mathematics*, p. 155.

<sup>2</sup> By Euclid I 47—a proposition which is said to have been discovered by Py-

thagoras, and which was certainly familiar to Plato: see *Tim.* 54 B.

<sup>3</sup> *ABC*, the right-angled triangle in which  $AC=3$ , and  $AB=4$ , is half the

It will be shewn in Part iii that Aristotle regards the Pythagorean triangle as the basis of the number in the section which I have called B. Besides Aristotle we have the testimony of at least three authors (cited by Schneider<sup>1</sup>), viz. Plutarch (*de Is. et Os.* 373 F), where he says τῶν τριγῶνων τὸ κάλλιστον—ὃ καὶ Πλάτων ἐν τῇ πολιτείᾳ δοκεῖ προσκεχρησθαι, τὸ γαμήλιον διάγραμμα συντάττων. ἔχει δὲ ἐκείνο τὸ τρίγωνον τριῶν τὴν πρὸς ὀρθάς, καὶ τεττάρων τὴν βάσιν καὶ πέντε τὴν ὑποτείνουσαν ἴσον ταῖς περιεχούσαις δυναμένην: Proclus (*in Euclid.* p. 428, ed. Friedlein) in these words: τὸ ἐν πολιτείᾳ τρίγωνον, οὗ τὴν ὀρθὴν περιέχουσιν ὁ τε τρία (sc. ἀριθμός) καὶ ὁ τέσσαρα: and Aristides Quintilianus, who (*De Musica*, ed. Meibom p. 152 = Jahn p. 90) remarks: αἱ δὲ τὴν ὀρθὴν περιέχουσιν ἀριθμοὶ τὸν ἐπίτритον. τοῦτο δὲ καὶ Πλάτων φησὶν ἐπίτритον πυθμένα πεμπάδι συζυγέτα. To this testimony may now be added Proclus and the authorities whom he quotes in his commentary on the Platonic Number (ed. Kroll II pp. 1 ff.), in the course of which constant reference is made to the wonderful properties of this κοσμικὸν τρίγωνον, as it was sometimes called (ib. 45. 23).

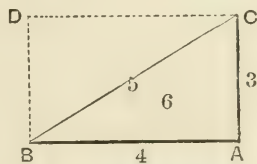


FIG. I. The Pythagorean Triangle.

## PART i.

### THE ARITHMETICAL SOLUTION<sup>2</sup>.

I will take the four divisions B, C, D, E in the order in which they occur. The division which I call A involves no arithmetical calculations, and will be better discussed in Part ii.

#### § 1.

ἀνθρωπείῳ δὲ—ἀπέφηναν.

It may be well to give at the outset a translation of this passage. 'But the number of a human creature is the first number in which root and square increases, having received three distances and four limits, of elements that make both like and unlike and wax and wane, render all things conversable and rational with one another.'

The construction of the words ἀνθρωπείῳ—πρώτῳ is ἀνθρωπείῳ δὲ <γεννητῷ ἔστιν ἀριθμὸς> ἐν ᾧ πρώτῳ, which is itself an abbreviated expression for ἀνθρωπείῳ δὲ <γεννητῷ ἔστιν περίοδος ἣν ἀριθμὸς περιλαμβάνει> ἐν ᾧ πρώτῳ, as a glance at the preceding clause will shew.

The meaning is: 'while the number of a human creature is the first

rectangle *ABDC*, i.e. it is  $\frac{4 \times 3}{2} = 6$ . Cf.

*Theol. Ar.* p. 39 ed. Ast, where in a description of the Pythagorean triangle it is expressly pointed out that the area is 6. So also in Proclus *in remp.* II p. 42 ed.

Kroll.

<sup>1</sup> I.e. p. xxxii. Cf. also Iamblichus, *Vit. Pythag.* § 131.

<sup>2</sup> A brief summary of the results of Part i has already been published by me in *Cl. Rev.* XVI pp. 17–23.



number in which,' and 'the first number' signifies of course the first number which satisfies the conditions about to be described. In the notes on 546 A f., as well as in Pt ii § 3, I have shewn that by 'period' Plato means 'period of gestation': so that the 'number of a human creature' must be a number which measures the time during which the human creature is in the womb. It will be well to bear this in mind throughout the calculations which follow.

I proceed to explain αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστεύμεναι.

The word αὐξήσεις means 'increases,' and in its arithmetical signification must denote either 'additions' or 'multiplications'.<sup>1</sup> Which of these two meanings the word bears here, Plato himself, as we shall presently see, informs us by means of the clause τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις, τέτταρας δὲ ὅρους λαβοῦσαι.

What is the meaning of δυνάμεναι? It is clear from more than one passage in Plato that the mathematical sense of δύνασθαι 'be equal when squared to,' i.e. 'be the square root of,' was not yet fully and firmly established in his day. In *Theaetetus* 147 E—τὸν ἀριθμὸν πάντα δίχα διελάβομεν· τὸν μὲν δυνάμενον ἴσον ἰσάκεις γίνεσθαι τῷ τετραγώνῳ τὸ σχῆμα ἀπεικάσαντες τετραγώνον τε καὶ ἰσόπλευρον προσείπομεν—it is a *square* number which is said to be δυνάμενος (viz. ἴσος ἰσάκεις γίνεσθαι), while in 148 B—ὅσαι μὲν γραμμαὶ τὸν ἰσόπλευρον καὶ ἐπίπεδον ἀριθμὸν τετραγωνίζουσι, μήκος ὠρισάμεθα, ὅσαι δὲ τὸν ἑτερομήκη, δυνάμεις<sup>2</sup>, ὡς μήκει μὲν οὐ ξυμμέτρονς ἐκείναις, τοῖς δ' ἐπιπέδοις ἃ δύνανται—it is the *roots* which are δυνάμενα (sc. to produce squares), as in Euclid x *def.* 11 καὶ αἱ δυνάμεναι αὐτὰ ἄλογοι. But on comparing these two passages from Plato, we note that, while δυνάμενον is not used absolutely in the sense of a square, but requires to be further explained (viz. by the words ἴσος ἰσάκεις γίνεσθαι), δύνανται, where it is used absolutely, means 'are the roots of.' We infer that δυνάμεναι in our passage refers to roots and not to squares. Our inference will be confirmed as we proceed.

We have next to deal with the word δυναστεύμεναι. It is fortunate that Proclus<sup>3</sup> should have expressly alluded to this part of Plato's Number. At the outset of his commentary on the first book of Euclid he endeavours to shew that the ἀρχαὶ of the Universe of things—τῶν ὄντων ἀπάντων—are also the ἀρχαὶ of Mathematics. One of his examples, that from δυνάμεις, is as follows<sup>4</sup>: καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις ἀναφαίνεται πᾶσιν ὁμοίως προσήκει τοῖς μαθήμασι, τῶν μὲν δυναμένων, τῶν δὲ δυναστευομένων. ἃ δὲ καὶ ὁ ἐν πολιτείᾳ Σωκράτης ταῖς μούσαις ὑψηλολογουμέναις ἀνέθηκεν, τὰ κοινὰ πάντων τῶν μαθηματικῶν λόγων ἐν πέρασιν ὠρισμένοις περιλαβὼν καὶ προστησάμενος ἐν τοῖς εἰρημένοις

<sup>1</sup> For the meaning 'multiplications' cf. *Theol. Ar.* p. 39 Ast ὁ λε' ἐξάδι αὐξηθὲν ἐπτάμηνον χρόνον ἀποτελεῖ τὸν τῶν σί ἡμερῶν and *Nicom. Introd. Ar.* p. 127 Ast.

<sup>2</sup> The word δυνάμεις is here confined to *irrational* roots, but this is a limitation introduced by *Theaetetus*. *Theaetetus* in

fact proposes to confine the word δυνάμεις to surds, and to use μήκος for the rational roots. The usual meaning of δύναμις in Plato's mathematics is 'second increase': cf. *Gow Gk Math.* p. 78 n. 1.

<sup>3</sup> In *Euclidem* ed. Friedlein, p. 8.

<sup>4</sup> In *Eucl.* l.c.

ἀριθμοῖς, ἀφ' ὧν δὴ καὶ τὰ μέτρα τῆς τε εὐγονίας καὶ τῆς ἐναντίας πρὸς ταύτην ἀγυονίας καταφαίνεται. The first sentence means that 'powers' play a part in every department of Mathematics as well as in Nature and in Life—'some having power, while others are subject to power.' For example 3 is *δυναμενος*, because it has power (viz. over 9—to make 9): 9 is *δυναστεύμενος*, because it is subject to power (viz. of 3—to be made by 3). It will not be denied that *δυναστεύομαι* is intended by Proclus as the passive of *δύναμαι*<sup>1</sup>. Now *δύναται*, said of a root, means *δύναται τετράγωνον ποιεῖν*. The passive of this, said of a square number, is *δύναται τετράγωνος γίγνεσθαι* (*δύναται ἴσος ἰσάκεις γίγνεσθαι* in *Theaet.* 147 E). In the case of the *active*, it was found possible to drop *τετράγωνον ποιεῖν*: but if, in the *passive*, *τετράγωνος γίγνεσθαι* is discarded, at least the passivity must not be. For this reason *δύναται* becomes *δυναστεύεται*.

We may therefore take it that *δυναστεύομαι* in our passage refers to squares. But before interpreting the expression as a whole, it is necessary to discuss a passage of Alexander Aphrodisiensis, which has not unnaturally been quoted<sup>2</sup> in connexion with section B, since it seems to be the only other passage besides those already quoted in which *δυναστεύεται* occurs in mathematical surroundings. The words are<sup>3</sup>: ἀνικίαν δέ φασιν ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορείων λέγεσθαι τὴν πεντάδα, τοῦτο δὲ ὅτι τῶν ὀρθογωνίων τριγῶνων τῶν ἐχόντων ῥητὰς τὰς πλευρὰς πρῶτων ἐστὶ τῶν περιεχουσῶν ὀρθὴν γωνίαν πλευρῶν ἥ μὲν τριῶν ἥ δὲ τεττάρων, ἥ δὲ ὑποτείνουσα πέντε. ἐπεὶ τοῦνν ἡ ὑποτείνουσα ἴσον δύναται ἀμφοτέραις ἅμα, διὰ τοῦτο ἡ μὲν δυναμένη καλεῖται, αἱ δὲ δυναστεύομεναι, καὶ ἐστὶ πέντε. τὴν τε πεντάδα ἀνικίαν ἔλεγον ὡς μὴ νικωμένην ἀλλ' ἀήττητον καὶ κρατοῦσαν.

The general drift of the passage is that the Pythagoreans called the number 5 'Invincibility,' because it is the hypotenuse of the first right-angled triangle with rational sides—the one 3, the other 4. As the hypotenuse is *equally powerful*<sup>4</sup> with both the other sides, it is called *δυναμένη*, the others *δυναστεύομεναι*. It is *ἀνικία*, because it remains unconquered and prevails.

*δυναμένη* here means 'powerful,' 'prevailing': *δυναστεύομεναι* 'subject to power,' 'prevailed against.' Our sympathies being with the hypotenuse, because the odds are against him, we call him conqueror even although the battle is a drawn one. The only bearing of the passage on our text is this: it uses *δυναστευομένη* as a passive of *δυναμένη*. But whereas, in Proclus, *δυναστεύομενα* includes 'what can be produced by roots' (i.e. squares), and *δυνάμενα* 'what can produce squares' (i.e. roots), here *δυναμένη* means 'equal, or rather greater in power' (viz. the hypotenuse), and *δυναστεύομεναι* 'prevailed against' (viz. the sides). It is evident that the words are used by Alexander

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also Proclus *in remp.* II p. 36 τὸ γὰρ δυνάμενον πᾶν πρὸς τὸ δυναστεύομενον ἀποδίδεται, and *ib.* p. 5 δύνανται μὲν γὰρ οἱ πλευρικοὶ (sc. ἀριθμοί), δυναστεύονται δὲ οἱ ἐκ τούτων. The use of the passive is like that in *τιμοκρατεῖσθαι*, *δημοκρατεῖσθαι*, *regnor* and the like.

<sup>2</sup> See e.g. Zeller<sup>1</sup> II 1, p. 858 n., Zeller<sup>6</sup> I p. 400 n. 1, and Susemihl *Aristoteles' Politik* II p. 374.

<sup>3</sup> *In Arist. Met.* A 8. 990<sup>a</sup> 23.

<sup>4</sup> Being equal when squared to the sum of the squares of the other two sides.

less in a technical, than in a metaphorical sense, and with no reference to their occurrence in the Platonic Number—to which indeed he makes no reference at all. The interpretation of *δυναστεύμεναι* in Plato should be deduced not from Alexander, but from an examination of the passage of Proclus in the light of *Theaet.* 147 E ff.

We are now in a position to interpret the highly elaborate and fantastic expression *αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστεύμεναι*. The literal translation is 'root and square increases' or 'increasings,' and the correlation of meaning between the words *δυνάμεναι* and *δυναστεύμεναι*—*τὸ γὰρ δυνάμενον πᾶν πρὸς τὸ δυναστεύμενον ἀποδίδοται*<sup>2</sup>—requires us to suppose that in a 'root and square increase' the 'root' in question is the root of the 'square' in question, and the 'square' in question the square of the 'root' in question. When for example  $x$  is the 'root,' the 'square' will be  $x^2$ , and where the 'square' is  $x^2$ , the 'root' will be  $x$ . What then is the meaning of a 'root and square increase'? If *αὐξήσις* means 'addition' it will be  $x + x^2$ , if 'multiplication,'  $x \times x^2$ . And the plural 'root and square increases' will refer to more than one instance of the same process, i.e. for example either (1) to  $x + x^2$ ,  $y + y^2$ ,  $z + z^2$  or (2) to  $x \times x^2$ ,  $y \times y^2$ ,  $z \times z^2$ . Whether the *αὐξήσεις* mean processes of addition or processes of multiplication will presently be seen: meantime it should be noted that the awkwardness of the English expression 'root and square increases' is escaped by the Greek idiom, because *δυνάμεναι* and *δυναστεύμεναι* are participial adjectives<sup>3</sup>.

I come now to *τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις, τέτταρας δὲ ὅρους λαβοῦσαι*. The literal translation is 'having received three distances, and four limits,' and the meaning will appear from a glance at the following passages.

In Nicomachus *Introd. Ar.* pp. 143 f. ed. Ast we read *τὰ μὲν στερεὰ*

<sup>1</sup> I have treated the words of Alexander seriously, because there is no *a priori* reason why the Pythagoreans should not have called 5 *ἀνικία*, or indeed almost anything else in heaven or earth, as readers of the *Theologumena Arithmetica* and other similar treatises will readily admit. But so much confusion has elsewhere arisen from the similarity of vowel in *νεικ-* and *νικ-* (see on IX 581 B) that I should not be surprised if *ἀνεικία* and not *ἀνικία* was in reality the original form: see *Theol. Ar.* p. 26 ed. Ast: *καὶ ἀνεικίαν προσηγόμενον τὴν πεμπάδα, οὐ μόνον, ἐπειδὴ τὸ πέμπτον καὶ κατ' αὐτὸ τεταγμένον στοιχείον, ὁ αἰθέρ, κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχων διατελεῖ, νείκους καὶ μεταβολῆς ἐν τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτὸν ὑπαρχόντων ἀπὸ σελήνης μέχρι γῆς, ἀλλ' ὅτι τὰ πρῶτιστα διαφέροντα καὶ οὐχ ὅμοια τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ δύο εἶδη, ἄρτιον καὶ περιττόν, αὐτὸς ὡσανεὶ ἐφίλιψε καὶ συνήρτησε κτλ.* Megillus is quoted to the same effect a few lines lower down, and Ast in his note adds further references. Zeller<sup>6</sup> I p. 400 n. 1 regards *ἀνικία* as more original than *ἀνεικία*.

<sup>2</sup> Proclus *in temp.* II p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> As it will shortly be found that *αὐξήσεις* refers to multiplications, I may remark here that Schneider and Donaldson so far agree with me in explaining *αὐξήσις* *δυναμένη τε καὶ δυναστευομένη* as "incrementum per multiplicationem radicis seu lateris et quadrati mutuum factum" (Schneider l.c. III p. xx). But Schneider is mistaken when he makes the whole expression *αὐξήσεις—δυναστεύμεναι* equivalent to actual or concrete *cubes*: "hoc loco numeros per eiusmodi αὐξήσεις effectos αὐξήσεις *obscurius* dici intelligitur: ii vero cubi sunt." The Greek word *αὐξήσις* means 'actio ipsa augendi,' as Schneider himself remarks, and, as will presently appear, there is no occasion to interpret it as anything else. It is of course obvious that the words *αὐξήσεις—δυναστεύμεναι* are to some extent deliberately and intentionally fantastic: the Muses, we remember, *ὑψηλολογοῦνται*: but there is also a touch of serious import in the structure of the phrase. See Part ii § 4.



διαστήματα λέγεται τριχῇ διαστατά, τὰ δὲ ἐπίπεδα διχῇ... ταῦτα δὲ τῆς οἰκείας σαφηνείας ἐπιλήψεται ἐν τῇ Πλατωνικῇ συναναγνώσει κατὰ τὸν τοῦ λεγομένου γάμου τόπον ἐν τῇ Πολιτείᾳ ἀπὸ προσώπου τῶν Μουσῶν παρειαγομένου<sup>1</sup>. There are many other statements to the same effect not only in Nicomachus, but also in the *Theologumena Arithmetica*, in Theo of Smyrna, and in Iamblichus' commentary on the work of Nicomachus. The distances are sometimes called διαστήματα, sometimes διαστάσεις, and in at least one passage ἀποστάσεις, as in Plato. The fullest explanation of the matter is in the *Introd. Ar.* p. 116: πρῶτον δὲ διάστημα γραμμῇ λέγεται· γραμμῇ γάρ ἐστι τὸ ἐφ' ἐν διαστατόν· δύο δὲ διαστήματα ἐπιφάνεια· ἐπιφάνεια γάρ ἐστι τὸ διχῇ διαστατόν· τρία δὲ διαστήματα στερεόν· στερεόν γάρ ἐστι τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδαμῶς ἐπινοεῖν στερεόν, ὃ πλείονων τέτευχε διαστημάτων ἢ τριῶν, μήκους, πλάτους καὶ βάθους... εἴ τι γὰρ στερεόν ἐστιν, τὰς τρεῖς διαστάσεις πάντως ἔχει, μήκος, πλάτος καὶ βάθος· καὶ ἔμπαλιν εἴ τι ἔχει τὰς τρεῖς διαστάσεις, ἐκείνο πάντως στερεόν ἐστιν, ἄλλο δ' οὐδέν. Compare also pp. 117, 123, 128, and *Theol. Ar.* p. 38, in each of which places διαστάσεις is used with this meaning, Theo pp. 24 f. ed. Hiller τῶν δὲ συνθέτων (sc. ἀριθμῶν) τοὺς μὲν ὑπὸ δύο ἀριθμῶν περιεχομένους καλοῦσιν ἐπιπέδους, ὡς κατὰ δύο διαστάσεις θεωρουμένους καὶ οἷον ὑπὸ μήκους καὶ πλάτους περιεχομένους, τοὺς δὲ ὑπὸ τριῶν στερεούς, ὡς καὶ τὴν τρίτην διάστασιν προσειληφότες, *Theol. Ar.* p. 48, Nicomachus l.c. p. 136 οἱ κύβοι τριχῇ διαστατοὶ ὄντες and Iamblichus l.c. p. 58. In *Theol. Ar.* p. 23, the author, in speaking of the number 4, which according to the Pythagoreans πρώτη ἔδειξε τὴν τοῦ στερεοῦ φύσιν· σημεῖον γάρ, εἴτα γραμμῇ, εἴτα ἐπιφάνεια, εἴτα στερεόν, εἴτα σῶμα, remarks τὰς—πλάσας ἀποστάσεις ἧτοι τὰς τρεῖς ἀπέστη, ὧν περαιτέρω οὐκέτι εἰσίν. Finally, we may refer to Simplicius in *physica* IV 1, p. 531. 9 ed. Diels σῶμα—τὸ τὰς τρεῖς ἔχον διαστάσεις and *ibid.* p. 634. 11 ff., to Aristotle *Thē.* Z 5. 142<sup>b</sup> 24 ὁ τοῦ σώματος ὁρισμός, τὸ ἔχον τρεῖς διαστάσεις, *Phys.* IV 1. 209<sup>a</sup> 4 ff. διαστήματα μὲν οὖν ἔχει (sc. ὁ τόπος) τρία, μήκος καὶ πλάτος καὶ βάθος, οἷς ὀρίζεται σῶμα πᾶν and other passages cited by Bonitz in the *Index Arist.* s.v. διαστάσεις, and also to Plato himself, who in *Latws* 894 A has the following sentence: γίνεται δὴ πάντων γένεσις, ἡνίκα ἂν τί πάθος ᾗ; δῆλον ὡς ὅταν ἀρχὴ λαβοῦσα αὔξην εἰς τὴν δευτέραν ἔλθῃ μετάβασιν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς τὴν πλησίον, καὶ μέχρι τριῶν ἐλθοῦσα αἰσθησιν σχῇ τοῖς αἰσθανομένοις.

From these passages it is clear that the three ἀποστάσεις of which Plato speaks are μήκος, πλάτος and βάθος. What then ought we to understand by the four ὅροι? In *Theol. Ar.* p. 16 Ast we find the words τὸ ἐξ ὕλης καὶ εἶδους αἰσθητόν, ὃ ἐστὶν ἀποτέλεσμα τριχῇ διαστατόν, ἐν τέτταρσιν ὅροις ἐστίν, and in Iambl. in *Nic.* p. 93 Pistelli στερεὸς δὲ ἐστὶν ἀριθμὸς ὁ τρίτον διάστημα παρὰ τὰ ἐν ἐπιπέδοις δύο προσειληφώς, δηλονότι τετάρτου ὅρου προσγενομένου· ἐν γὰρ τέσσαρσιν

<sup>1</sup> The reader will observe that Nicomachus had the Platonic number in his mind when he wrote these words. Cf. Mr Monro in *J. of Ph.* VIII p. 276 "The Pythagorean writer Nicomachus says

(*Introd. Arithm.* p. 143) that solid figures are called τριχῇ διαστατά, plane figures διχῇ διαστατά, and that this receives full light from the *Republic* of Plato, κατὰ τὸν τοῦ λεγομένου γάμου τόπον."

ὅροις τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν. The meaning will be easily apprehended from the accompanying figure of a στερεὸς ἀριθμός (Fig. 2), which I borrow from Theo p. 42 ed. Hiller. *AB* is the *μῆκος*, *BC* the *πλάτος*, *CD* the *βάθος* (or *ὑψος* or *πάχος*, as it was sometimes called: see Nicom. l.c. p. 123), and the points *A, B, C, D* are the four ὅροι (αἱ στιγμαὶ τῶν μεγεθῶν ὅροι Arist. *Met.* N 5. 1092<sup>b</sup> 9): ἐν γὰρ τέσσαρσιν ὅροις τὸ τριχῇ διαστατόν, as Iamblichus observes.

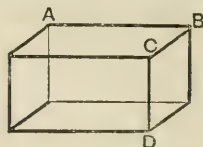


FIG. 2.

From these and other passages to the same effect, I conclude that the three ἀποστάσεις and four ὅροι are *μῆκος*, *πλάτος*, and *βάθος*, with their attendant limits, that consequently αὐξήσεις refers to multiplications and not to additions, and that the whole expression αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναί τε καὶ δυναστεύμεναι, τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις, τέτταρας δὲ ὅρους λαβοῦσαι i.e. 'root and square increases comprehending<sup>1</sup> three distances and four limits' means cubings and nothing more.

The περίοδος of the ἀνθρώπειον γεννητόν is accordingly the first number in which cubings make everything conversable and rational with itself: but what are the numbers to be cubed?

Let us examine the phrase ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων.

In point of construction the genitives might depend, so far as the Greek is concerned, either on (1) ὅρους, or (2) on ἀποστάσεις and ὅρους combined, or (3) upon αὐξήσεις. Other possibility there is none. As far as concerns the sense, we observe that whereas the meaning of ἀποστάσεις and ὅρους is complete—for *μῆκος*, *πλάτος* and *βάθος*, with their four ὅροι, demand no further specification—that of αὐξήσεις is incomplete, because 'increasings' necessarily imply something to be increased. Now we have not yet been informed what we are invited to increase: and we are therefore compelled to suppose that the information is contained or concealed in ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων. I therefore believe that the genitives depend on αὐξήσεις.

In point of grammatical gender the genitives can only be neuter. ὁμοιούντων, for example, is the genitive of ὁμοιούντα i.q. τὰ ὁμοιούντα, the article being dispensed with in accordance with Plato's frequent practice in passages of real or affected elevation<sup>2</sup>. But as Plato is trying to reach a certain number ('the first number in which' etc.), the

<sup>1</sup> λαβοῦσαι is literally 'having received.' The completed process ἔχει τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις, 'has three distances' or as we should say 'dimensions': and as each successive ἀπόστασις is acquired, the process itself is said λαμβάνειν ἀπόστασιν. The usage is like that of (προσ)εὐληφώς in Iambl. *in Nic.* p. 93 (quoted above): cf. also Theo p. 24 and Nicom. l.c. pp. 123, 127.

<sup>2</sup> It is the Muses who are speaking, and the article was rarer in their language,

as the usage of poetry attests. The intransitive use of αὐξω—tolerably common in Aristotle and later Greek, after poetical words and idioms began to be freely admitted into prose—has a similar stylistic effect. We are bound to suppose that αὐξόντων and φθινόντων are opposed to one another no less than ὁμοιούντων and ἀνομοιούντων, and therefore as φθινόντων is intransitive, αὐξόντων must be intransitive too.

objects which are subjected to the processes of cubing cannot themselves be anything but numbers: so that for practical purposes we may regard *ὁμοιούντων* etc. as *ὁμοιούντων ἀριθμῶν* etc.

It is clear, therefore, that *ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων* stands for the numbers which we have to cube. What then are the numbers that 'make like and unlike, wax and wane'? The Muses are evidently teasing, and we must be patient with them till they choose to tell us.

Let us look a little farther on. The next half of this sentence begins with *ὧν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν*, and *ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν*, as will presently be shewn (§ 2), means the numbers 4, 3. Now if we take the expression 'of which, 4, 3' in its simplest and most natural signification, it means 'of which numbers, the numbers 4, 3,' so that the antecedent to *ὧν* will be *some numbers, two of which are the numbers 4 and 3*.

Now what is the grammatical antecedent to *ὧν*? The possibilities—I use the word in a generous sense—are (1) *αὐξήσεις—δυναστευόμεναι*, (2) *τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις* and *τέτταρας δὲ ὅρους*, either or both, (3) *πάντα*, (4) *ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων*.

It will be agreed that (2) is scarcely possible, and also, I think, that (3) is unlikely. On grounds of sense neither the first nor the second alternative is suitable. The antecedent to *ὧν*, on the most natural and simple translation of *ὧν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν*, must be, as I have said, 'some numbers, two of which are the numbers 4 and 3.' Now *αὐξήσεις* are not 'numbers,' but (as Schneider remarks) 'actiones augendi,' and the three *ἀποστάσεις* and four *ὅροι* are only *μῆκος*, *πλάτος* and *βάθος* with their limits. As for *πάντα*, so comprehensive a word might certainly include numbers, and numbers, too, in which 4 and 3 are present: but it will be shewn in Part ii § 4 that *πάντα* has not in point of fact the meaning required, but another and very different meaning.

We conclude therefore that the grammatical antecedent to *ων* is *ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων*, and I think no one will deny that the relative is most obviously and naturally connected with these words. It follows that *ὁμοιούντων—φθινόντων* are 'some numbers, two of which are the numbers 4 and 3.' We have thus obtained two of the numbers which are to be cubed, viz. 4 and 3. It is however clear from the partitive genitive *ὧν* that 4 and 3 are not the only numbers: there must be at least one more. What the missing number is, Plato does not tell us, but as the numbers 4 and 3 are 'married with 5' (*πεμπάδι συζυγείς*) in the second half of this sentence, and as we are so frequently warned by the ancients of the presence of the Pythagorean triangle throughout this passage, we may fairly suppose that the number we are looking for is the number of the hypotenuse, viz. 5. That this supposition is right, the sequel will shew.

There remains the question 'Why are the numbers 3, 4, and 5 said to make like and unlike, wax and wane?' The full explanation of these words belongs to Part ii, and will be given there. But *ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων* has also an arithmetical meaning in the Platonic number, in addition to its real or philosophical significance, and that meaning should here be explained. The numbers 3, 4, and 5 are said to 'make like



and unlike' both for other reasons, as will afterwards be pointed out, and also in view of the use which is presently made of them to construct the two harmonies in the latter half of the number. It will be shewn in § 2 that these harmonies are built up out of the numbers 3, 4, and 5, by multiplying them together, and then multiplying the product three times by itself. Nothing is contained in either of the two harmonies except what 3, 4, and 5 supply. It is, in short, the numbers 3, 4, and 5 that *make* the two harmonies. Now the first harmony, as we shall see, is the square of 3600, and square numbers, according to the ancients, were *ὁμοιοί*. The second harmony is  $4800 \times 2700$ , and oblong numbers were considered *ἀνόμοιοι*. See Iamblichus in *Nic. Intr. Ar.* p. 82 Pistelli οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ ταυτοὺς τε καὶ ὁμοίους αὐτοὺς (i.e. τοὺς τετραγώνους) ἐκάλουν διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰς πλευράς τε καὶ γωνίας ὁμοιότητα καὶ ἰσότητα, ἀνομοίους δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου καὶ θατέρους τοὺς ἑτερομήκεις, and Nicomachus himself *Intr. Ar.* pp. 132 ff. Ast<sup>1</sup>. The numbers 3, 4, and 5 are therefore called *ὁμοιοῦντές τε καὶ ἀνομοιοῦντες* in connexion with the arithmetical side of the Platonic Number, because they produce the square and the oblong which express the γεωμετρικὸς ἀριθμὸς in its twofold aspect, first as ὁμοιος and afterwards as ἀνόμοιος. This is the arithmetical significance of ὁμοιοῦντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιοῦντων in this passage: but the words have an even wider significance as a description of the Pythagorean 'cosmic triangle' (Proclus in *remp.* II pp. 45. 23 Kroll): see Part II § 5. To the same section of Part II I defer my account of αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων, because these words have no technical arithmetical meaning, but merely describe the sides of the Pythagorean triangle in its cosmic and creative aspects.

I accordingly believe that the περίοδος of the ἀνθρώπειον γεννητόν was obtained by Plato, following of course the Pythagoreans, by adding together the cubes of the three sides of the 'zoogonic triangle':  $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216$ . The justification for adding the cubes together is that the numbers are said to be *contained* in the total (ἐν ᾧ πρῶτω κτλ.).

The result which we have reached is supported by the evidence of Aristotle, who gives us to understand that the total number of this section is 216: see Part III of this Appendix. It is also in exact correspondence with Aristides Quintilianus, who informs us, in a passage where he alludes expressly to the Platonic Number, that the number 216 is nearly equivalent to 'the number of the seven months' child,' and can be reached by adding together the cubes of the sides of the Pythagorean triangle, precisely as Plato does here: ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστην κατὰ βάθος αὐξήσαιμεν (βάθος γὰρ ἡ σώματος φύσις) ποιήσαιμεν ἂν τὸν διακόσια δεκαεξί, ἰσάριθμον ὄντα σύνεγγυς τῷ τῶν ἐπταμήνων (*de mus.* III p. 151 Meibom, 89 Jahn).

The words πάντα προσήγορα καὶ ῥητὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα ἀπέφηναν can be

<sup>1</sup> That the habit of calling square numbers *ὁμοιοί* and oblong numbers *ἀνόμοιοι* was not merely a later development of Pythagoreanism, is expressly stated by Iamblichus (*ol παλαιοί*), and the same

inference may be drawn from the Pythagorean συστοιχία (Arist. *Met.* A 5. 986<sup>a</sup> 22 ff.), in which τετράγωνον appears on the same side as πέρασ, ἀγαθόν etc., and ἑτερόμηκες along with ἄπειρον, κακόν etc.

abundantly illustrated from Pythagorean writings, and will be more conveniently discussed in Part ii.

I conclude<sup>1</sup> that the arithmetical meaning of section B is

$$3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216.$$

<sup>1</sup> In my former treatise on the Number, I explained section B in a different way (*The Number of Plato*, pp. 33—35), taking the three ἀποστάσεις as denoting 3, 4, and 5. Except as regards αὐξήσεις δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστεύμεναι, the explanation which I now offer is new, so far as I know. That the ἀποστάσεις are length, breadth, and thickness, and not what I formerly supposed them to be, nor anything else except length, breadth, and thickness, seems to me proved by the evidence of Aristotle as well as the other authorities quoted above, and is in harmony with the passage cited from *Laws* 894 A. Other attempts at solving the Number have usually supposed that the ὅροι denote terms in a numerical progression, and ἀποστάσεις the intervals between them. The words ὅροι and ἀποστάσεις could of course bear such an interpretation: but what can the ὅροι be? According to Proclus and Hermann, they are 27, 36, 48 and 64; according to Schneider, 8, 12, 18, 27. I cannot see that Plato furnishes any hints to justify us in selecting either of these progressions, and nothing can be made of them without having recourse to arbitrary calculations for which there is no authority in Plato's language; whereas it is clear from ὡν ἐπίτριστος πρῶτον κτλ. that 3 and 4, and at least one other number, which πεμπάδι συνυγείναι suggests is 5, are present in section B. With regard to ὁμοιούντων κτλ., it is to be noted that Proclus makes ὁμοιούντες=square or cubic numbers, viz. in this case 27 and 64, αὐξόντες=ισάκεις ἴσοι μειζονάκεις, in this case  $3 \times 3 \times 4 = 36$ , and φθίνοντες=ισάκεις ἴσοι ἐλασσονάκεις viz.  $4 \times 4 \times 3 = 48$ . I think it is clear that this explanation is devised by Proclus (or those whom he is here following) to suit his hypothesis about the ὅροι: at all events I have found no trace of any such explanation in Theo, Nicomachus, Iamblichus, the *Theologumena Arithmetica*, or any other ancient writings. Cf. Hultsch in Kroll l.c. p. 402. According to Schneider

and Donaldson, ὁμοιούντες is equivalent to ὅμοιοι, and means numbers "whose factors are in the same ratio...i.e. as length to length, so breadth to breadth" (Donaldson l.c.), e.g. 8 and 27, ἀνομοιούντες equivalent to ἀνόμοιοι or numbers whose factors are not in the same ratio, e.g. 12 and 18; while αὐξόντες is equivalent to ὑπερτελείς, i.e. numbers whose 'parts' or measuring numbers make up a sum exceeding the numbers themselves (see Nicom. *Introd. Ar.* pp. 87 ff. Ast), e.g. 12 and 18, and φθίνοντες to ἐλλιπεῖς, i.e. numbers which are larger than the sum of their 'parts,' e.g. 8 and 27. But the identification is purely speculative, and no proof of it is offered. It has also been suggested that since ὅμοιοι and ἀνόμοιοι were sometimes used for 'square' and 'oblong' numbers (Iambl. *in Nic.* p. 82 ed. Pistelli), ὁμοιούντες and ἀνομοιούντες may be odd and even numbers, because according to the Pythagoreans "the odd numbers produce the series of squares, and the even numbers the series of oblongs," and further that αὐξόντων καὶ φθίνόντων may be "only another way of describing the antithesis odd and even" (Mr. Monro in *J. of Ph.* VIII p. 278). This too is the merest conjecture. There are other suggestions no less speculative: but these will suffice. It should be mentioned, in conclusion, that 216 is the number at which Schneider, Donaldson (who follows Schneider closely) and Hultsch have also arrived, although they reach it by multiplying  $2^3$  and  $3^3$ , and not by adding  $3^3$ ,  $4^3$ , and  $5^3$ . Those who wish to study the explanations of these writers will find them in the works referred to at the beginning of this Appendix. Hultsch is more interested in the mathematics than in the Greek; but Schneider, here as always, studies the language carefully, although he himself recognises that in order to reach his conclusion he has to strain the meaning of some words, and introduce conjectural steps for which the language gives us no sanction or authority.

## § 2.

ὧν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν—ἐκατὸν δὲ κύβων τριάδος.

As before, I begin by giving a literal translation. 'Of which the numbers 4, 3, married with 5, furnish two harmonies when thrice increased, the one equal an equal number of times, so many times 100, the other of equal length one way, but oblong—on the one side of 100 squares rising from rational diameters of five diminished by one each, or if from irrational diameters, by two; on the other, of 100 cubes of 3.'

Let us now examine the individual words, beginning with ὧν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν.

What is ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν? About the meaning of this phrase there can no longer be any doubt, if we put any faith in the repeated statements of ancient writers on arithmetic and mathematics. The words denote, as Mr Monro expresses it (*Cl. Rev.* l.c.) "the ratio 4 : 3 in its lowest terms (the actual numbers 4 and 3)." See Theo Smyrnaeus *Expos. rerum math. ad legendum Platonem utilium* pp. 80 f. ed. Hiller πάντων δὲ τῶν κατ' εἶδος εἰρημένων λόγων οἱ ἐν ἐλαχίστοις καὶ πρώτοις πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀριθμοῖς ὄντες καθ' ἕκαστον πρότεροι λέγονται τῶν τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ἔχόντων καὶ πυθμένες τῶν ὁμοειδῶν· οἷον διπλασίων μὲν λόγων πρότερος καὶ πυθμὴν ὁ τῶν β' πρὸς ἐν· μετὰ γὰρ τοῦτον ἐν μείζοσι καὶ συνθέτοις ἀριθμοῖς λόγοι εἰσὶ διπλασίοι, ὁ τῶν δ' πρὸς τὰ β' καὶ τῶν ε' πρὸς τὰ γ' καὶ ὁμοίως ἐπ' ἄπειρον. τριπλασίων δὲ λόγων πρότερος καὶ πυθμὴν ὁ τῶν γ' πρὸς τὸ ἐν· οἱ δὲ αἰὲ ἐν μείζοσι καὶ συνθέτοις ἀριθμοῖς ἐπ' ἄπειρον προάγουσιν. ὥσαύτως δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων πολλαπλασίων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιμορίοις. ἡμιολίων μὲν λόγων πρότερος καὶ πυθμὴν ὁ τῶν γ' πρὸς τὰ β', ἐπιτρίτων δὲ ὁ τῶν δ' πρὸς γ', καὶ ἐπιτετάρτων ὁ τῶν ε' πρὸς δ'· οἱ δὲ ἐν μείζοσιν ὅροις καὶ συνθέτοις πάλιν ἄπειροι τὸ πλήθος. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ θεωρεῖται καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων. Thus for example 4 : 3 is the πυθμὴν of 8 : 6, 12 : 9, 16 : 12, and so on : and Plato calls it the ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν because it is the πυθμὴν<sup>1</sup> of all ἐπίτριτοι λόγοι : cf. the expression ὁ ἐπόγδοος πυθμὴν in Theo p. 70. With Theo's evidence Nicomachus *Introd. Ar.* II p. 134 is in exact correspondence, as Mr Monro has shewn (*Cl. Rev.* VI pp. 243 f.); and Proclus takes the same view : see his commentary II p. 37 [ἐστὶν οὖν οὗτος] ὁ ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν γ' καὶ δ'. We may therefore take it as certain that the ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν is the numbers 4 and 3, forming two of the three sides of the Pythagorean triangle. ὧν, as we have seen, has for its antecedent ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων, which we have already identified with the numbers 3, 4, 5.

Of these three numbers, viz. 3, 4, 5, Plato bids us take 3, 4, and 'couple' or 'marry' them with 5. So far as I can discover, the word συζεύγνυμι had not either in Plato's time, or later, any fixed and stereotyped mathematical meaning, and συζυγείς in this passage is obviously

<sup>1</sup> For πυθμὴν cf. also Iambl. in *Nic. Ar.* ed. Pistelli pp. 38 ff., 42 f., 47 f., 64, 66 (πυθμὴν δὲ ἐπιτρίτων ὁ δ' πρὸς γ' ἐστίν), 67 et al. The other explanations which

I originally offered of ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν need not be mentioned. They have been shewn by Mr Monro, among others, to be untenable : see *Cl. Rev.* VI pp. 153, 243.



in the first instance a metaphor from marriage, not inappropriate in connexion with a number which is 'lord of better and worse births': cf. Nicolaus ap. Proclus *in remp.* II p. 26 Kroll  $\omega\varsigma \epsilon\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \alpha\rho\iota\theta\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma \alpha\iota \pi\omicron\iota\alpha\iota \sigma\upsilon\zeta\epsilon\upsilon\zeta\epsilon\iota\varsigma \delta\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \eta \alpha\nu\omicron\mu\omicron\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \alpha\pi\omicron\tau\epsilon\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\nu \tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma \epsilon\acute{\xi} \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\omega\nu, \omicron\upsilon\tau\omega \kappa\alpha\iota \epsilon\nu \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma \beta\iota\omicron\iota\varsigma$ . But how is the metaphor to be interpreted? If  $\sigma\upsilon\zeta\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  has no arithmetical meaning in this passage, the numbers 3, 4, 5 will stand side by side like lonely celibates throughout all time, and the riddle can never be solved. If it has an arithmetical meaning, the reference must be either to addition or to multiplication. We may fairly say that the process of multiplication is at least as readily suggested by Plato's metaphor as the process of addition, and in point of fact the Pythagoreans frequently denoted marriage by the number 6, because, among other reasons, 6 is produced by multiplying together the first male number, i.e. 3, and the first female number<sup>1</sup>, i.e. 2. It is therefore permissible to hold (with Schneider and others) that  $\sigma\upsilon\zeta\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  refers to multiplication, and as it has been asserted that "there is no parallel to lead us to take  $\sigma\upsilon\zeta\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  to mean multiplied" (*Cl. Rev.* l.c. p. 154), I may mention that Proclus uses the word with this meaning<sup>2</sup>.

On this view  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma \pi\upsilon\theta\mu\eta\nu \pi\epsilon\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota \sigma\upsilon\zeta\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  cannot mean anything except  $4 \times 3 \times 5 = 60$ . Every other possibility is excluded. We cannot interpret the phrase as  $(4 + 3) \times 5$ , for  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma \pi\upsilon\theta\mu\eta\nu$  is not 4 *plus* 3, but only 4, 3, and there is nothing in the Greek to justify the addition, nor yet as  $(4 \times 5) + (3 \times 5)$ , for here again we introduce a *plus* without any warrant from the language. If on the other hand we refuse to connect the numbers in any way whatever, and hold that if  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma \pi\upsilon\theta\mu\eta\nu$  means 4, 3,  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma \pi\upsilon\theta\mu\eta\nu \pi\epsilon\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota \sigma\upsilon\zeta\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  means 9, 8 or 20, 15 and nothing more, the marriage is either altogether sterile, or else it produces, not a number, but only a ratio: whereas Plato himself expressly describes the issue of his calculations not as a ratio, but as a number ( $\xi\acute{\nu}\mu\pi\alpha\varsigma \delta\epsilon \omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma, \alpha\rho\iota\theta\mu\omicron\varsigma \gamma\epsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\rho\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  546c). Those who, like Hultsch, suppose that  $\sigma\upsilon\zeta\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  denotes addition, and make the whole clause equivalent to  $3 + 4 + 5$ , justly extend the arithmetical process to the two numbers of the  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma \pi\upsilon\theta\mu\eta\nu$ : and if multiplication is intended, we are equally justified in multiplying all three numbers together. The 'coupling' of 3, 4, 5 is simply  $3 \times 4 \times 5$ .

The words  $\epsilon\pi\acute{\iota}\tau\upsilon\iota\tau\omicron\varsigma \pi\upsilon\theta\mu\eta\nu \pi\epsilon\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta\iota \sigma\upsilon\zeta\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  therefore mean that 3, 4 and 5 are to be multiplied together.  $3 \times 4 \times 5 = 60$ .

<sup>1</sup> See Iambl. *in Nic. Ar.* p. 34. 20 Pistelli, Aristid. Quint. I 151 Meibom, Clem. Alex. *Strom.* V 14. 137 B, VI 16. 365 A Migne, and the *Theolog. Ar.* p. 33 Ast, et al. No doubt the number 5 could also bear the same meaning (see Zeller<sup>3</sup> I p. 390 n.), but I have found many more examples of 6 than of 5.

<sup>2</sup> See *in remp.* II p. 54. 2 ff. ed. Kroll,  $\eta \delta' \omicron\upsilon\nu \epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\nu\tau\alpha\varsigma \tau\omega \epsilon\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota\pi\omicron\nu\tau\iota \alpha\rho\iota\theta\mu\omega \pi\rho\omicron\varsigma \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\nu \kappa\alpha\tau\alpha \tau\omicron\nu \alpha\pi\omicron \tau\eta\varsigma \pi\epsilon\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\delta\omicron\varsigma \alpha\rho\iota\theta\mu\omicron\nu \sigma\upsilon\zeta\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma \alpha \pi\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota \tau\eta\nu \alpha\pi\omicron \gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma \epsilon\pi\acute{\iota} \gamma\epsilon\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\delta\omicron\delta\omicron\nu$ , i.e. 100 coupled with

the number which falls short of it by 5<sup>2</sup> makes the cycle from birth to birth. That cycle, according to Proclus, is 7500 (ib. p. 38); and  $100 \times (100 - 25 =) 75 = 7500$ . It is right to state that this passage had not been fully published when Mr Monro wrote the words quoted above. Cf. also Demetrius ap. Proclus ib. p. 23. 14 ff. The constant employment of  $\omicron\iota \gamma\epsilon\nu\omicron\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\iota \epsilon\acute{\xi}$  in Euclid (e.g. VII 16 ff.) to denote numbers produced by multiplication out of other numbers involves the same idea as  $\sigma\upsilon\zeta\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\iota\varsigma$  here.

Let us now proceed to *τρίς αὐξηθεῖς*. The literal translation is 'thrice increased,' and, as far as concerns the Greek, the words might refer either to three additions, or to three multiplications, and the addenda, or multipliers, might be either the number which has to be increased, that is, 60, or any other number or numbers whatsoever<sup>1</sup>. But as we have seen that *αὐξήσεις* in section B refers to multiplications and not additions, it is the most natural and obvious course to give *αὐξηθεῖς* the same meaning here, and as Plato does not specify any multiplier, the simplest inference from his silence is that the multiplier is the same as the multiplicand, that is to say, 60. And  $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 60 = 12,960,000$ .

At this stage it becomes necessary to discuss the arguments which have been advanced in favour of a different explanation of *τρίς αὐξηθεῖς*, and against the explanation which was first proposed in my *Number of Plato* pp. 25—28. The discussion will bring to light several points which will, I hope, convince the reader, as they have completely convinced me, that *τρίς αὐξηθεῖς* means 'three times multiplied by itself,' and cannot possibly mean anything else in the context where it occurs.

By every writer whom I have read, the words are taken as meaning cubed, or else the multiplication of some three factors: Weber, however, as I learn from Mr Monro<sup>2</sup>, saw this much—that the words denote three separate processes of multiplication. I may be permitted to take Mr Monro and Dr Gow as types. The former observes<sup>3</sup>: "The phrase *τρίς αὐξηθεῖς* may be translated 'raised to the third dimension,' since it may imply either 'solid' numbers (products of three factors) in general, or the cube, which is the solid number *par excellence*. For the former use, see *Rep.* 528 B; for the latter, *Rep.* 587 D. Aristotle paraphrases *τρίς αὐξηθεῖς* by the words *ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τοῦτου γένηται στερεός*." In Dr Gow's article<sup>4</sup> we read: "*στερεός*" (sc. in the passage quoted from Aristotle in Part iii of this Appendix) "seems to be equivalent to and explanatory of *τρίς αὐξηθεῖς* (cf. *Plato Rep.* vii 528 B)." That is, they would regard 60 *τρίς αὐξηθεῖς*—granted that *ἐπίτριτος πύθμην πεμπάδι συζυγείς* means 60—as equivalent to 60 multiplied *twice*, and not *thrice*, by itself. I say '*would* regard,' because Dr Gow *does* take *τρίς αὐξηθεῖς* as meaning merely the multiplication of *three* numbers, which in this case, he thinks, are different from one another (viz. 15, 20, 25), but Mr Monro admits<sup>5</sup>, and Dr Gow would not deny, that the three factors *may* be identical. The fact is *αὐξηθεῖς* means simply 'multiplied,' and, if the multiplier is not otherwise stated, it can only be the multiplicand.

In support of their explanation these two scholars quote, in the first place, the well-known passage in which Aristotle refers to Plato's

<sup>1</sup> The phrase cannot however bear Hultsch's interpretation 'multiplied by three,' for a number which is multiplied by 3 does not receive three increases, but only one, or, if we suppose that the increase means addition, two. Thus  $60 \times 3$  (one increase of 60) =  $180 = 60 + 60 + 60$  (two increases of 60). The Greek for

'multiplied by 3,' if we choose the verb *αὐξάνω*, would be *τριάδι αὐξηθεῖς*: cf. *τριάδι αὐξηθῆ* Nicom. *Intr. Ar.* p. 127 Ast and *ἐξάδι αὐξηθεῖς Theol. Ar.* p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *J. of Ph.* viii p. 284.

<sup>3</sup> *l.c.* p. 280.

<sup>4</sup> *J. of Ph.* xii p. 93.

<sup>5</sup> *l.c.* p. 280.

Number (*Pol.* E 12. 1316<sup>a</sup> 4 ff.). This passage of the *Politics* is so important for the correct understanding of the whole of Plato's Number that I have found it necessary to devote a separate division of this Appendix to its explanation. In Part iii I have, as I believe, shewn that the words quoted by Mr Monro do not paraphrase *τρίς αὐξηθείς* at all, but tell us what Aristotle believed to be the number of the section which I have called B. I will therefore ask the reader to defer his judgment on the Aristotelian passage till he has read Part iii.

In the second place, the above-named writers refer to *Republic* VII 528 B and IX 587 D. I cite these two passages in full. The first is as follows: *μετὰ ἐπίπεδον, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ἐν περιφορᾷ ὃν ἤδη στερεὸν λαβόντες, πρὶν αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ λαβεῖν. ὁρθῶς δὲ ἔχει ἐξῆς μετὰ δευτέραν αὔξην τρίτην λαμβάνειν. ἔστι δέ που τοῦτο περὶ τὴν τῶν κύβων αὔξην καὶ τὸ βάθους μετέχον* (528 B). The second runs thus: *κατὰ δὲ δύναμιν καὶ τρίτην αὔξην δῆλον δὴ ἀπόστασιν ὅσῃν ἀφαστηκῶς γίνεται* (587 D).

I have fully commented on these passages where they occur, but it may be convenient once more to recapitulate my explanation of *τρίτη αὔξη* in each of these places. The first passage is where Plato says that the study of solids by themselves should precede the study of solids *ἐν περιφορᾷ*, i.e. astronomy: after the second 'increase,' says Plato, we ought to take the third. What does this mean? A point (= unity) has no 'increase': a line (say 3) has one: a rectangle (say  $3 \times 4$ ) has two (*δευτέρα αὔξη*): a solid figure (say  $3 \times 4 \times 5$ ) has three. A solid figure is therefore rightly said to be or have *τρίτη αὔξη*, because your reckoning begins from the point, which has no increase. The second passage deals with a case, not of solids in general, but of cubes. The number in question is 9—which is (says Plato) the distance separating the tyrant from *ἀληθὴς ἡδονή*, measured *ἀριθμῶ* or *κατὰ τὸν τοῦ μήκους ἀριθμὸν*, i.e. "numero seu secundum longitudinem, numerus enim omnis quatenus monadibus constat, lineae instar habendus" (Schneider III p. lxxxv): 'and how far removed the tyrant is according to the square and the third increase, is manifest.' But the third increase of what? Not of 9 (though belonging to 9), for 9 is itself already one increase, viz. of unity—but the third increase of unity in that special case where 9 is its first increase. 'The first increase (viz. of the unit or point) was *ὁ τοῦ μήκους ἀριθμός*, i.e. in this case ( $1 \times 9 =$ ) 9: by the second-and-third increases on the same scale we obtain  $9 \times 9$  (second increase or *δύναμις*)  $\times 9$  (third increase) = 729' (*n. ad loc.*). Both in 528 B and 587 D it is *unity* or the *point* which suffers a third increase: in Plato's number it is not unity, but 60, and that makes all the difference. Cf. Pt iii.

Let us consider for a moment what is the meaning of the Greek word *αὔξη* or *αὔξεις*. Aristotle<sup>1</sup> distinguishes *γένεσις* from *αὔξεις* in these words: *φανερὸν δὴ—ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἡ αὔξεις μεταβολὴ ἐκ δυνάμει μεγέθους, ἐντελεχείᾳ δὲ μηδὲν ἔχοντος μέγεθος...ἔτι δὲ ἡ γε τοιαύτη μεταβολὴ οὐκ αὐξήσεως ἴδιος ἀλλὰ γενέσεως: ἡ γὰρ αὔξησις ἔστι τοῦ ἐνυπάρχοντος μεγέθους ἐπίδοσις, ἡ δὲ φθίσις μείωσις*. Compare with this another passage of the same treatise<sup>2</sup>: *ἐν μὲν γὰρ τῷ γίγνεσθαι τι*

<sup>1</sup> *De Gen. et Corr.* A 5. 320<sup>b</sup> 25 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *ib.* 321<sup>a</sup> 22 ff.



ἀπλῶς ἢ φθείρεσθαι οὐχ ὑπομένει, ἐν δὲ τῷ ἀλλοιοῦσθαι ἢ αὐξάνεσθαι ἢ φθίνειν ὑπομένει τὸ αὐτὸ τὸ αὐξανόμενον ἢ ἀλλοιούμενον· ἀλλ' ἐνθα μὲν τὸ πάθος, ἐνθα δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τὸ αὐτὸ οὐ μένει. In other words, the process which calls a thing into being out of nothing is ἀπλῆ γένεσις, not αὐξησις: in αὐξησις the original size is not lost, but increased. Now apply this to the number 60. Increased once, what does it become? Certainly not 60, which it already is: else what of the words τοῦ ἐνυπάρχοντος ἐπίδοσις, and ὑπομένει τὸ αὐτὸ τὸ αὐξανόμενον,... ἐνθα δὲ τὸ μέγεθος τὸ αὐτὸ οὐ μένει? Does the process of αὐξησις, when applied to a number, begin by putting it to flight, and afterwards lure it back again? 60 once 'increased' (i.e. in this particular passage, as we have seen, multiplied by itself) is  $60 \times 60$ ; twice 'increased' it is  $60 \times 60 \times 60$ ; thrice 'increased' it is  $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 60$ . Apply the reverse process to  $60^3$ , and the illogical nature of the traditional interpretation will at once appear. If  $60^3$  is 60 *three* times 'increased,' then  $60^2$  is 60 *twice* 'increased,' 60 is 60 *once* increased, and nothing—or rather, unity, which is the point<sup>1</sup>,—is 60. When Aristotle says, in the passage referred to by Mr Monro, ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τούτου γένηται στερεός he means<sup>2</sup> that 6, which has already one increase, by getting *two* more becomes 216. The number 216 we may then call either an ἀριθμὸς τρις ἡξημένος (cf. *Epin.* 990 D), i.e. a number which is thrice increased (sc. from unity, by means of 6), or we may call it ὁ ἐξ ἀριθμὸς δις ἡξημένος, because ἐξ δις αὐξηθεὶς produces it.

For my own part, I am unable to see any way of escape from these arguments, but Mr Monro complains of "the want of any evidence" that αὐξη in the phrase τρίτη αὐξη originally referred to the increase of the unit or point<sup>3</sup>. To this criticism I would make the following reply.

The expression τρίτη αὐξη is extremely rare, occurring only twice in Plato, and not at all, I believe, in Aristotle. I have not found it in later Greek writers on mathematics. But Plato uses also δευτέρα αὐξη of plane surfaces, and if we compare 528 B ὁρθῶς δὲ ἔχει ἐξῆς μετὰ δευτέραν αὐξην τρίτην λαμβάνειν with 526 C δεύτερον δὲ τὸ ἐχόμενον τούτου σκεψόμεθα ἄρα τι προσήκει ἡμῖν, it is clear that he also regarded numbers or lines as the πρώτη αὐξη. Now there can be no question that the word αὐξη in each of these phrases bears some meaning, and the obvious and natural meaning is 'increase.' But 'increase' must be increase of something, and we are surely bound to ask 'What is that something which is increased first to a line, second to a plane, and thirdly to a solid?' The *non possumus* attitude should not be adopted till we have tried and failed. The only possible and at the same time perfectly satisfactory answer is 'the unit or point,' for number on the one hand is a σύστημα μονάδων (VII 525 A n.), and the Pythagoreans, to whom the expression τρίτη αὐξη is surely due, 'built up the line out of points, the plane out of lines, and the solid out of planes' (see App. II to Book VII, where the evidence is cited, and cf. also Part II § 4). The origin which I

<sup>1</sup> The Greeks did not regard 'nought' as a number and had no symbol for it: see Cantor *Vorlesungen zur Gesch. der Mathem.* p. 144.

<sup>2</sup> It will be shewn in Pt III that ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τούτου is 6.

<sup>3</sup> *Cl. Rev.* l.c. pp. 154, 242.

suggest for the phrase is therefore in harmony both with Greek linguistic usage and with the theories of the school to which above all others Plato confesses his obligations in the domain of mathematics (see on VII 530D, E and cf. also App. II to Book VII), and no rival interpretation is offered either by Mr Monro, or, so far as I am aware, by any other critic.

Finally, my interpretation of *τρίς ἀξηθείς* has been admitted to be "logical, but it is not" says Mr Monro (*Cl. Rev.* l.c. p. 154) "in accordance with the *usus loquendi*, which in this and many similar cases follows the inclusive method of reckoning." In support of this allegation Mr Monro quotes a passage from Euclid IX 8 ἐὰν ἀπὸ μονάδος ὅποσοιοῦν ἀριθμοὶ ἐξῆς ἀνάλογον ᾧσιν, ὁ μὲν τρίτος ἀπὸ τῆς μονάδος τετράγωνος ἔσται κτλ., and refers to a similar passage in Archimedes, quoted by Nesselmann, *Alg. d. Griechen* p. 124 n. 16. "On the latter of these" continues Mr Monro "Nesselmann remarks: 'Es ist bei diesem Satze nur zu bedenken, dass die Griechen bei Angaben von Abständen beide Grenzen mitzählen' (*Algebra d. Griechen* p. 125, cp. p. 161)." I have no fault to find with Nesselmann, whose remarks are perfectly true and relevant in both the places cited by Mr Monro, and in the fullest harmony, so far as they go, with my explanation of *τρίς ἀξηθείς*. My only objection is to the inference which Mr Monro on his own account draws from this and similar passages in Greek. That inference will claim our attention presently: but first it is necessary to explain what Euclid means<sup>1</sup>.

The meaning is as follows. If, for example, we take the series

1, 60, 3600, 216000 etc.,

in which  $1 : 60 :: 60 : 3600 :: 3600 : 216000$  etc.<sup>2</sup>, then the *third number*—it will be admitted that ἀριθμός is understood with τρίτος—from 1 will be a square. (Here it is of course  $60^2$ .) The expression 'third number from 1' is doubtless, as Mr Monro thinks, somewhat illogical, for one cannot be the first number from itself: and it is perfectly true that 'this is only one of many examples of the *usus loquendi*' of the Greek language.

But what inference does Mr Monro draw from the usage in question? Because the third *number* from one is a square, he seems to infer that the third *increase* is also a square. This is the only way in which I can interpret the words: "*We may feel sure, I think, that the 'third increase' would naturally mean the third term in the increasing series rather than the fourth.*" (The italics are mine.) Well, the increasing series is 1, 60,  $60^2$ , and the third term in the series is  $60^2$ , so that according to Mr Monro's view  $60^2$  is a *τρίτη ἀύξη*. This no one believes. 'It is not in accordance with the *usus loquendi*,' not to speak of logic.

My reviewer's inference from the idiom to which he calls attention is therefore unwarranted and fallacious. The fact is, of course, that the

<sup>1</sup> The passage of Archimedes is, as Mr Monro remarks, similar to that from Euclid; and what I say of the one applies equally to the other.

<sup>2</sup> That Euclid regards the increasing

series as beginning with unity, and not with the second number, is clear from the words with which he begins his demonstration: ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἐστὶν ὡς ἡ μονὰς πρὸς τὸν Α, οὕτως ὁ Α πρὸς τὸν Β κτλ.

'third increase' meant to the Greeks, as it means to us, the *fourth* term in the increasing series, and *not* the third. Thus in the increasing series 1, 60, 3600, 216000, the fourth term, viz. 216000 or  $60 \times 60 \times 60$ , is the 'third increase,' and in the increasing series which is involved in the words ὦν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν πεμπάδι συζυγείς τρις αὐξηθείς, that is to say,

$$60, 3600, 216000, 12,960,000,$$

the 'third increase' is also the fourth term viz. 12,960,000 or  $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 60$  i.e. 60 τρις αὐξηθείς. So far am I from interpreting τρις αὐξηθείς differently from τρίτη αὐξη, as has been asserted by Mr Monro (l.c. p. 154)<sup>1</sup>.

Our conclusion therefore is that ὦν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν πεμπάδι συζυγείς τρις αὐξηθείς means

$$60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 60 = 12,960,000.$$

This number, according to Plato, 'furnishes two harmonies' (δύο ἀρμονίας παρέχεται). What does Plato mean by 'furnishes'? Does he mean 'furnishes of itself,' or 'furnishes after it has been submitted to various arithmetical operations'? παρέχεσθαι elsewhere bears the meaning 'de suo praeberē' (IV 421 D n.), and we are not justified in supplying any new arithmetical processes out of our own imaginations, in the absence of any hint contained in the Greek<sup>2</sup>. No such hint is given: so that παρέχεται can only mean 'furnishes of itself.' Now in what sense can a number be said to furnish of itself a square and an oblong? The natural and obvious answer is 'When it can be resolved both into a square and into an oblong'<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The reason why τρις αὐξηθείς has been misunderstood so long is due in part to our habit of expressing Plato's mathematics in the technical language of a later generation. Mr Monro for example calls it a paradox to hold "that τρις αὐξηθείς means 'raised to the fourth power,' while τρίτη αὐξη denotes the third power" (*Cl. Rev.* l.c. p. 242). The 'paradox' becomes a truism if we say 'τρις αὐξηθείς means thrice increased, and τρίτη αὐξη denotes the third increase.' And this is in fact the only admissible way of stating the case. The mathematical terms 'fourth power' and 'third power' were unknown to Plato. 'Power' or δύναμις alone was sometimes used by him with the meaning which we express by 'second power' (*Rep.* IX 587 D), but he also employs δευτέρα αὐξη to convey that meaning (ib. VII 528 B), and δύναμις itself actually means 'root' in *Theaet.* 148 A. See Allman *Gk Geom.* p. 208 n. In the course of my commentary on the *Republic* I have had occasion to point out some instances in which the interpretation of Plato's philosophy has suffered by the employ-

ment of later philosophical formulae and phrases, and it is interesting and instructive to find so conspicuous an example of the same tendency in connexion with his mathematics.

<sup>2</sup> It is at this point where all the previous attempts to solve the Number with which I am acquainted have broken down. In order to make their conjectures about the ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν πεμπάδι συζυγείς τρις αὐξηθείς yield the two harmonies, the different writers on the subject have been compelled to interpret παρέχεται κτλ. as 'furnishes two harmonies after it has been submitted to other arithmetical processes,' and as no such processes are indicated by Plato, they have supplied the missing links by a variety of purely imaginative conjectures according to their different interpretations of the ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν etc. and of the harmonies which it provides.

<sup>3</sup> A less natural but still possible answer would be 'When it is produced by the sum of a square and an oblong.' But the sequel shews that this alternative is not intended here.



Let us now examine the words in which Plato describes the first harmony. It is, he tells us, 'equal an equal number of times, so many times 100.' But *how* many times 100? This time the Muses are only pretending to tease: for the answer is already in our hands. 12,960,000 furnishes (i.e., as we have seen, can be resolved into)  $3600^2$  (Fig. 3), and  $3600^2$  is 'equal an equal number of times, viz. *thirty-six* times 100,' so that *τοσαντάκις* means 36 times. It should be added that *ἴσος ἰσάκις* is regularly used of a square number by Greek writers on arithmetic<sup>1</sup>, and bears the same meaning in *Theat.* 147 E.

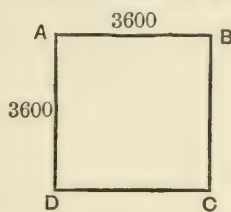


FIG. 3.

Why does Plato add the words *ἐκατὸν τοσαντάκις* when the square could be just as easily discovered without them? He wishes to call our attention to the fact that each of the sides of the square is a multiple of 100, just as each of the sides of the oblong is also a multiple of 100 (*ἐκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν—ἐκατὸν δὲ κύβων τριάδος*). We are thus encouraged to look for some special significance in his employment of that number. What the significance is will be explained in Part ii § 5. The number 36 had also a profound significance and value in Pythagorean embryology, theory of music, and physics (Part ii § 4), and Plato calls our attention to it all the more pointedly because he represents it as if it were an unknown quantity. In reality it is not unknown, for the antecedent of *τοσαντάκις* is easily discovered from the equation which Plato himself has already given us, viz.  $12,960,000 = \text{a square}^2$ .

<sup>1</sup> Euclid VII def. 11 τετράγωνος ἀριθμὸς ἐστὶν ὁ ἰσάκις ἴσος.

<sup>2</sup> In my *Number of Plato* p. 21 I explained *τοσαντάκις* in substantially the same way. It was urged against my explanation that *τοσαντάκις* ought not to refer to a number "discovered by an algebraic process from a subsequent statement" (*Cl. Rev.* l.c. p. 153. The italics are mine). The words in italics do not apply to the present solution, in which the Number is investigated in the order of the Greek, and not, as on the previous occasion, from the end upwards. I now interpret *τοσαντάκις* not by what follows, but by what precedes it, but I still regard the pronominal adverb as meaning 'so many times' i.e. 'a certain number of times.' The usage is just as natural in Greek as in English, and resembles the use of *τοσούτων* in *βέλτιον τὸδε τοῦδε καὶ νῦν καὶ τοσούτων Alc.* 1 108 E, *τόσση καὶ τόσση* in *Laus* 721 D and *τοσόσδε* in *Arist. Pol.* I 12. 1283<sup>a</sup> 8 *τοσόνδε γὰρ μέγεθος εἰ κρείττον τοσούδε, τοσόνδε δὲ ἴσον ὡς ἴσον*. In *Cl. Rev.* l.c. p. 241 I suggested that the whole phrase might be equivalent to *ἴσην ἰσάκις*

*ἐκατοντάκις*, the word *τοσαντάκις* having for its antecedent the square number which *ἴσην ἰσάκις* denotes, and I find that Schneider, Donaldson and apparently also Hultsch (ll.cc.) understand the expression in this way. In that case the first harmony will be  $360^2 \times 100$  instead of  $3600^2$ , and the total result remains the same. But the symmetry of the passage is impaired if we take this view: for just as in the case of the oblong it is not the area, but the sides which are multiplied by 100 (*ἐκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν—ἐκατὸν δὲ κύβων τριάδος*), so also here the number 100 should multiply the sides, and not the area, of the square. Mr Monro thinks that "the ordinary interpretation of *ἐκατὸν τοσαντάκις*—"a hundred taken *that* number of times viz. 100 times"—is unassailable" (l.c. p. 153). This view of the word is as old as Proclus (l.c. II p. 37), but is far from universally held, as I have just pointed out. I am by no means sure that Plato would have expressed the area of his square in this way: certainly in *Men.* 83 C he writes *τεττάρων γὰρ (not τέτταρα) τετράκις ἐστὶν ἑκκαίδεκα* (cf. *ib.* 82 C, 83 E), describing the

The first 'harmony' is therefore 3600<sup>2</sup>; what is the second?

Plato describes it in the words *τὴν δὲ ἰσομήκη μὲν τῇ, προμήκη δέ, ἑκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν ἀπὸ διαμέτρων ῥητῶν πεμπάδος, δεομένων ἐνὸς ἐκάστων, ἀρρήτων δὲ δυοῖν, ἑκατὸν δὲ κύβων τριάδος*, 'the other of equal length one way, but oblong; on the one side, of 100 squares of rational diameters of 5, diminished by one each, or if of irrational diameters, by two; on the other, of 100 cubes of 3.'

Let us examine the words one by one. It is clear that *τὴν δὲ ἰσομήκη μὲν τῇ, προμήκη δέ* means that the 'harmony' is expressed by means of a rectangle. "When the sides of the rectangle were expressed in numbers," says Allman<sup>1</sup>, "*προμήκης* was the general term for an oblong," and *προμήκης* is the term employed here. Compare the Platonic definition of an oblong number in *Theaet.* 148A *πλείων ἐλαττονάκης ἢ ἐλάττων πλεονάκης γίγνεται, μείζων δὲ καὶ ἐλάττων αἰὲν πλευρὰ αὐτὸν περιλαμβάνει*. The sense would have been complete if Plato had merely said *τὴν δὲ προμήκη*, but the addition of *ἰσομήκη μὲν τῇ* has a stylistic effect: the rectangle, like the square, is also *ἰσομήκης*, though only in one direction<sup>2</sup>.

We have now to interpret *ἑκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν ἀπὸ διαμέτρων ῥητῶν πεμπάδος, δεομένων ἐνὸς ἐκάστων, ἀρρήτων δὲ δυοῖν*<sup>3</sup>. These words express the first of the two sides of the rectangle: cf. *Critias* 118A *πρόμηκες δέ*

square as 'of' its sides, just as he usually describes an oblong (cf. *Critias* 118A *πρόμηκες δὲ πᾶν, ἐπὶ μὲν θάτερα τρισχιλίων σταδίῳ, κατὰ δὲ μέσον ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἄνω δισχιλίων*). If he had wished to say that the first harmony was 100 × 100, we should have expected *ἑκατὸν μονάδων τοσαντάκης*, so as to balance *ἑκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν* κτλ. below: or rather *ἑκατὸν μονάδων ἑκατοντάκης*, for Plato never uses *τρία τοσαντάκης, τέτταρα τοσαντάκης*, etc., but always *τρία τρίς, τέτταρα τετράκης* etc. It is incredible that a nation which had a word for 10,000 times had no word to express 100 times, although Mr Monro suggests that because *ἑκατοντάκης* does not appear to occur in classical literature, therefore it was unknown in Plato's day (*Cl. Rev.* l.c. p. 153). Over and above all these considerations, there is the indisputable fact that the harmony which Plato describes in the words *ἴσην ἰσάκης, ἑκατὸν τοσαντάκης* must be one which can be 'furnished' or 'yielded' by the *ἐπίτρετος πύθμην πεμπάδι συζυγείς τρίς αὐξηθεῖς*: and no theory about the area of that harmony has the smallest claim to be even considered unless it complies with this condition. Mr Monro himself makes no attempt to shew that the number 10,000 can be derived from the subject of *παρέχεται*, and every writer who has attempted this im-

possible task has been compelled to resort to purely conjectural and arbitrary processes for which there is not a shadow of justification in Plato's language.

<sup>1</sup> *Gk Geom.* p. 210 n.

<sup>2</sup> Hultsch (*Zeitschrift f. Math. etc.* l.c. p. 46), who agrees that the words denote a rectangle, changes *τῇ* into *πη*, but *πη* is not sufficiently precise. The order is of course intended to throw emphasis on *τῇ*, and at the same time to bring *ἰσομήκη* as near as possible to *ἴσην ἰσάκης*. *τῇ* is demonstrative as in *τῇ μὲν, τῇ δέ* (*Theaet.* 158E et al.), and the position of *μὲν* is as in X 614 D *ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἀνιέναι—ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου* and elsewhere. The usual theory seems to make *τῇ* mean the square: 'equal to the former in one dimension' (J. and C.). If Plato had intended such a meaning, he would certainly have written *ἐκείνη* and not *τῇ*. There should be no question that *τῇ* is adverbial.

<sup>3</sup> The full explanation of this passage is due to Barozzi (see Schneider l.c. p. xxv), but Proclus (l.c. II p. 38) understood 'the rational' and 'irrational diameters of five.' Barozzi's only error was that he added, instead of multiplying, the two sides of the oblong. I think Hultsch was the first to see that multiplication is intended, although he interprets the sides of the rectangle wrongly.

πάν, ἐπὶ μὲν θάτερα τρισχιλίων σταδίων, κατὰ δὲ μέσον ἀπὸ θαλάττης ἄνω δισχιλίων.

In the language of Greek arithmetic ἀριθμὸς ἀπό means 'square of': see for example Euclid VII 20 εἰν τρεῖς ἀριθμοὶ ἀνάλογον ὄσιν, ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν ἄκρων ἴσος ἔσται τῷ ἀπὸ τοῦ μέσου, i.e. for example, in the proportion  $2 : 4 :: 4 : 8$ , the product of 8 and  $2 = 4^2$ . The same use of ἀπό is found in Plato, e.g. *Men.* 85B ἀπὸ τῆς διαμέτρου ἄν, ὡς σὺ φῆς, ὦ παῖ Μένωνος, γίγναιτ' ἂν τὸ διπλάσιον χωρίον.

Consequently ἑκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν ἀπό is simply 'of one hundred squares of.'

What are διάμετροι ῥηταὶ πεμπαδος? The rational diameter of 5 is the nearest rational number to the real diameter of a square whose side is five<sup>1</sup>, i.e. to  $\sqrt{50}$  by Euclid I 47 (see Fig. 4). Now the nearest rational number to  $\sqrt{50}$  is  $7 = \sqrt{49}$ . Therefore ῥηταὶ διάμετροι πεμπαδος = 'sevens.' Thus the entire clause ἑκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν ἀπὸ διαμέτρων ῥητῶν πεμπαδος means 'of one hundred squares of 7,' i.e.

$$100 \times 49 = 4900.$$

It remains to explain δεομένων ἐνὸς ἐκάστων and ἀρρήτων δὲ δυοῖν.

δεομένων ἐνὸς ἐκάστων means 'wanting one each,' i.e. each ἀριθμὸς ἀπό or square being diminished by 1. The normal expression would be δεομένων ἐνὸς ἐκάστου 'wanting, each of them, 1,' but Plato allows ἐκάστου to assimilate itself to ἀριθμῶν.

We can now interpret the whole expression ἑκατὸν μὲν ἀριθμῶν ἀπὸ διαμέτρων ῥητῶν πεμπαδος, δεομένων ἐνὸς ἐκάστων. It is equivalent to

$$(7^2 \times 100) - (1 \times 100) = 4900 - 100 = 4800.$$

The words ἀρρήτων δὲ δυοῖν merely give another way of arriving at 4800. The translation is: 'or, if you take *irrational* diameters of 5,

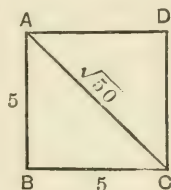


FIG. 4.

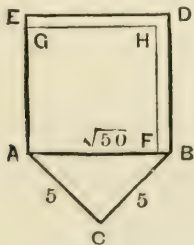


FIG. 5.

<sup>1</sup> For evidence of this see Theo Smyrnaeus, pp. 43ff. Cf. also Proclus *in remp.* II p. 38, Gow, *Gk Math.* p. 96 and Cantor *Gesch. d. Math.* p. 191. This is

the only passage in Plato where 'rational diameters' are mentioned. In *Theaet.* 147Dff. he merely distinguishes rational from irrational roots or surds: while a careful study of *Polit.* 266A shews that the passage is in no way parallel to ours except in the use of διάμετρος. But there is nothing harsh or difficult, from the Greek point of view, in the expression 'rational diameter.' The geometrical construction is very simple. See Fig. 5. Let  $AB = \sqrt{50}$ , i.e. the *irrational* diameter of 5, and consequently  $ABDE$  = the square of (ἀπὸ)  $AB = 50$ ; we have only to insert in  $ABDE$  the largest square of a rational number which it will contain, say  $AFHG$ , and  $AF$  will be the *rational* diameter of 5, i.e. *that part of the diameter of 5 which is rational.*



wanting 2 each.' The construction is  $\langle \alpha\pi\delta \rangle$  ἀρρήτων δὲ  $\langle \text{διαμέτρων δεο- μένων} \rangle$  δυοῖν  $\langle \text{ἐκάστων} \rangle$ . The meaning, expressed in figures, is: 'or, if you prefer it, of  $(\sqrt{50})^2 \times 100 - (2 \times 100) = 5000 - 200 = 4800$ .' δέ gives an alternative, as in μάλλον δέ = vel potius.

Consequently one of the two sides of the second harmony is 4800.

The words ἑκατὸν δὲ κύβων τριάδος 'on the other hand of 100 cubes of three' give us the second side, viz.  $100 \times 3^3 = 2700$ .

The second harmony is therefore

$$4800 \times 2700 \text{ (Fig. 6)} = 12,960,000.$$

And this harmony, like the first, is furnished by  $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 60$ , for  $60 \times 60 \times 60 \times 60 = 12,960,000$ .

The reason why the square and the rectangle are each called 'harmonies' will be explained in Part ii § 5.

The arithmetical solution of the Platonic Number is therefore

- (1)  $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216$ .
- (2)  $(3 \times 4 \times 5)^4 = 3600^2 = 4800 \times 2700$ .

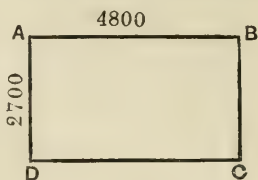


FIG. 6.

## PART ii.

### THE MEANING OF THE PLATONIC NUMBER.

I will now discuss the whole passage from beginning to end, and elucidate the meaning step by step.

#### § 1. *The point of view.*

Our city, says Plato, will be moved, when στάσις appears in the two higher classes. The Muses shall tell us how στάσις entered first. The *cause* of our city's being moved, they say, is that everything created is liable to destruction. The *process* of destruction (λύσις) is when the leaders of the city γένους ὑμετέρου εὐγονίας τε καὶ ἀφορίας—οὐδὲν μάλλον τεύχονται, ἀλλὰ πάρεσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ γεννήσουσι παιδᾶς ποτε οὐ δέον. Whenever, in ignorance of 'better and worse births,' οἱ φύλακες συνοικίζωσι νύμφας νυμφίοις παρὰ καιρόν, οὐκ εὐφρεῖς οὐδ' εὐτυχεῖς παῖδες ἔσσονται (546 D). In the next generation the dissolution has already gone so far that iron breeds with silver, and copper with gold.

Accordingly the λύσις of the ideal State is *the begetting of children when children ought not to be begotten*, or briefly, *the begetting of children out of season, or inopportunistly*.

This is quite in harmony with the stringent rules laid down by Plato in Book v on the subject of marriage and the procreation of children. Thus in 458 D the male and female archons are not allowed ἀτάκτως

μίνυσθαι, but marriages are to be celebrated ἱεροὶ εἰς δύναμιν ὅτι μάλιστα. In 459 E it is said: οὐκοῦν δὴ ἑορταί τινες νομοθετηταί, ἐν αἷς ξυνάζομεν τὰς τε νύμφας καὶ τοὺς νυμφίους, καὶ θυσίαι καὶ ὕμνοι ποιητέοι τοῖς ἡμετέροις ποιηταῖς πρέποντες τοῖς γιγνομένοις γάμοις. And at 461 A it is reckoned a sin against God and man to produce a child for the State οὐχ ὑπὸ θυσίων οὐδ' ὑπ' εὐχῶν φῦς ἀς ἐφ' ἐκάστοις τοῖς γάμοις εὐξονται καὶ ἱερεῖαι καὶ ἱερεῖς καὶ ξύμπασα ἡ πόλις κτλ.

§ 2. *The meaning of the words from χαλεπὸν μὲν το γεννήσουσι παῖδάς ποτε οὐ δέον.*

We have thus obtained the point of view from which the whole passage is to be interpreted. While the *cause* of change from the best to the second-best commonwealth lies in the perishability of everything which is created, the *process* which leads to change is the begetting of children inopportunistly.

Plato deals first with the process leading to change (λύσις). To plants and animals, he says, cometh production or non-production (a bearing or no bearing) of soul and bodies, whenever revolutions join for each the circumferences of their circles, these circumferences faring a short way for the short-lived, but the reverse for the reverse. That is to say, plants and animals have fixed periods of gestation, which may be represented by circles whose circumferences revolve (Fig. 7). Every time that the fixed point A is reached, there is *φορὰ ψυχῆς τε καὶ σωμάτων*, if the seed was sown on the last occasion when the same point of the circle was at A, and if it has come, without accident, to maturity: if however the seed was not then sown, or, though sown, has not come to maturity, there is *ἀφορία ψυχῆς τε καὶ σωμάτων*. The singular *ψυχή* is used because soul, viewed merely as the principle of life, is one in all plants, in all animals, and in both<sup>1</sup>. Why are the circumferences long in the case of long-lived animals, and short in the case of short-lived? Because animals that live long have long periods of gestation, and conversely. Aristotle also takes note of the same general rule: see *Probl.* x 9. 891<sup>b</sup> 25 ff., διὰ τί τὰ μὲν ταχυτόκα τῶν ζώων ἐστὶ, τῶν δὲ πολυχρόνιος ἡ κύησις; ἢ ὅτι τὰ μακροβιώτερα βραδύτερον πέφυκε τελειοῦσθαι; ἐστὶ δὲ βραδυτόκα τὰ μακρόβια and *de gener. anim.* iv 10. 777<sup>a</sup> 31 ff., where the elephant is cited as a well-known case in point.

The meaning of the words from λύσις δὲ ἥδε το ἐναντίας may therefore be summed up in the sentence: In all plants and animals the period of gestation is fixed by nature. Now as man is the animal with whom in the ideal State we are concerned, we are prepared by this exordium for the mention of the period of gestation in the human race. It will come in due time.

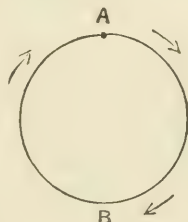


FIG. 7.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Tim.* 77 B.

Plato proceeds to narrow the case down to man: 'Now as touching your kind (i.e. mankind), clever though the leaders of the city be whom you educated, none the more will they by calculation together with perception obtain' (literally, *hit the obtaining of*) 'good offspring and no offspring, but it will escape them, and the day will come when they will beget children when they ought not.' Several points in this require to be explained. First: in place of repeating *φορὰ καὶ ἀφορία* Plato writes *εὐγονίας τε καὶ ἀφορίας*, because it is not enough for the prosperity of the ideal State merely to produce children—the children must be good in quality. The word *ἀφορίας* is full of meaning; it is the duty of the rulers to render, if possible, illicit unions unproductive, πάντα διακελευσάμενοι προθυμῆσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν μηδ' εἰς φῶς ἐκφέρειν κύημα μηδέ γ' ἐν, ἐὰν γένηται, ἐὰν δέ τι βιάσθαι, οὕτω τιθέναι, ὥς οὐκ οὔσης τροφῆς τῷ τοιούτῳ (v 461 c). Second: what is the meaning of *λογισμὸς μετ' αἰσθήσεως*? Nothing very recondite. Both calculation and perception by the senses must be employed by the rulers in arranging the details connected with marriage and the bringing up of children: perception for example in settling what couples are to be brought together (v 459 A ff.), which children should be reared, and which exposed (460 c al.), and calculation in order to determine what number of marriages are needed to keep the population nearly uniform (460 A), what couples may marry by reason of age (460 E ff.), and other things too trivial to mention. Plato means that however well the rulers employ the means at their disposal, that is, *λογισμὸς* and *αἴσθησις*, yet the time will come when mistakes *must* happen. We are not to blame the rulers of our perfect city, nor yet *αἴσθησις* (with Amelius ap. Procl. l.c. p. 29 and Nettleship *Lect. and Rem.* II p. 302): for the real *fons et origo mali*, as we shall shortly discover, is the Universe, the failure of whose energies is beginning to affect the ideal city, as well as every other portion of the whole. See §§ 5 and 7.

### § 3. *The περίοδος of the θεῖον γεννητόν.*

We come now to the words *ἔστι δὲ θείῳ μὲν γεννητῷ περίοδος ἢν ἀριθμὸς περιλαμβάνει τέλειος*. Plato has stated that all ζῶα have a fixed period of gestation: he now proceeds to deal with the periods of (1) the θεῖον γεννητόν and (2) the ἀνθρώπειον, beginning with the θεῖον, on the principle *ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα*.

Four expressions require to be discussed before we can arrive at Plato's meaning—viz.: *περίοδος*, *περιλαμβάνει*, *ἀριθμὸς τέλειος*, and *θεῖον γεννητόν*.

The word *περίοδος* means nothing more than 'way round.' One complete revolution of any circle is a *περίοδος*: two or more of the same circle, or one (or more) of one circle and one (or more) of another or others, are *περίοδοι*. This will not be denied by any one who will take the trouble to study side by side the examples quoted in Ast's *Lexicon* of the use of *περίοδος* in Plato. In the present passage the 'way round' is that described above in the words *ὅταν περιτροπαί ἐκάστοις κύκλων πειοφορὰς ξυνάπτωσι*: the *περίοδος* of a θεῖον γεννητόν is therefore



fulfilled *ὅταν περιτροπὴ θείῳ γεννητῷ κύκλον περιφορὰν ξυνάπτῃ*. Now it has already been shewn that the words from *ὅταν περιτροπαί* to *ἐναντίως* refer to periods of gestation, so that the *περίοδος* of a *θείον γεννητόν* is the period of gestation which ends in the birth of a divine creature<sup>1</sup>. This is the only possible interpretation of the Greek, nor is the meaning otherwise than appropriate, as will appear when we apprehend what the 'divine creature' is.

The word *περιλαμβάνει* means 'comprehends.' If a number is represented by a rectangle, its sides, or factors, are said to 'comprehend' it, as in *Theaet.* 148 A, where the number which *μείζων καὶ ἐλάττω* *αὐτὸ πλεονὰ περιλαμβάνει* is called a *προμήκης ἀριθμός*. In the present case, we are dealing, not with a number, but with a *περίοδος* which is comprehended by a number, and that number *περιλαμβάνει* *περίοδον* which gives the time that the revolution takes to accomplish. The period of gestation of a divine creature is therefore expressed by a 'final number.'

I will now discuss the words *τέλειος ἀριθμός*. It is well known that a 'perfect' number meant to Euclid<sup>2</sup> and Greek arithmeticians generally a number which is equal to the sum of its divisors, e.g.  $6 = 1 + 2 + 3$ ;  $28 = 1 + 2 + 4 + 7 + 14$ . Although there is no trace of such a meaning in Plato, nor in the fragments of Philolaus<sup>3</sup>, the usage may very well be old: but even among the Pythagoreans numbers are often called 'perfect,' although they are not equivalent to the sum of their factors<sup>4</sup>. The *τέλειος ἀριθμός* *par excellence* was 10 according to Philolaus: *θεωρεῖν δεῖ τὰ ἔργα καὶ τὰν ἐσσίαν τῷ ἀριθμῷ κατὰν δύναμιν, αἷτις ἐστὶν ἐν τῇ δεκάδῃ· μεγάλα γὰρ καὶ παντελής καὶ παντοεργὸς καὶ θείῳ καὶ οὐρανίῳ βίῳ καὶ ἀνθρωπίνῳ ἀρχὰ καὶ ἀγεμὼν καὶ κοσμήτειρα ἡ δύναμις ἡ τῆς δεκάδος*<sup>5</sup>. But 10 was called by them *παντελής* or *τέλειος* simply because, as the basis of their system of calculation, which was a decimal one, it may be regarded as the 'consummating' or 'all-ending' number, the numbers above ten being considered merely repetitions of the first ten<sup>6</sup>. Plato was perfectly at liberty to call any other number *τέλειος* which 'ends' or 'brings a consummation<sup>7</sup>,' and in point of fact he does so in the *Timaeus*. In 39 D of that dialogue we find the words: *ἔστι δ' ὁμοῦς οὐδὲν ἡττον κατανοῆσαι δυνατόν, ὡς ὁ γε τέλειος ἀριθμὸς χρόνον τὸν τέλειον ἐνιαυτὸν*

<sup>1</sup> For *περίοδος* in the sense of 'period of gestation,' cf. Aristides Quint. *De Musica*, p. 143 Meib. *ταῖς τῶν ἑπταμήνων περιόδοις*. Many writers on the Number understand by *περίοδος* 'Umlaufszeit' (e.g. Zeller<sup>1</sup> II 1, p. 858 n.): but the word must of course be interpreted by what precedes and follows. I have shewn that 'period of gestation' is the only meaning which harmonises with *ὅταν περιτροπαί* κτλ. above, and it is the only meaning possible below, where the period of the human creature is described.

<sup>2</sup> VII def. 23 *τέλειος ἀριθμός ἐστὶν ὁ τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ μέρεσιν ἴσος ὢν*.

<sup>3</sup> Some of Philolaus' fragments, whether

genuine or not, are at all events, in my opinion, tolerably early.

<sup>4</sup> e.g. 3 and 9: see the *Theolog. Arithm.* pp. 13, 58 ed. Ast. The number 3 is on p. 13 said to be *τέλειος ἰδιαίτερον τῶν ἄλλων*, implying that other numbers may also be *τέλειοι*, though in a less specific sense. Cf. Demme (referred to above) pp. 84 f.

<sup>5</sup> *Frag.* 13 in Mullach II p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> See Zeller<sup>5</sup> I p. 398 n. 2, and Aristotle quoted there.

<sup>7</sup> Cantor in his *Vorlesungen zur Gesch. der Math.* p. 142 agrees in denying that 'perfect number' here means 'a number equal to the sum of its divisors.'

πληροὶ τότε, ὅταν ἀπασῶν τῶν ὀκτῶ περιόδων τὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλα ξυμπερανθέντα τάχῃ σχῆ κεφαλὴν τῷ τοῦ ταύτου καὶ ὁμοίως ἀναμετρηθέντα κύκλῳ. It is rightly held that we have here a reference to a Great Year—the period within which all the eight circles<sup>1</sup> revolving around the earth simultaneously reach the point from which they started at the commencement of our cycle. Now if Plato allowed himself to call the number which measures a cycle of the world's life a 'final' or 'ending' number, it is clear that he might with equal propriety apply the epithet τέλειος to the number which completes or fulfils (τελειοῖ)<sup>2</sup> the World's creation; for the θεῖον γεννητόν, as will presently be shewn, is the World and nothing more. What the particular number is, he does not say: and no one will blame him for his reticence<sup>3</sup>.

There remain the words θεῖω γεννητῷ. The ancients<sup>4</sup> explained these words, with perfect justice, as referring to the Universe: οὐρανὸς ἢ κόσμος ἢ καὶ ἄλλο ὃ τί ποτε ὀνομαζόμενος μάλιστ' ἂν δέχοιτο, τοῦθ' ἡμῖν ἀνομάσθω (*Tim.* 28 B). In the *Timaeus* there is abundant evidence that Plato regarded the World as a divine creature: τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, he says, ζῶν ἐμψυχον ἔνουν τε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι πρόνοιαν<sup>5</sup>, with which compare the words of Proclus (*in Tim.* 89 D): ὅταν δὲ ἔμψυχον αὐτὸ καὶ ἔνουν ἴδῃς, θεὸν αὐτὸ καλέσεις, ὅπερ ὁ Πλάτων ἐν Πολιτείᾳ μὲν θεῖον γεννητόν, ἐνταῦθα δὲ θεὸν εὐδαίμονα προσεπεινὺν τὸν κόσμον ἡξίωσε. The Universe is θεῖον, because it is a God; γεννητόν, because it is created<sup>6</sup>.

The θεῖον γεννητόν is therefore the World, and the words which we have been discussing mean that *the time during which the world is in the womb<sup>7</sup> is comprehended by a final or consummating number*, the size of which Plato prudently conceals.

<sup>1</sup> viz. the circle of the Fixed stars, Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Venus, Sun, Moon: see *Rep.* x 616 D ff. There is a good definition of the Great Year in Macrobi. *Somn. Scip.* II II. 10.

<sup>2</sup> By the 'World's creation' is meant, of course, the development of a κόσμος or ordered universe out of the primeval chaos. Cf. *Tim.* 30 A ff. and *Pol.* 273 B πολλῆς ἦν μετέχον ἀταξίας πρὶν εἰς τὸν νῦν κόσμον ἀφικέσθαι. It ought to be mentioned here that I formerly thought the period of the θεῖον γεννητόν is actually specified by Plato in the sequel, and that it is identical with one of the two harmonies; but the identification cannot be sustained, and I now withdraw it.

<sup>3</sup> τελειοῖ is used with the same meaning in the *Theol. Arithm.* p. 58 Ast: καλεῖται δὲ αὕτη (sc. ἐννεάς) τελεσφόρος, τελειοῖ δὲ τὰ ἐννεάμηνια.

<sup>4</sup> See Plutarch *περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας* 10. 1017 C and the references in Schneider.

<sup>5</sup> 30 B: cf. 30 D, 32 D, 34 A, 34 B (εὐδαί-

μονα θεὸν αὐτὸν ἐγεννήσατο) and 37 C.

<sup>6</sup> *Tim.* 28 B γέγονεν· ὁρατὸς γὰρ ἀπτόβς τε ἔστι καὶ σῶμα ἔχων, πάντα δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἀσθητά, τὰ δ' ἀσθητά, δόξη περιληπτά μετ' αἰσθήσεως, γινόμενα καὶ γεννητὰ ἐφάνη. Whether these words are to be taken in their literal meaning or not, it will be allowed that if Plato can call the world γεννητόν in the *Timaeus*, he may do so with equal justice in the *Republic*.

<sup>7</sup> In the Orphic verses this identical metaphor is found: see Procl. *in Tim.* 94 B πάντα γὰρ ἐν Ζηνὸς μεγάλου τὰδε δώματι κεῖται καὶ Ζηνὸς δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι σὺν ῥα πεφύκει and 95 E τοῦνεκα σὺν τῷ παντὶ Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη<sup>1</sup> αἰθέρος εὐρείης ἥδ' οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὸν ὕψος κτλ. It is well known that there is a large element of Orphic belief embodied in Pythagoreanism; and if these verses are early or embody an early tradition, the figure which Plato here employs may itself be taken from Pythagorean sources.

§ 4. *The περίοδος of the ἀνθρώπειον γεννητόν.*

The general statement, with which we started, that every living thing has a fixed period of gestation, has now at last been narrowed down to man. The period of gestation for a human creature, says Plato, is the 'first number in which root and square increasings, comprehending three distances and four limits, of elements which make like and unlike and wax and wane, render all things conversable and rational towards one another.'

The arithmetical meaning of this sentence, as we have seen, is  $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216$ , the numbers 3, 4, and 5 denoting the sides of the Pythagorean triangle. In order to apprehend its real significance, it will be necessary to say something about (1) the numbers 3, 4, and 5, (2) the expression *αυξήσεις δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστευόμεναι, τρεῖς ἀποστάσεις, τέτταρας δὲ ὅρους λαβοῦσαι*, and (3) the whole number 216 together with *πάντα προσήγορα καὶ ῥητὰ πρὸς ἀλλήλα ἀπέφηναν*.

As regards the numbers 3, 4, and 5, I have already alluded to the evidence which there is for holding that Plato made use of the Pythagorean triangle throughout the *Number*. The oldest testimony, as we shall see in Part iii, is that of Aristotle, and practically all the ancient commentators, as appears from Proclus (l.c. II pp. 22 ff.), made the figure in question the starting-point of nearly all their investigations on the subject. That the properties of this triangle were employed by the Pythagoreans to explain and enforce their embryological theories, is also attested from many sources, such as Aristides Quintilianus III 151 ff. Meibom = 89 ff. Jahn, Proclus l. c. p. 26 *ὅτι ἀπὸ τοῦ τριγώνου τούτου δείκνυσιν Πυθαγόρας τὰς τῶν ἑπταμήνων καὶ ἐννεαμήνων εὐγονίας καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀκταμήνων πηρώσεις*, Nicomachus *Excerpt. ex Nicom.* in von Jan's *Mus. Scr. Gr.* pp. 278 f., *Theol. Ar.* p. 40 Ast, and Censorinus *de die Nat.* II (redeo ad propositum, ut doceam quid Pythagoras de numero dierum ad partus pertinentium senserit etc. The authority followed by Censorinus throughout this chapter, and indeed throughout the whole of chapters 4—15, is Varro, as Diels has shewn *Dox. Gr.* pp. 186 ff.). Compare also Plut. *περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ ψυχολογίας* 12. 1018 B and Diog. Laert. VIII 29. The most exact parallel to the calculation adopted by Plato is found in the passage already quoted from Aristides l. c. p. 89 Jahn: *ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ τῶν πλευρῶν ἐκάστην κατὰ βάθος αὐξήσαιμεν (βάθος γὰρ ἡ σώματος φύσις), ποιήσαιμεν ἂν τὸν διακόσια δεκαεξ, ἰσάρθμον ὄντα σύνεγγυς τῷ τῶν ἑπταμήνων*. We may therefore, I think, regard it as certain that Plato is closely following the Pythagoreans when he expresses the period of human gestation in terms of their favourite triangle. In what sense are the numbers 3, 4, 5 said 'to make like and unlike and wax and wane'? As the numbers in question produce not only the number 216, but also the γεωμετρικὸς ἀριθμὸς 12,960,000, we shall be in a better position for dealing with this question after we have interpreted the meaning of the larger as well as of the smaller number. This subject is accordingly reserved for § 5.

The phraseology of *αυξήσεις δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστευόμεναι, τρεῖς*



ἀποστάσεις, τέτταρας δὲ ὄρους λαβοῦσαι is in all probability borrowed from Pythagorean sources. We have already seen that the use of the word 'increase' in this connexion agrees with Pythagorean principles (Part i § 2), and our authorities for the meaning of *τρῆς ἀποστάσεις, τέτταρας δὲ ὄρους* were to a considerable extent writers with a Pythagorean bias (Part i § 1). See also Arist. *de caelo* A 1. 268<sup>a</sup> 7 ff. *μεγέθους δὲ τὸ μὲν ἐφ' ἐν γραμμῇ, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ δύο ἐπίπεδον, τὸ δ' ἐπὶ τρία σώμα—καθάπερ γὰρ φασι καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὰ πάντα τοῖς τρισὶν ὀρίσται*. It is however impossible to believe that so long and cumbrous an expression was even in Plato's time a regular phrase for cubing. The word *κυβικός* occurs both in Plato (*Tim.* 55 c, d) and in Aristotle (*Probl.* xv 3. 910<sup>b</sup> 36), and although *κύβων αὔξη* in vii 528 b has a different meaning, we may reasonably suppose that *αὔξεις κυβικαί* would have conveyed the meaning of 'cubic increases' or 'cubings' to Plato's contemporaries as well as to a later generation (cf. *κυβικὴν αἴξησιν Excerpt. ex Nicom.* p. 279). Why then did not Plato employ that or some other equally simple phrase? The answer is that the words selected by Plato are intended to have a significance of their own, in addition to the arithmetical process of cubing which they describe. We are dealing with the formation of a human child, and, as Aristides reminds us, *βάθος ἡ σώματος φύσις*. By expressing the process involved as 'root and square increasings,' Plato intended to remind us that the human, like every other solid body, is built up from the line, which makes *ἐπιφάνεια* as *ἐπιφάνεια* makes *σῶμα* (Theo p. 83). The same desire to adumbrate a theory of the different stages in the growth of the *ἀνθρώπειον γεννητόν* is apparent also in *τρῆς ἀποστάσεις, τέτταρας δὲ ὄρους*, wherein, as we have seen, the allusion is to *μῆκος, πλάτος, and βάθος*, with the four limits which they imply; and a similar tendency makes itself felt in a noteworthy passage of the *Latws*, where it is easy to detect Pythagorean inspiration: *γίνεται δὴ πάντων γένεσις, ἡνίκ' ἂν τί πάθος ᾗ; δῆλον ὡς ὅποτ' ἀρχὴ λαβοῦσα αὔξην εἰς τὴν δευτέραν ἔλθῃ μετάβασιν καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης εἰς τὴν πλησίον, καὶ μέχρι τριῶν ἐλθοῦσα αἰσθησιν σχῇ τοῖς αἰσθανομένοις (Latws 894 A)*<sup>1</sup>. We may even go a step further, though Plato does not here invite us to do so, and say that the substance or οὐσία of which the three ἀποστάσεις viz. *μῆκος, πλάτος, and βάθος* consist, is τὸ ἄπειρον: and the ὅροι which limit and determine them belong to the category of πέρας<sup>2</sup>: so that the ἀνθρώπειον γεννητόν, like everything else in the universe<sup>3</sup>, is a compound of πέρας and ἄπειρον<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> It should be mentioned that Proclus finds a further astrological meaning in *δυνάμεναι τε καὶ δυναστεύμεναι*, interpreting *δυνάμεναι* of the stars that prevail, and *δυναστεύμεναι* of the stars which are prevailed against, *ἐν ταῖς σπορίμας ὥραις* (l.c. II p. 57). Το ὁμοιούντων, ἀνομοιούντων, αὔξόντων and φθινόντων Proclus also attributes an astrological as well as an arithmetical connotation (ib. pp. 57 ff.), but it is most unlikely that these words meant anything of the sort in Plato's time.

Cf. Thompson on *Phaedr.* 252 E and Pauly-Wissowa art. *Astrologie* pp. 1810 f.

<sup>2</sup> Arist. *Met.* N 3. 1091<sup>a</sup> 15 ff. *φανερῶς γὰρ λέγουσιν* (sc. Πυθαγόρειοι) *ὡς τοῦ ἐνὸς συσταθέντος—εὐθὺς τὰ ἐγγιστα τοῦ ἀπείρου ὅτι εἴλκετο καὶ ἐπεραίνετο ὑπὸ τοῦ πέραςτος*.

<sup>3</sup> Philol. *Fr.* 3 Mullach *ἐκ περαινόντων τε καὶ ἀπείρων ὁ τε κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ συναρμόχθη*. Cf. Arist. *Met.* A 5. 986<sup>a</sup> 15 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. *Phil.* 27 B *πρῶτον μὲν τοίνυν*

Let us now briefly discuss the number 216.

The number 216 is the first number (ἐν ᾧ πρῶτω κτλ.) in which the cubes of 3, 4, 5 occur, and was known to the Pythagoreans as the *ψυχογονικὸς κύβος* (Anatolius in *Theol. Ar.* p. 40), because it expresses the period of the seven months' child, counted in days. It is also the cube of the number 6, which the Pythagoreans called the marriage number<sup>1</sup>, owing, as we are told, to the fact that 6 represents the union of the first male number 3 and the first female number 2 ( $3 \times 2 = 6$ ). In other respects also the number 216 maintains its character as a matrimonial and generative force: for it is the cube of the area of the zoogonic triangle and the product of the cubes of the first male and female numbers ( $2^3 \times 3^3 = 216$ )<sup>2</sup>. 216 can likewise be produced by multiplying together the marriage number 6 and 36, and 36 is not only the sum of the Pythagorean τετρακτύς (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8), but an ἀριθμὸς τέλειος καὶ τοῦ ὀρθογωνίου ἔχων τὴν αὐξήσιν<sup>3</sup>, and also peculiarly important in the growth of the embryo, as will presently be shewn, both on other grounds and because it is the number of the δεκανοί<sup>4</sup>. Any one who cares to examine the writings of later Pythagoreanism will discover many other virtues in the number 216: but enough has been said to shew that the number was suited to express the meaning which is here attached to it, that is to say the number of the seven months' child. I will only add, in conclusion, that the number of the ἐννεάμηνον γεννητόν was itself also connected with the smaller number by adding thereto the product of the sides of the triangle: πάλιν δὲ τὰς τρεῖς ἐπ' ἀλλήλους κατὰ βάθος ποιήσαντες, καὶ τῷ προειρημένῳ προσθέντες, τὸν τῶν ἐννεαμήνων συντίθεμεν διακόσια ἐβδομήκοντα ἑξ (Arist. Quint. p. 89 Jahn.  $3 \times 4 \times 5 + 216 = 276$ ). As 210 and 270 were usually held to express the exact numbers of the two periods, Aristides adds ἐν ἀμφοτέροις δὲ ὁ ἕξ περιττεύει, γαμικὸς ὢν δι' ἣν εἴπομεν αἰτίαν viz. because συντιθέμενος ἕκ πρώτου περιττοῦ καὶ ἀπίου: see p. 73 ed. Jahn)<sup>5</sup>.

We have still to discuss πάντα προσήγορα καὶ ῥητὰ πρὸς ἑλληλα ἀπέφηναν. It is curious that these words find an echo in a fragment attributed to Philolaus<sup>6</sup> on the virtue of the number 10. The resemblance may be interpreted as an indication either of the spurious or of the genuine character of the fragments of Philolaus, but I am inclined to think that it is in favour of the authenticity, if not the genuineness, of

ἄπειρον λέγω, δεύτερον δὲ πέρασ, ἔπειτ' ἐκ τούτων τρίτην καὶ γεγεννημένην οὐσίαν and other passages to the same effect in that dialogue.

<sup>1</sup> Iamb. in *Nic. Introd. Ar.* p. 34. 19 ff. Pistelli, and many other passages, some of which have already been cited.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Macrob. *Sonn. Scip.* i 6. 15 f.

<sup>3</sup> *Excerpt. ex Nicom.* p. 279 von Jan.

<sup>4</sup> Proclus l.c. ii pp. 44 f., 56 ff. et al. Cf. Aristid. Quint. p. 90 Jahn, Stob. *Ecl. Phys.* i § 470 ff., Sext. Emp. *adv. Astrolog.* pp. 728 ff. and August. *de civ. Dei* v cc. 1—7, and see also Cantor *Gesch. d.*

*Math.* p. 86, and Sir G. C. Lewis *Ancient Astronomy* pp. 306 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Ancient authorities were not agreed "quoto post conceptionem mense infantes edi soleant" (Censor. *de die nat.* 7. 2). The different views are given by Censorinus l.c., following Varro: cf. also Gellius *Noct. Att.* iii 16, Proclus l.c. ii pp. 33 ff., and Diels *Dox. Gr.* pp. 427—429.

<sup>6</sup> Mullach ii p. 4 νῦν δὲ οὗτος (sc. ἀριθμὸς) ποττὰν ψυχὰν ἀρμόζων αἰσθήσει πάντα γνωστὰ καὶ ποτάγορα ἀλλήλοισι κατὰ γνώμονος φύσιν ἀπεργάζεται.

this particular fragment, for it is not unlikely that in a passage so full as this is of Pythagorean influence there should be some verbal indications of the source whence Plato drew something of his inspiration. However this may be, we are told by Censorinus<sup>1</sup>, whose authority, as we have already seen, is Varro, that the Pythagoreans thought the development of the embryo proceeded according to the proportions of the harmony or octave: eos vero numeros, qui in uno quoque partu aliquid adferunt mutationis, dum aut semen in sanguinem aut sanguis in carnem aut caro in hominis figuram convertitur, inter se conlatos rationem habere eam quam voces habent quae in musica σύμφωνοι vocantur. How they worked the idea will appear from these words<sup>2</sup>: quorum prior ac minor (sc. partus, i.e. the seven months' child, to which they usually assigned a life of 210 days within the womb) senario maxime continetur numero. Nam quod ex semine conceptum est, sex, ut ait (sc. Pythagoras), primis diebus umor est lacteus, deinde proximis octo sanguineus: qui octo cum ad primos sex accesserunt, faciunt primam symphoniam διὰ τεσσάρων. (That is, the fourth, which is 8:6 or 4:3.) Tertio gradu novem dies accedunt iam carnem facientes: hi cum sex illis primis collati sescuplam faciunt rationem et secundam symphoniam διὰ πέντε. (That is, the fifth, which is 9:6 or 3:2.) Tum deinceps sequentibus duodecim diebus fit corpus iam formatum: horum quoque ad eosdem sex collatio tertiam διὰ πασῶν reddit symphoniam duplici rationi subiectam. (That is, the octave, which is 12:6 or 2:1.) Now  $6 + 8 + 9 + 12 = 35$ , and as 35 is a ἁρμονία<sup>3</sup>, 210, which is  $6 \times 35$ , contains 6 ἁρμονίαι. Plato's number is not 210, but 216: but in 216 all these ἁρμονίαι are also present, together with the marriage number 6. The statements of Censorinus are confirmed by other authorities, among whom we may cite Plut. *περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ κτλ.* 12. 1017 F, Arist. Quint. p. 85 Jahn, Proclus l.c. II pp. 34 f. and Nicomachus *Excerpt. ex Nic.* p. 279 von Jan<sup>4</sup>. If we search the works of Plato to discover how he himself conceived of the 'harmony' in the development of the child, our quest will be in vain, but it is worthy of remark that the making of Soul in the *Timaeus* proceeds according to the proportions of the octave<sup>5</sup>, and that the Universe is constituted, as Plato thought, in the

<sup>1</sup> l.c. 9 *ad fin.*

<sup>2</sup> l.c. 11.

<sup>3</sup> Plut. *περὶ τῆς ἐν Τιμαίῳ ψυχογονίας* 12. 1017 F.

<sup>4</sup> It should also be mentioned that Empedocles thought the διάρθρωσις began on the thirty-sixth day from conception. For the views of ancient philosophers on embryology in general see Diels *Dox. Gr.* pp. 417—433. I may here add that Aristides l.c. gives a few fresh points. He tells us that the sum of 1, 2, 3, 4 (in which are involved the ἴσος, διπλασίων, ἡμιόλιος, and ἐπιτρίτος ratios) added to 35, yields 45, καθ' ὃν φασι μορφοῦσθαι τὰ ἐννεάμηνα: and  $45 \times 6 = 270$ , which is the

number of a nine months' child. It is also important for our purpose when in speaking of the Pythagorean triangle he notices (p. 89) that the sum of the sides 3 and 4 = 7 (the περίοδος, in months, of the ἐπταμήνος), of 4 and 5 = 9, of 3, 4, and 5 = 12 (the number of signs in the zodiac), and that (as we have already noted) the sum of the cubes of the sides = 216, and  $216 \div (3 \times 4 \times 5) = 276$ , which is about the period of the nine months' child.

<sup>5</sup> *Tim.* 35 B. In the *Timaeus* 44 D ff. the creation of man's body by the created gods is described. It is reasonable to suppose that the embryo was thought by Plato to develop on the same lines as



same way<sup>1</sup>. There can be little doubt that if he speculated on the subject at all, he followed in the path already marked out by the Pythagoreans, framing the Microcosm, as his manner is, on the lines of the Macrocosm.

§ 5. *The meaning of the words from ὦν ἐπίτρυτος to κύβων τριάδος.*

The chief question which requires to be discussed in this section is 'What does Plato mean by the two harmonies?' So far as I can see, he does not, in this passage, inform us, and we are therefore justified in trying to discover his meaning from other passages in his works.

From the *Republic* itself we obtain little assistance: but I think that the myth of the *Politicus* (*Pol.* 268 E—274 E) furnishes us with the right solution.

It will be advisable to begin by giving a succinct analysis of the story itself.

At one time, says Plato<sup>2</sup>, God himself accompanies and helps to wheel the revolving world, at another, when the times are fulfilled, he lets it go, and the Universe begins to roll back again spontaneously, ζῶον δὲν καὶ φρόνησιν εἰληχὸς ἐκ τοῦ συναρμόσαντος κατ' ἀρχάς. The reason for the reversal of the world's motion is that the Universe, since it partakes in body, is not exempt from change, but being more nearly so than is aught else corporeal, τὴν ἀνακύκλησιν εἴληχεν, ὃ τι σμικροτάτην τῆς αὐτοῦ κινήσεως παράλλαξιν. Thus Plato declares that the Universe τοτὲ μὲν ὑπ' ἄλλης συμποδηγείσθαι θείας αἰτίας, τὸ ζῆν πάλιν ἐπικτώμενον καὶ λαμβάνοντα ἀθανασίαν ἐπισκευαστὴν παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ, τοτὲ δ' ὅταν ἀνεθῇ, δι' ἑαυτοῦ αὐτὸν ἰέναι, ἀφθεύτα τοιοῦτον ὥστε ἀνάπαλιν πορεύεσθαι πολλὰς περιόδων μυριάδας<sup>3</sup>. At present the universe is *rolling back* (ἀνακύκλησις): in the reign of Cronus it *rolled forward*<sup>4</sup>. The end of the backward is the beginning of the forward movement, and when the forward ends, the backward begins. The change from either movement to the other, says Plato, ἡγείσθαι δεῖ τῶν περὶ τὸν οὐραὶὸν γιγνομένων τροπῶν πασῶν εἶναι μεγίστην καὶ τελεωτάτην τροπὴν, and this τελεωτάτη τροπή is marked by wide-spread destruction among animals and men.

When the backward movement ends, and the forward begins, a few men are left surviving, and these suffer change in sympathy with the whole. The old grow middle-aged and young again till at last they dwindle to a point and disappear: fresh generations are born, not from one another, but from the earth: for those that died in the former cycle and were buried within the earth now rise again from the dead and in

those on which the gods first made the human body, and a minute study of the *Timaeus* from this point of view might possibly yield one or two interesting results. In *Tim.* 91 D Plato sums up the development of the embryo in the words μέχρι περ' αὐ—ὡς εἰς ἄρουραν τὴν μήτραν ἀόρατα ὑπὸ σμικρότητος καὶ ἀδιάπλαστα

ζῶα κατασπείραντες καὶ πάλιν διακρίναντες μεγάλα ἐντός ἐκθρέψονται καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο εἰς φῶς ἀγαγόντες ζῶων ἀποτελέσωσι γένεσιν.

<sup>1</sup> *Rep.* x 617.

<sup>2</sup> *Pol.* 269 C ff.

<sup>3</sup> 270 A.

<sup>4</sup> 271 D, 269 A.

their turn are born old, grow young, and vanish, ὅσους μὴ θεὸς αὐτῶν εἰς ἄλλην μοῖραν ἐκόμισεν. In those days, when God ruled the rolling world, and divine shepherds kept their flocks, no creature preyed on any other, nor was there any war or strife. God was himself the shepherd of the earth-born: they had no πολιτεῖαι nor κτήσεις γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων, being born by resurrection from the ground. The earth, their mother, fed them with abundant fruits, and they toiled not, neither did they spin. Whether they were happier than we depends entirely on whether they used their manifold advantages as means to help them to attain unto wisdom: tradition says they did not.

When the forward movement ended, and μεταβολὴν ἔδει γίνεσθαι καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ γήϊνον ἤδη πᾶν ἀνήλωτο γένος, πάσας ἐκάστης τῆς ψυχῆς τὰς γενέσεις ἀποδεδωκυίας, then the pilot of the Universe οἶον πηδαλίων οἶακος ἀφήμενος εἰς τὴν αὐτοῦ περιωπὴν ἀπέστη. Thereupon began the backward movement. At first there was σεισμός within the world, attended by destruction among all kinds of living things. The few who survive, ceasing to become young, grow old, while those just born from the earth with hoary hair die and return to the earth from which they came. Fresh generations are no longer born from the earth, but even as the world is now left to itself, so also are all its parts, and each race breeds offspring from its kind<sup>1</sup>. After the shock of turning, προελθόντος ἱκανοῦ χρόνου, θορύβων τε καὶ ταραχῆς ἤδη πανόμενος καὶ τῶν σεισμῶν, γαλήνης ἐπιλαβόμενος εἰς τε τὸν εἰωθότα δρόμον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κατακοσμούμενος ἦει, ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ κράτος ἔχων αὐτὸς τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ τε καὶ ἑαυτοῦ, τὴν τοῦ δημιουργοῦ καὶ πατρὸς ἀπομνημονεύων διδαχὴν εἰς δύναμιν<sup>2</sup>. Gradually the Universe became less and less accurate in its movements: τούτων δὲ αὐτῷ τὸ σωματοειδὲς τῆς συγκράσεως αἷτιον, τὸ τῆς πάλαι ποτὲ φύσεως ξύντροφον, ὅτι πολλῆς ἦν μετέχον ἀταξίας πρὶν εἰς τὸν νῦν κόσμον ἀφικέσθαι<sup>3</sup>: it is ἡ ἔμπροσθεν ἔξις to which is due ὅσα χαλεπὰ καὶ ἀδικοῦ ἐν οὐρανῷ γίνεται. As time rolls on, the disorganization increases more and more until the world is at last in danger of perishing with all that it contains. Thereupon God, careful lest his Universe should vanish εἰς τὸν τῆς ἀνομοιότητος ἄπειρον ὄντα τόπον, takes the helm again, and reversing the motion of the world, ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν καὶ ἀγήρων ἀπεργάζεται<sup>4</sup>.

It would be an interesting enquiry to investigate the sources from which Plato drew the materials for this myth. That it embodies many echoes of the early cosmogonies, there can be no doubt. As I have elsewhere pointed out<sup>5</sup>, an essential feature of the story is already involved in two lines of Hesiod, who, in speaking of the end of the fifth or iron age in which we live, observes

Ζεὺς δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων,  
εὖτ' ἂν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 273 E ff.

<sup>2</sup> 273 A—B.

<sup>3</sup> 273 B.

<sup>4</sup> 273 E.

<sup>5</sup> *Cl. Rev.* v p. 445.

<sup>6</sup> *Works and Days* 180 f. See also Heraclitus *Frag.* 78 Bywater φησὶν Ἡράκλειτος ταῦτ' εἶναι ζῶν καὶ τεθνηκός, καὶ τὸ ἐργηγορὸς καὶ τὸ καθεῦδον, καὶ νέον καὶ γηραιόν· τάδε γὰρ μεταπεσόντα

Hesiod means that the iron age will end, and consequently a new, and presumably happier, era begin, when men are born grey-haired. We may perhaps regard the grey hairs as a sign that the time is at hand when human creatures, as in Plato's myth, will all be born with grey hairs (πολιὰ φύντα *Pol.* 273 E) and pass from age to infancy and fade away<sup>1</sup>. It is tolerably clear that there was a tradition according to which old or grey-haired children were considered to be a sign of the end: for in the Testament cited by James in his account of the Revelation of St Peter<sup>2</sup>, we are warned that when the end is near there shall be 'children whose appearance shall be as of those advanced in years: for they that are born shall be white-haired<sup>3</sup>.' But for our present purpose the details of the myth are of less importance and value than the underlying idea of the whole. That idea is that in the life of the Universe there are two recurrent cycles, in one of which peace and uniformity prevail, while in the other discord and dissimilarity gradually assert their sway<sup>4</sup>. It is also, I think, clear that the two cycles are of equal length, for the march of the Universe being regarded as progression and retrogression along one

ἐκείνᾳ ἔστι κάκεινα πάλιν μεταπεσόντα ταῦτα. The last four words mean that τεθηγκός changes to ζῶν, καθεύδον to ἐγρηγορός, and γηραιὸν to νέον as well as reversely: so that the essence of Plato's story would seem to be present here also, if we are to understand the participle μεταπεσόντα in its full and proper sense. In the happy land of the Meropes, hard by the river of Pleasure, there are some fabled trees, of whose fruit he that tastes γίνεται κατὰ βραχὺ νεώτερος, τὸ μὲν γὰρ γῆρας ἀπορρίψας, ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν ὑποστρέφει, εἴτα ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν μειρακίων ἡλικίαν ἀναχωρεῖ, εἴτα παῖς γίνεται, εἴτα βρέφος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξαναλώθῃ (*Theopompus Fr.* 76, *Müller F. H. G.* i p. 290). A careful study of Empedocles' cosmology will also discover some interesting analogies with the myth of the *Politicus*.

<sup>1</sup> In Hesiod's description of the golden age, the return of which he seems to hope for after the age of iron has passed away, there are some features which resemble the life of Plato's γηγενεῖς: see especially *Works and Days* 109 ff. The curious expression of Hesiod αἰεὶ δὲ πῶδας καὶ χεῖρας ὅμοιοι perhaps receives some light from *Symposium* 189 E, and we should remember that ὁμοιότης is the dominant feature in the progressive cycle of the *Politicus*. It is worth while to compare the whole of the Aristophanic travesty in Plato's *Symposium* with the myth of the *Politicus*, and the latter with Hesiod l.c.

<sup>2</sup> p. 57.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Ridgeway (*Early Age of Greece* i p. 628) interprets πολιόκροταφοι

in Hesiod l.c. as 'fair-haired' and thinks the line εὐτ' ἂν γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι τελέθωσιν "some sort of oracular utterance referring to fair-haired invaders of some Teutonic stock," remarking that, according to Hesiod, the children of the Iron Age 'are born with white hair.' The exact translation is however 'when they are hoary-headed at their birth,' and it is quite clear from *Zeus δ' ὀλέσει καὶ τοῦτο γένος μερόπων ἀνθρώπων εὐτ' ἂν κτλ.* that the white hairs foreshadow the end of the Iron Age: so that we should look for parallels to the Hesiodic conception in passages which, like the myth of the *Politicus*, describe the end of one epoch and the beginning of the next, and not to Diod. Sic. v 32. 2. Plato's πολιὰ φύντα (*Pol.* 273 E) is an exact parallel to γεινόμενοι πολιοκρόταφοι, and the rest of the Platonic myth shews us how we ought to interpret the words of Hesiod.

<sup>4</sup> The student of ancient philosophy will naturally recall the cosmological periods of Empedocles: but it would lead us too far to institute a comparison between them and Plato's story. I may say, however, that the myth appears to me to confirm the view of Burnet, who maintains that we are now living in the second of Empedocles' periods, that is, "in the period when strife is gradually gaining the upper hand" (*Early Gk Phil.* p. 249). The fundamental difference between Plato and Empedocles is that in Plato Strife never obtains the victory altogether, for as soon as the Universe is in serious danger, the Deity steps in.



and the same circle, the forward revolution has to traverse the same space as the reverse, and nothing is said of any difference in the speed of the two revolutions<sup>1</sup>. That the cycles occupy a long period of time may be inferred from *πολλὰς περιόδων μυριάδας* in 270 A.

Now what do these two cycles represent? If we are to believe Deuschle<sup>2</sup>, one of them is 'the transcendent realm of Ideas,' the other 'the world of appearances,' and the myth is intended to shew us 'the relations existing between the world of Ideas and that of phenomena, and the dependence of the latter on the former.' It is surely unnecessary to refute a view which requires us to assign a metaphysical significance to the *γῆγενεῖς*. Deuschle's interpretation belongs to a style of criticism which always makes Plato sing the same old strain, forgetting that his was a *παναρμόνιος ψυχή*<sup>3</sup>. To my mind it is quite clear that in the myth of the *Politicus*, we have before us an astronomical, and not a metaphysical conception. The prelude to the story indicates in what direction we should look for its significance: *ἦν τοίνυν καὶ ἔτι ἔσται τῶν πάλαι λεχθέντων πολλά τε ἄλλα καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ περὶ τὴν Ἀτρέως τε καὶ Θυέστου λεχθεῖσαν ἔριν φάσμα*—τὸ περὶ τῆς μεταβολῆς δύσεως τε καὶ ἀνατολῆς ἡλίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστρων, ὡς ἄρα ὅθεν μὲν ἀνατέλλει νῦν, εἰς τοῦτον τότε τὸν τόπον ἐδύετο, ἀνέτελλε δ' ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου, τότε δὲ δὴ μαρτυρήσας ἄρα ὁ θεὸς Ἀτρεὶ μετέβυλεν αὐτὸ ἐπὶ τὸ νῦν σχῆμα (268 E f.): and Plato himself tells us that the myth will explain this astronomical revolution as well as other stories of a far distant past (269 B)<sup>4</sup>.

The only possible explanation of the two cycles is that each of them represents a Great Year. The *τροπή* which ends one cycle and begins another is said by Plato to be *τροπῶν πασῶν*—*μεγίστη καὶ τελεωτάτη τροπή*, and the number of the period which culminates in such a *τελεωτάτη τροπή* is a *τέλειος ἀριθμός* in precisely the same sense as the number of the Great Year (*Tim.* 39 D), that is to say, it is a 'final' or 'consummating' number, and ends an epoch in the life of the world. But we must beware of supposing, as I formerly did, that the Great Year which is symbolized by the forward movement expresses the period during which the world is made, or that the world is dissolved when the *ἀνακύκλισις* ends: for it is clear from 273 B, C that the creation of the world is prior to both movements, and 273 D shews that the *κόσμος*, though it may be storm-tossed (*χειμασθείς*), is never actually wrecked.

The next step in our argument is to connect the two 'harmonies' of the *Republic* with the two cycles of the *Politicus*.

<sup>1</sup> In 271 A we find *περιφορά* applied to the forward movement: and in 273 E *περίοδος* is said of the backward. The life of the Universe is thus pictured as the revolution of a single circle. The plural *περίοδοι* in 269 C and in 270 A refers to the revolutions of the world on its own axis, and not to the two cycles which Plato describes.

<sup>2</sup> *Der Plat. Politikos* pp. 6 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *ὁμο γὰρ αὐτὰι ψυχὰι λέγονται γενέσθαι παναρμόνιοι* Olym. *Vit. Pl.* 6. The

reference is to Homer and Plato.

<sup>4</sup> The legend about an *ἀνακύκλισις* of the sun in the time of Atreus is mentioned also by Euripides *Orest.* 1001 ff. and *El.* 726 ff.; and from the second of these passages we can see that the story was by some interpreted as the mythical expression of a permanent change in the movement of the heavens. Cf. also the well-known story of the Egyptian priests in Hdt. II 142 and see Sir G. C. Lewis *Ancient Astronomy* pp. 69, 133.

We note, in the first place, that the harmonies are equal to one another, and that they are of vast extent (12,960,000 days). In like manner, the two cycles in the myth are of the same duration and occupy *πολλὰς περιόδων μυριάδας*<sup>1</sup> (*Pol.* 270 A). Secondly, during the progressive movement which precedes our era, the dominant features are concord and harmony—in one word *ὁμοιότης*: during the second, under which we live, strife and discord, or in one word *ἀνομοιότης*, prevail (*Pol.* 273 A—D). Now the first of the two harmonies, which I take to represent the progressive cycle, is *ἴσην ἰσάκεις, ἑκατὸν τοσαντάκεις*, i.e. as we have seen 3600<sup>2</sup>; whereas the second is *προμήκης* or oblong, the product of two unequal numbers viz. 4800 × 2700: and the Pythagoreans were in the habit of calling square numbers *ὅμοιοι*, and oblong numbers *ἀνόμοιοι*: see Iambl. *in Nic.* p. 82 Pistelli οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ ταυτοὺς τε καὶ ὁμοίους (sc. τοὺς τετραγώνους) ἐκάλουν διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰς πλευράς τε καὶ γωνίας ὁμοιότητα καὶ ἰσότητα, ἀνομοίους δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ἐναντίου καὶ θατέρους τοὺς ἑτερομήκεις<sup>3</sup>. It may also be observed that the harmonies, viewed by themselves, in the connexion where they occur, clearly denote some vast periodic cycles, and none of the cycles recognized in antiquity is so large as 12,960,000 days except the Great Year. That Plato should pass from describing the period of gestation in the human race to an account of the Great Year is natural enough: and the arrangement is the same in Censorinus' *de die natali* (cc. 5—19), the whole of which, according to Diels<sup>4</sup>, is taken from Varro. In conclusion I may note that Aristotle himself appears to have connected the Platonic number with the myth of the *Politicus*, and that at all events he regarded the Number as expressing a certain cycle, at the end of which there is a change: see Part iii. My conclusion therefore is that the harmony 3600<sup>2</sup> measures the cycle of Uniformity, and the harmony 4800 × 2700 the cycle of Dissimilarity described in the *Politicus*.

Let us now see how Plato builds up the two numbers. Each of the two numbers is constructed out of the sides of the Pythagorean triangle 3, 4, 5: for each of them is only (3 × 4 × 5)<sup>4</sup>. We have already met with the triangle as a zoogonic agency, and here it establishes its claim to the title *κοσμικόν*, by which, as we are told by Proclus<sup>4</sup>, it was known to

<sup>1</sup> In *Tim.* 39 D it is said that the Great Year is measured *τῷ τοῦ ταυτοῦ καὶ ὁμοίως ἴσος κύκλῳ*, that is to say, 'by the number of days and nights' it contains, as Mr Archer-Hind points out. Now *περιόδων* here means the diurnal revolutions of the heavens, which make days and nights; and the 'harmonies' of the *Republic* are also expressed in days, so that both in the *Politicus* and in the *Republic* Plato employs the unit of measurement which the *Timaeus* prescribes in the formal definition of the Great Year.

<sup>2</sup> It should be mentioned that Proclus also observes the prevalence of τὸ ὅμοιον in the first harmony, and τὸ ἀνόμοιον in the second: see Kroll's edition l.c. II pp. 52 ff.

But when he proceeds to talk of the first harmony as the ὁδὸς from νοητὸν to νοητόν, connected with angels *et hoc genus omne*, and designates the second as the ὁδὸς from γένεσις to γένεσις, guarded by 'the Ephors of Descent' (οἱ τῶν καθόδων ἐφοροί), and when he further canonizes Prometheus as the *προστάτης* of both because he stole the fire from Heaven, we can only regret that Plato should ever have been made the vehicle of such vagaries.

<sup>3</sup> *Dox. Gr.* p. 188.

<sup>4</sup> l.c. II p. 45. 23 εἰκότως ἄρα κοσμικὸν τρίγωνον εἰώθασιν τοῦτο καλεῖν οἱ τε ἄλλοι σοφοὶ καὶ οἱ τὰ Αἰγυπτίων ἱστοροῦντες κτλ. Proclus expounds the appellation by shewing in some detail how the heavenly

some ancient thinkers, ὡς πάντων τὰς ἀρχὰς ἔχον καὶ περιέχον ἐν ἑαυτοῖς. The force of the words ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων can now be more readily apprehended than before. It has been pointed out in Part i § 1 that the arithmetical application of ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων in the Platonic Number is to the making of the like and unlike harmonies, that is, the square and the oblong: what is their philosophical application in this passage? It is that they are the makers of the like and unlike cycles in the world's history, the era in which concord and uniformity prevail, and that in which discord and dissimilarity gradually assert their sway. It will be remembered that we were able to interpret ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων as the numbers 3, 4 and 5 by means of the second part of the Platonic Number, viz. ὦν ἐπίτριστος πυθμὴν κτλ.; and it is by means of the second part of the Number that we are able also to understand the suitability of these words to describe 3, 4 and 5 in the context where they occur. The period of the 'human creature' is fitly constructed out of the elements which build up the cycles of the 'divine creature': for man is the μικρός, and the Universe the μέγας κόσμος<sup>1</sup>. The words αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων 'waxing and waning' have also a reference to the two cosmic periods. We may regard the first of the circles as representing the αὔξις or growth of the Whole, and the second as representing its φθίσις or decline. And if we make the numbers 3, 4 and 5 the cosmic ἀρχαί, and follow the method of Pythagorean physics, the αὔξις or growth of the Universe is only the 'waxing' of these numbers on a large scale, its φθίσις only their 'decline.' The Universe renews its energy and strength because its elemental forces expand and grow: and when they begin to flag and fail, ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ κίνδυνον αὐτοῦ τε ἀφικνέεται καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ (*Pol.* 273 D).

Such is the special applicability of ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων in connexion with the Platonic Number. But these words would have a still more comprehensive meaning in Pythagorean theory, and while we recognize their special fitness as a description of 3, 4 and 5 in the Platonic number, we are bound, I think, to suppose that Plato was conscious of their wider significance, and intended us to think of it too. According to Philolaus *Fr.* 3 Mullach ἀνάγκα τὰ ἔοντα εἶμεν πάντα ἢ περαίνοντα ἢ ἄπειρα, ἢ περαίνοντά τε καὶ ἄπειρα, ἄπειρα δὲ μόνον οὐ κα εἶη: and as ὁμοιότης belongs to the category of πέρας, and ἀνομοιότης, ἀνωμαλία, ἀναρμοστία etc. to that of ἄπειρον<sup>2</sup>, we may express what he means in other words by saying that everything in the Universe is either like or unlike, or both like and unlike. Philolaus continues ἐπεὶ

bodies and everything connected with them conform to this triangle and its manifold properties. However extravagant and absurd the particular fancies of Proclus and his authorities may be, the idea which underlies them is Platonic, viz. that τὰ οὐράνια are the expression in time and space of mathematical shapes and numbers: see App. I to Book VII.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Arist. *Phys.* VIII 2. 252<sup>b</sup> 24 ff. *el*

δ' ἐν ζῳῳ τοῦτο δυνατόν γενέσθαι, τί κωλύει τὸ αὐτὸ συμβῆναι καὶ κατὰ τὸ πᾶν; εἰ γὰρ ἐν μικρῷ κόσμῳ γίνεταί, καὶ ἐν μεγάλῳ, and Zeller<sup>3</sup> II 2 p. 488, III 2 p. 397 with Stein's excursus on *Mikro- und Makrokosmos der Stoa* in his *Psychologie d. Stoa* I pp. 205—214.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Phil.* 16 C ff., 23 C ff., and *Pol.* 273 D τὸν τῆς ἀνομοιότητος ἄπειρον ὄντα τύπον.



τοῖν φαίνεται οὐτ' ἐκ περαιόντων πάντων ὄντα οὐτ' ἐξ ἀπείρων πάντων, δῆλόν τ' ἄρα ὅτι ἐκ περαιόντων τε καὶ ἀπείρων ὁ τε κόσμος καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ συναρμόχθη. Thus the sides of the Pythagorean triangle, regarded as the universal ἀρχαί, the ἀρχαί not only of the whole, but of each of its parts, including the ἀνθρώπειον γεννητόν, may well be called in the words of Plato ὁμοιοῦντά τε καὶ ἀνομοιοῦντα 'makers of like and unlike': for 'like and unlike' sums up the κόσμος and all within it. They wax when things are made and wane when things are unmade, rising from lines into planes, and from planes into solids, and afterwards fading from solids into planes, and from planes into lines again. This is in perfect harmony with the method of Pythagorean physics, in which, as we have seen already, the plane is made up of lines, and the solid of planes<sup>1</sup>.

So much for the meaning of ὁμοιοῦντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιοῦντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων. If we now proceed to scrutinize the two harmonies in detail, we shall find that many of the factors are full of significance.

We know from the *Laws*<sup>2</sup> that Plato counted 360 'days' in the year: the Great Year, which is  $3600^2$  or  $(360 \times 10)^2 = 360^2 \times 10^2$  days<sup>3</sup>, is therefore the square of the number of days in the ordinary year multiplied by the square of the Pythagorean perfect number 10. We are now able to express the period in years: it is  $\frac{12960000}{360} = 36000$  years. Further,  $3600^2$  is  $360^2 \times 100$ . Now we know from the *Republic*<sup>4</sup> that Plato reckoned the duration of human life as 100 years, i.e.  $100 \times 360 = 36000$  days. It follows that a day in the life of the ἀνθρώπειον γεννητόν corresponds to a year in an aeon of the θεῖον γεννητόν. Further, in arriving at the first harmony, Plato is careful, as we have seen, to direct our attention especially to the number 36: each side, he tells us, is so many times 100, i.e. 36 times 100. We have seen on p. 293 that 36 is an exceedingly significant number in many ways: but its special significance here may be that it suggests to us the reason why the number 12,960,000 is called a harmony. We have already found that the number 35 is a ἁρμονία because it contains all the proportions of a

<sup>1</sup> Cf. also *Tim.* 53 C—56 C, 81 C, D, 89 C. It will be observed that it is the inroads of ἀνομοιότης which lead to decay and dissolution in *Tim.* 81 C, D ὅταν δ' ἡ ῥίξις τῶν τριγώνων χαλὰ διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀγῶνας ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ πρὸς πολλὰ ἡγῶνισθαι, τὰ μὲν τῆς τροφῆς εἰσιόντα οὐκέτι δύναται τέμνειν εἰς ὁμοιότητα ἐαυτοῖς, αὐτὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξωθεν ἐπισιόντων εὐπετῶς διαιρεῖται· φθίνει δὲ πᾶν ζῶον ἐν τούτῳ κρατούμενον, γῆράς τε νομαίνεται τὸ πάθος. τέλος δέ, ἐπειδὴ τῶν περὶ τὸν μνηδὸν τριγώνων οἱ ξυναρμολογούμενοι ἀντέχουσι δεσμοὶ τῷ πόνῳ διστάμενοι, μεθίαισι τοὺς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῶν δεσμούς, ἡ δὲ λυθείσα κατὰ φύσιν μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἐξέπτατο.

<sup>2</sup> VI 758 B. The number of Senators in the *Laws* is 360: these are to be divided into 12 sections of 30 each, and each section is to administer the State for one month.

The number 60 with its multiples and divisors is the dominant number throughout the *Laws*. 360 'days' is of course only an ideal division of the year: see § 6. Plato elsewhere recognises (with Philolaus)  $364\frac{1}{2}$  days (*Rep.* IX 587 E, where see note).

<sup>3</sup> See note 1 on p. 299.

<sup>4</sup> X 615 B, where see note. Sir James Crichton-Browne in an address on old age (see the *Times* of Oct. 2, 1891), said that "he thought it a good working hypothesis that the natural life of man was 100, and that in so far as it fell short of that, it was 'curtailed of fair proportion.' He would especially exhort medical students to start with a resolution that they would not be content with a duration of life shorter than that either for themselves or for their patients."

ἁρμονία or scale. Now in 36 we have a harmony plus 1, which is ἡ πάντων ἀρχή (*Excerpt. ex Nicom.* p. 279 von Jan): so that the Number of the Great Year contains  $\frac{12960000}{36} = 360,000$  ἁρμονίαι, plus 360,000 units, each harmony having the ἡ πάντων ἀρχή added to it. In like manner the number 216 contained 6 ἁρμονίαι together with 6 units: so that the larger number is called a harmony for the same reason as the smaller number 216 was said to render πάντα προσήγορα καὶ ῥητὰ πρὸς ἄλληλα. The analogy between the Microcosm and the Macrocosm could not be more faithfully observed. In the second harmony the number 100 is still predominant. It is 'of 100 squares of the rational diameter of 5, minus one each, and of 100 cubes of 3.' Now

$$4800 \times 2700 = (480 \times 10) \times (270 \times 10) = (480 \times 270) \times 10^2.$$

(Just so the first harmony is  $360^2 \times 10^2$ .) 270 is the Pythagorean period of gestation for a nine months' child, and 480, which =  $210 + 270$ , is the sum of the usually recognised periods of gestation for children born after seven and after nine months<sup>1</sup>. The Great Year of the Universe may therefore be denoted by a rectangle whose sides are respectively the longer period and the sum of the longer and shorter periods of gestation in the race of man, after it has been multiplied by the square of the Pythagorean perfect number 10. As the Universe is a 'magnus homo,' and man a 'brevis mundus', these and similar analogies may well have seemed significant to the Pythagoreans, whom Plato is certainly copying here.

#### § 6. The number 36000.

We have thus seen that the harmonies represent two recurrent aeons in the life of the Universe, in which the World waxes and wanes alternately. Before we proceed to discuss ἀριθμὸς γεωμετρικός, τοιοῦτον κύριος, ἀμεινόνων τε καὶ χειρόνων γενέσεων, let us briefly explain the system upon which Plato's reckoning is based.

The number 36000 rests upon the Babylonian sexagesimal system<sup>3</sup>, which made 60 the unit, and multiplied it by the factors of itself. This mode of reckoning, which to the present day divides our hour into 60 minutes, and our minute into 60 seconds, was widely spread in very early times, and there are traces of it as far west as Italy. It survived in the Latin use of *sescenti* for an indefinitely large number, and in the period of 6000 years, which was the duration of a dynasty of Etruscan gods. Among the Greeks we find traces of the sexagesimal system as a measure of time as early as Hesiod<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Arist. Quint. I.c. Cf. also *Theolog. Arith.*, p. 40 Ast, Cens. 11 and Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* 1.6. 15—16. Tannery (*Rev. Phil.* 1 p. 179 note) also supposes that in 2700 there is a reference to the nine months' gestation.

<sup>2</sup> Macrob. *Somn. Scip.* 11.12. 11. The same expression is used by Philo: see Zeller<sup>3</sup> III 2, p. 397.

<sup>3</sup> Full information on this system will be found in Brandis, *Das Münz- Mass- und Gewichtswesen in Vorderasien*, pp. 7—21, and in Cantor, *Gesch. der Math.*, pp. 67—94.

<sup>4</sup> *Works and Days* 562, 764 et al. It is of course obvious that there must even in Hesiod's time have been some way of making this division correspond with the

and Cleobulus<sup>1</sup>, and Herodotus expressly tells us that the Greeks borrowed from the Babylonians the division of the day into 12 parts<sup>2</sup>. It is therefore unnecessary to suppose that Plato borrowed his reckoning directly from the Babylonians, even although, if Berosus may be trusted, 36000 years was actually the duration of a Babylonian cycle<sup>3</sup>. What it is of importance to note is, that the sexagesimal system was very commonly used in calculating long periods of time, from the notion that the year could be divided into 360 equal parts corresponding to the 360 degrees of the circle yearly traversed by the sun<sup>4</sup>. Thus among the Indians 360 years was 'a year of the gods,' 3600 a 'cycle of Brihaspati,' 216000 a 'cycle of Prajapati,' 4,320,000 an 'age of the gods,' and the 'kalpa' 1000 'ages of the gods' or one 'day of Brahma,' while twice this number, or 8,640,000,000 years, was 'a day and a night of Brahma'<sup>5</sup>.

Let us now see how the number 36000 is connected with other Greek cycles.

It does not appear that Anaximander, Anaximenes, Diogenes of Apollonia, or Anaxagoras defined the period during which the world endures, although they held the Universe to be *φθαρτός*<sup>6</sup>.

According to Stobaeus<sup>7</sup> the Great Year of Heraclitus was 18000 years, that is, one half of Plato's. Schuster's conjecture<sup>8</sup>, that the time from one *ἐκπύρωσις* to another was reckoned by Heraclitus at 36000 years, 18000 being the *ὁδὸς κάτω*, and 18000 the *ὁδὸς ἄνω*, is in harmony with the tone of Heraclitus' philosophy, and brings Heraclitus very near to Plato<sup>9</sup>, although no *ἐκπύρωσις* marked the end of Plato's year.

The nearest approach to the doctrine of a Great Year in Empedocles is the theory that the wicked *δαίμονες* are condemned 'to wander away

solar year. See Ideler, *Handbuch der Chronologie* I p. 257 ff., for more evidence on the subject.

<sup>1</sup> If the epigram quoted by Stob. I 240 is genuine.

<sup>2</sup> Hdt. II 109. It would appear that for astronomical purposes the Babylonians divided the day into 60 parts: see Cantor l.c. p. 82.

<sup>3</sup> I take this from Brandis, *Das Münz-etc.*, p. 11. Compare Sir G. C. Lewis's *Ancient Astronomy*, pp. 400 ff. The Greek and Egyptian cycle of 36525 years (*ibid.* pp. 282, 389) is reached by a similar calculation, viz. by multiplying the number of days in the year (taken as 365 $\frac{1}{4}$ ) by 100. Lewis's excellent and learned work is a mine of information (see pp. 256 ff.) on the part played by the numbers 60 and 360 in the astronomical reckonings of the ancients.

<sup>4</sup> Martin, *Rev. Archéol.* XIII pp. 287 ff.

<sup>5</sup> Martin, l.c. p. 286. Martin interprets the verses of Hesiod beginning *ἐννέα τοι ζωίει γενεάς λακέρυζα κορώνη* <sup>1</sup> *ἀνδρῶν ἡβώντων* (Plut. *de def. Or.* 415 C) by taking

400 years as the life of the *κορώνη*, and thus assigns 43,200 (= 3600 × 12) years to the phoenix, whose appearance was generally supposed to herald some kind of new era, and 432,000 years to the nymphs. 432,000 years was according to the Chaldaeans the period from the creation to the deluge.

<sup>6</sup> Stob. I 417: cf. Zeller<sup>5</sup> I pp. 231, 251, 271.

<sup>7</sup> I 264. Cens. 18. 11 assigns 10800 (= 30 × 360) years to Heraclitus' cycle.

<sup>8</sup> Zeller<sup>1</sup> I p. 640 note 2.

<sup>9</sup> The *ὁδὸς κάτω* leads to the formation of the world, and the *ὁδὸς ἄνω* to its dissolution. It is the same way, now up, now down. Just so in the *Politicus* the *περίοδος* is the same, now forward, and now backward. Burnet's attempt to shew that Heraclitus did not believe in a periodical *ἐκπύρωσις* is, as he himself confesses, "in direct contradiction with the statements of most writers, ancient and modern," and appears to me unsuccessful (*Early Gk Phil.* pp. 160 ff.).



from the blessed for thrice ten thousand seasons<sup>1</sup>. Zeller rightly observes that this in no way determines the duration of the world, since the *δαίμονες* must have lived before the beginning of their wanderings and will live after they are done.

A comparison with the Great Year of Philolaus will not yield any satisfactory result, because, as we know from Censorinus<sup>2</sup>, he counted  $364\frac{1}{2}$  days in the year. We can only say that had he counted 360 days in the year, then, according to the method of reckoning which he employs, his great year would have been  $59 \times 360 = 21240$  years, which is  $\frac{59}{100}$  of Plato's cycle—and Philolaus (as well as Oenopides) recognised a smaller cycle of 59 years<sup>3</sup>.

Aristotle is hostile to the idea of a Great Year, and the only passage which could possibly be otherwise construed is in the first book of the *Meteorologica* 14 p. 352<sup>a</sup> 28 ff.<sup>4</sup>; but the most that can be made out of his words is an assertion of the periodical recurrence of partial floods.

Of later authorities, it is enough to mention the Stoics, whose great year was  $365 \times 18000$  years, i.e.  $\frac{365}{2}$  times the great year of Plato, and the astronomer Ptolemy, whose great cycle, like Plato's, was 36000 years<sup>5</sup>.

It will be seen that the Great Year contained in Plato's Number was arrived at in the same way as that of many of the other Greek philosophers.

In conclusion, I may now be permitted to draw attention to the fact that the period of 36000 years is sometimes actually called the 'great Platonic year' in early astronomical treatises. In Barocius' *Cosmographia* I p. 6 (Venetiis, 1598) I find these words said of the movement of the ninth heaven: "qui profecto motus complet unam perfectam revolutionem spatio 36000 annorum iuxta Ptolemaei opinionem; iuxta autem Allategnii, spatio 23760 annorum; iuxta vero Alphonsi, et quorundam aliorum sententiam, 49000 annorum; *quod utique*" (i.e. whatever its duration is) "*temporis spatium vocant magnum Platonicum annum.*" Even more precise is the *Sphaera* of Johannes de Sacro-Bosco (ed. Burgersdicius, 1639) p. 12: "orbis nonus centenis quibusque annis iuxta Ptolemaeum unum gradum proprio motu conficit, totamque periodum peragit annis 36000 (*quod spatium magnus annus appellari solet, aut annus Platonicus*), subiectasque sphaeras una secum circumducit." The work from which this sentence is quoted was a regular text-book of Astronomy till the Copernican theory prevailed over the Ptolemaic: and 36000 years could hardly have come to be called the *annus Platonicus* in a text-book of Ptolemaic Astronomy unless Ptolemy or some of his predecessors or commentators had understood the Platonic Number, for there is no other passage in Plato which gives the duration of the Great Year. We can even perhaps trace the knowledge of the Number as far back as Hipparchus. The precession of the Equinoxes, which is

<sup>1</sup> Mullach I p. 1: cf. Zeller<sup>4</sup> I p. 706.

<sup>2</sup> Ch. 19. See also Tannery *Rev. Phil.* XIII pp. 213 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Cens. 18. 8: cf. Stob. I 264.

<sup>4</sup> This explains the remark of Censori-

nus in 18. 11, as Usener has pointed out (*Rhein. Mus.* XXVIII pp. 392 ff.).

<sup>5</sup> See Hultsch *Zeitschrift f. Math.* etc. l.c. p. 57.

in reality caused by the movement of the axis of the Earth round the pole of the Ecliptic, was—so we are told—discovered by Hipparchus, and the period of time during which the equinoctial points make a complete revolution was maintained by that astronomer to be 36000 years (Hultsch in Pauly-Wissowa art. *Astronomie* p. 1851). It is difficult to believe that Hipparchus was uninfluenced by Plato's number, if indeed the whole theory of a Great Year is not—as I am sometimes inclined to suspect that it is—connected with some pre-Hipparchian notions about the equinoctial *περίοδος*, the real extent of which is not 36000, but about 26700 years.

§ 7. *ξύμπαρ δὲ οὗτος—γενέσεων.*

‘This whole number, a number measuring the earth, is lord of better and worse births.’ The number 12,960,000 may fairly be called *γεωμετρικός* in the ordinary sense of the term, for it is arrived at by mathematical calculations, and expressed in two mathematical figures, the one an oblong, and the other a square. But what Plato chiefly means, as I believe, is that the number in question, since it expresses the duration of an aeon of the World, is *τῷ ὄντι γεωμετρικός* (cf. *Rep.* vi 511 B n.), and measures a period in the lifetime of the Earth. Plato loves to play on the etymological meaning of words, as for example in viii 555 A *ὁλίγοις τισὶν ἑαυτοῦ πολεμῶν ὀλιγαρχικῶς τὰ πολλὰ ἡττᾶται καὶ πλουτεῖ*, and it is appropriate and right that in a passage where so many of the mathematical terms are symbolic, *γεωμετρικός*, coming at the climax of the whole, should be symbolic too<sup>1</sup>.

In what sense is this number ‘lord of better and worse births’? I think the simple and sufficient explanation of Plato's words is that in the early stages of our cycle of 36,000 years, before disintegration and dissimilarity have gone far, *γενέσεις* are for the most part *ἀμείνωνες*, whereas later they are apt to be *χείρονες* because the Universe is growing *χείρων*. Good and bad births are consequently determined by this number<sup>2</sup>. See also § 2 above and Part iii, with the notes on 546 C. There is in Plato's theory a suggestion of the view expressed by Lucretius when he wrote:

Tristis item vetulae vitis sator atque vietac  
temporis incusat momen caelumque fatigat:  
nec tenet omnia paulatim tabescere et ire  
ad capulum spatio aetatis defessa vetusto<sup>3</sup>.

I have elsewhere<sup>4</sup> pointed out that Plato, in order to pave the way

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Proclus *in Tim.* 270 E, and 271 A, B. In speaking of the *ἀριθμὸς τέλειος* of the Great Year, Proclus says *ὁ χρόνος μετρεῖ τὴν ὅλην κίνησιν καὶ τὸ τέλος αὐτῆς ἐπιστρέφει πρὸς τὴν ἀρχήν· διὸ καὶ ὁ ἀριθμὸς ἐπονομάζεται καὶ τέλειος*, and again *μετρεῖ δ' οὖν ὁ ὅλος χρόνος ὁ ἐγκόσμιος τὴν μίαν ζωὴν τοῦ παντός*.

<sup>2</sup> Proclus, as we should expect, has

A. P. II.

resort to all manner of astrological explanations of τοιούτου κύριος, ἀμεινόνων τε καὶ χειρόνων γενέσεων: see his *in temp. comm.* II pp. 70 ff. al. I have already said that I can see no justification for reading theories of this kind into Plato.

<sup>3</sup> II 1171—1174.

<sup>4</sup> VIII 543 A n.

for his 'philosophy of history' in Books VIII and IX, plants his ideal city—only of course *θεωρίας καὶ διδασκαλίας χάριν*—in the distant past, and in accordance with this fancy we may picture it as belonging to the early stages of our present era of 36,000 years<sup>1</sup>.

Some may be disposed to ask the question: 'Did Plato think that these speculations have any serious value?' I am not sure that an editor is called upon to reply: but it is certain that his reply will convince no one who is not convinced already. According to Prof. Huxley (*Life* II p. 426) "Plato was the founder of all the vague and unsound thinking that has burdened philosophy, deserting facts for possibilities, and then, *after long and beautiful stories of what might be, telling you he doesn't quite believe them himself.*" The unconscious humour of the words in italics may be allowed to atone for the libel which precedes. Plato does not here tell us that 'he doesn't quite believe' the Number: but he warns us in advance that the Muses are jesting. But as there is often a touch of playfulness when Plato professes to be serious, so there is usually an undercurrent of serious meaning in the frolics of his Muse. *De iocis non est disputandum*: every reader, according to his nationality and nature, will find his appropriate food for laughter in these pleasant 'Babylonian numbers.' The only thing that I venture to assert is that the point of the jest cannot be that it is unintelligible. About the serious side of the episode there is less room for difference of opinion. Plato was profoundly convinced of the truth, which inspires and animates all these calculations, that the Universe and all within it are created and sustained by mathematical laws. The grand old saying, *θεὸς ἀεὶ γωμετρῶν*, is the abiding lesson of the Platonic Number.

### PART III.

In this division of the Appendix I propose, by way of epilogue, fully to explain the passage in which Aristotle refers to and criticises the Platonic Number. The duty cannot be evaded, because it has been alleged that Aristotle explains *τὰς αὐξήθεις* in a different way from that in which the phrase has been explained in Part I of this Appendix<sup>2</sup>. In

<sup>1</sup> If we understand *τροπή* in Arist. *Pol.* E 12. 1316<sup>a</sup> 17 to refer to the *τροπή* of the *Politicus*, and press the criticism of Aristotle for all that it is worth, it would seem that Aristotle thought Plato assigns his city to the previous era, before the *μεγίστη καὶ τελευτάτη τροπή* took place. I do not believe that Aristotle seriously thought anything of the sort, but if he did, he was certainly mistaken. Plato's ideal city contains of course some features in common with *ὁ ἐπὶ Κρόνου βίος*, such as the principle of 'No property in wives' (*Pol.* 271 E), but in other respects the life of the *γῆγενεὺς* is ludicrously unlike the life of Plato's

citizens, and in the *Republic* we do not hear of any *τροπή* ushering in the change from Aristocracy to the Spartan State.

<sup>2</sup> *Cl. Rev.* l.c. pp. 154, 243. Mr Monro's own explanation of Aristotle's criticism does not pretend to be exhaustive, and involves, as will presently be shewn, several grave mistakes, even if we treat it as a partial explanation and nothing more. That of Susemihl is more complete but hardly less erroneous: see his *Aristoteles' Politik* II pp. 369—378. Newman's treatment of the subject is confessedly tentative and incomplete (Vol. IV pp. 481—483).



point of fact, as we shall see, Aristotle's criticism, so far as it goes, is completely in harmony with the results of our investigations.

The words of Aristotle are as follows (*Pol.* E 12. 1316<sup>a</sup> 1—17):

ἐν δὲ τῇ πολιτείᾳ λέγεται μὲν περὶ τῶν μεταβολῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σωκράτους, οὐ μέντοι λέγεται καλῶς· τῆς τε γὰρ ἀρίστης πολιτείας καὶ πρώτης οὐσης οὐ λέγει τὴν μεταβολὴν ἰδίως. φησὶ γὰρ αἴτιον εἶναι τὸ μὴ μένειν μηθέν ἀλλ' ἐν τινι περιόδῳ μεταβάλλειν, ἀρχὴν δ' εἶναι τούτων ὧν ἐπίτритος πυθμὴν περπαδὶ συνζυγίς δύο ἁρμονίας παρέχεται, λέγων ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τούτου γένηται στερεός, ὡς τῆς φύσεώς ποτε φυοῦσης φαύλους καὶ κρείττους τῆς παιδείας, τοῦτο μὲν οὖν αὐτὸ λέγων ἴσως οὐ κακῶς· ἐνδέχεται γὰρ εἶναι τινὰς οὓς παιδευθῆναι καὶ γενέσθαι σπουδαίους ἀνδρας ἀδύνατον. ἀλλ' αὕτη τί ἂν ἰδίου εἴη μεταβολὴ τῆς ὑπ' ἐκείνου λεγομένης ἀρίστης πολιτείας μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων πασῶν καὶ τῶν γιγνομένων πάντων; καὶ διὰ γε τοῦ χρόνου, δι' ὃν λέγει πάντα μεταβάλλειν, καὶ τὰ μὴ ἅμα ἀρξάμενα γίνεσθαι ἅμα μεταβάλλει, οἷον εἰ τῇ προτέρᾳ ἡμέρᾳ ἐγένετο τῆς τροπῆς, ἅμα ἄρα μεταβάλλει<sup>1</sup>.

The words from *φησί τοι πάντων* concern us first. They mean: 'for he says that the *cause* of change is the fact that nothing abides, but all things change in a certain cycle of time, and that the *beginning* of change comes from' (lit. 'is of') 'those' (sc. elements or numbers), 'whereof 4, 3, coupled with 5, furnish two harmonies, meaning, *when the number of this diagram is made solid*, the theory being that Nature sometimes produces inferior children and children who defy education. In this particular point, indeed, Socrates is probably right: for there may well be persons who cannot be educated and made into good men. But why should *this* be a change peculiar to the constitution which he calls the best more than to every other constitution and everything that comes into being?'

In this sentence Aristotle distinguishes between Plato's account of the *cause* of change and his account of the *beginning* of change. The *cause* of change, he tells us, is τὸ μὴ μένειν μηθέν, ἀλλ' ἐν τινι περιόδῳ μεταβάλλειν: and the *beginning* of change is 'when the number of this diagram is made solid.' In the words of Schneider<sup>2</sup>, who was, I think, the first to apprehend the meaning of this passage: "τούτων ad ὧν pertinet et sensus verborum talis est: Principium mutationis positum esse in numeris—quorum sesquitercia radix etc. Deinde verba λέγων ὅταν declarant tempus, quo Plato initium mutationis posuerit." Now what is 'this diagram'? There can be no question—nor is the point disputed—after the evidence already adduced, that the diagram is the Pythagorean triangle, whether we suppose (with Schneider) that the antecedent of τούτου is contained in ἐπίτритος πυθμὴν, or, as appears to me most probable, that Aristotle inserted in his manuscript a diagram, to which he refers in τοῦ διαγράμματος τοίτου. Now the number of a triangle is its size or area expressed in numbers<sup>3</sup>, and the area of the

<sup>1</sup> Newman prints a mark of interrogation at the end of this sentence.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. III p. xxviii.

<sup>3</sup> I have not found the precise expression 'the number of a diagram' in

any other Greek writer, but we can easily divine the meaning. It was the custom of the Greeks to express numbers by means of geometrical figures, and the 'number of a diagram' must

Pythagorean triangle, as we have seen, is 6. Make this number solid, as Aristotle bids us do, that is, cube it, and the result is 216. Aristotle therefore informs us that change begins, according to Plato, with the number 216: or in other words, that the number 216 expresses the beginning of change.

Let us next enquire in what sense Aristotle interprets the view which he attributes to Plato, I mean the view that the number 216 is the beginning of change from aristocracy to *τιμαρχία*. Aristotle's own words leave us in no doubt upon this subject: for immediately after he has said that change begins with the number 216 (*λέγων—στερεός*), he adds the explanatory clause *ὡς τῆς φύσεώς ποτε φουούσης φαύλους καὶ κρείττους τῆς παιδείας*: 'the theory being that Nature sometimes produces inferior offspring' etc. That is to say, the number 216 is the *ἀρχὴ μεταβολῆς* because it is in some way or other connected with the production of offspring. In what way is it so connected? Because of course the *περίοδος* of the *ἀνθρώπειον γεννητόν*, according to Plato, is 216 days, and, according to the same authority, change begins with the child in the womb: *ὅταν—ἡμῖν οἱ φύλακες συνοικίζωσι νύμφας νυμφίοις παρὰ καιρόν, οὐκ εὐφρεῖς οὐδ' εὐτυχεῖς παῖδες ἔσονται* (546D). Thus it is clear that *ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τούτου γένηται στερεός* is Aristotle's way of stating the period which Plato assigns to the *ἀνθρώπειον γεννητόν*, viz. 216 days, and Aristotle's evidence is therefore in harmony with the result at which we arrived in our investigation of the words *αὔξησεις—φθινόντων*. If we look at the words of Aristotle a little more closely, we shall see, I think, that he construed the passage exactly as we have done. 'Plato says that the beginning of change comes from those elements'

of course be the number which the diagram expresses. Thus for example the number of the square whose side is 3 can only be 9: for 9 and no other number is expressed by that square. In Theo p. 39 ed. Hiller the number 9 is actually represented

a a a

by the diagram a a a, in which the sum

a a a

of the letters represents the area: and this method of representing the area of figures was earlier than Aristotle, as appears from *Met.* N 5. 1092<sup>b</sup> 10 ff. *ὡς Εὐρυτος ἔταττε τις ἀριθμὸς τίνος, ὅσον ὅδι μὲν ἀνθρώπου, ὅδι δὲ ἵππου, ὥσπερ οἱ τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς ἄγοντες εἰς τὰ σχήματα τρίγωνον καὶ τετράγωνον, οὕτως ἀφομοιῶν ταῖς ψήφοις τὰς μορφὰς τῶν φυτῶν*. Cf. also Theophr. *Fr.* 12. 11 ed. Wimmer. In the face of this evidence, which was first adduced by me in *Cl. Rev.* XVI p. 22, I cannot believe that Mr Monro will continue to deny that the 'number of a diagram' is its area. On a former occasion he remarked: "The 'number of this diagram'—to wit, the Pythagorean triangle—does not seem to me to mean the area, but the linear measurement of the several sides" (*Cl.*

*Rev.* l.c. p. 154). If so, then we must suppose that the number of the square diagram which I have just taken from Theo is not 9, but  $3 + 3 + 3 + 3 = 12$ : whereas the number 12 is oblong, and not a *τετράγωνος ἀριθμὸς* at all. After a reference to IX 587 D *κατὰ τὸν τοῦ μήκου ἀριθμόν*, a phrase which has no bearing on this passage at all (see my note ad loc.), Mr Monro continues "The fact that the three cubes of the sides are together equal to the cube of the next whole number ( $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 6^3$ ) is surely a strong confirmation of this view." (The italics are mine.) I am unable to attach any relevant meaning to this sentence unless it means that we are to cube  $3 + 4 + 5$  by making it into  $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3$ . Such a solution of the clause *ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τούτου γένηται στερεός* would make it an exact reproduction not only of the whole number, but also of the arithmetical processes which I find in Plato's *αὔξησεις—ὁμοιούντων*, but it is of course wholly illegitimate, for the cube of  $3 + 4 + 5$  is  $12^3$  and not  $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3$ . I will revert to this point later.

(viz. the *ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων* i.e. 3, 4, 5) 'of which the numbers 4, 3, coupled with 5, furnish two harmonies—meaning (that change begins) when the number of this diagram is cubed.' In Plato the beginning of change does come from 3, 4, 5 because these three numbers are made by him to produce the number 216 ( $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216$ ), which *is* the *ἀρχὴ μεταβολῆς*, as Aristotle points out. The only difference between Aristotle's calculation and Plato's is that Aristotle reaches the number by cubing the area, and not by adding the cubes of the sides, of the Pythagorean triangle, and that is exactly the kind of difference which we should expect; for Aristotle likes to vary his predecessors' ways of expressing their results, and  $6^3$  was known among the Pythagoreans as the *ψυχολογικὸς κύβος*: see p. 293. That Aristotle was aware of the way in which Plato himself reached the number is clear enough from his reference in *τούτων* to the *ὁμοιούντων τε καὶ ἀνομοιούντων καὶ αὐξόντων καὶ φθινόντων*.

Let us now consider Aristotle's further remarks on Plato's beginning of change. He proceeds to say that Plato is quite right in holding that Nature sometimes produces bad offspring; for there may well be persons who cannot be educated. But this mode of change, urges Aristotle, is not peculiar to the ideal city, for it is found in all the other cities, and in fact in everything which is created (*ἀλλ' αὕτη—πάντων*). The remark is perfectly true: Nature does sometimes produce *φαῦλοι* and *φαῦλα* in every sphere, among plants and lower animals as well as in every aggregate of human beings. But Plato would of course reply that he had no intention of assigning an *ἴδιος μεταβολή* to his ideal State: there cannot be any *ἴδιος μεταβολή* of a perfect city: for a city which carries within itself the germs of dissolution is for that very reason imperfect. If our city is to decay at all, it must do so from the operation of a law from which there is no escape just *because* the law is universal throughout the whole domain of Nature, and *not* peculiar to the city.

Hitherto Aristotle's criticisms have concerned themselves solely with Plato's *ἀρχή* of change, viz. the number 216, which Aristotle interpreted by the sentence *ὡς τῆς φύσεώς ποτε φθοῦσης φαύλους καὶ κρείττους τῆς παιδείας*. We have seen that he gives a qualified approval to Plato's account of this matter, his only objection being that deterioration in the breed of children is not confined to aristocracy and so cannot be an *ἴδιος ἀρχὴ μεταβολῆς* ἐξ ἀριστοκρατίας εἰς τιμαρχίαν. In the next sentence Aristotle directs his remarks against Plato's conception of the *Cause* of change, viz. *τὸ μὴ μένειν μηθέν, ἀλλ' ἐν τινι περιόδῳ μεταβάλλειν*. 'And moreover through the time, by reason of which<sup>1</sup> he says that all

<sup>1</sup> I follow Bekker's text, except that (with Susemihl) I read *γὰρ* for *τε*. It has been proposed to change *τοῦ χρόνου* into *τὸν χρόνον* or, as an alternative, *δι' οὗ* into *δι' οὗ*. Neither of these changes would affect my argument; but neither is necessary. "Instrumentalis ac modalis vis praepr. *διὰ* c. genet. coniunctae interdum prope accedit ad causalem vim praepr. *διὰ* c. acc., ut de eadem re utrumque usurpe-

tur" (Bonitz *Ind. Arist.* s.v. *διὰ*, where many examples are given). In this case *τοῦ χρόνου*, like *ὅν*, denotes the cause, rather than the instrument. Susemihl translates: "und soll denn während desjenigen Zeitraumes, dessen Eintritt er als Ursache dieser Umwandlung bezeichnet, auch Dasjenige, welches gar nicht zugleich den Anfang seines Entstehens genommen hat, dennoch zugleich diese Umwandlung



things change, those things also which did not begin to come into being at the same time are changed at the same time, for example, if a thing was born *the day before the turning*, it consequently changes at the same time' (sc. as something born at a different time from it). We have seen that in Plato 'the time, by reason of which all things change,' is the γεωμετρικὸς ἀριθμὸς, viz. 36000 years. Aristotle's criticism then amounts to this. In that case, he says, 'a thing born the day before the end of the cycle changes at the same time as a thing born, let us say, 100 years before the cycle ends: but if you hold that the περίοδος of the whole is the cause of change, it should be fulfilled for each individual thing *before* it can cause that thing to be changed: so that if you call the περίοδος 36000 years, a thing born in the year 1 should be changed in the year 36000, while another born in the year 2 should be changed in 36001 and so on.' The τροπή in Aristotle is obviously one of the two secular τροπαί of which Plato speaks in the *Politicus*: see 270C,D, 271C, and we note by the way that Aristotle agrees with us in regarding the γεωμετρικὸς ἀριθμὸς as the measure of an aeon in the life of the World. See Part II § 5. Aristotle's criticism of Plato's Cause of Change is perfectly intelligible, but exceedingly perverse and unfair, as is sometimes the case when he is dealing with Plato: for in the Platonic Number, 36000 is the Cause of Change from Aristocracy to Timarchy only in the sense that it measures a secular epoch, marked, as time goes on, by a gradual and ever-increasing deterioration of the Universe and all its parts. Cf. P. 305.

So much for Aristotle's criticism of Plato. But before I conclude, it is necessary to advert to the rival interpretation of φησὶ γὰρ—στερεός, which has been held by many writers, and which Mr Monro has advocated in *Cl. Rev.* l.c. pp. 154, 243, as well as in the *Journal of Philology* VIII p. 280. According to Mr Monro "Aristotle paraphrases τρις αὐξηθεῖς by the words ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τοῦτον γένηται στερεός. By the 'number of this figure' he cannot well mean any single number; probably he uses ἀριθμὸς in the sense of 'linear measurement,' as opposed to surfaces or solids (cf. *Rep.* p. 587D, where κατὰ τὸν τοῦ μήκους ἀριθμὸν is opposed to κατὰ δυνάμιν καὶ τρίτην αὐξήν). Now the most natural way of raising the Pythagorean triangle to the third dimension is by cubing each of the sides; and this process leads us at once to the remarkable fact that  $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216 = 6^3$ . It is difficult to resist the impression that this is what was in the mind of Plato" (*J. of Ph.* l.c.). I have dealt with the phrase κατὰ τὸν τοῦ μήκους ἀριθμὸν in my note on IX 587D, and need not touch on it again. The other statements will now be discussed in order. The theory which underlies them is, as the reader will observe, that ὡν ἐπίτριστος πυθμὴν πεμπτὰδι συζυγείς—τρις αὐξηθεῖς in Plato means  $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216$ .

"Aristotle paraphrases τρις αὐξηθεῖς by the words ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τοῦτον γένηται στερεός." What proof is offered of this

erleiden?" There is nothing in the Greek to justify us in translating δι' ὃν by 'dessen Eintritt,' and I can see no reason for making διὰ in διὰ τοῦ χρόνου refer to time.

I am glad to find that Newman also interprets διὰ of agency ("through the influence of time" l.c. p. 483).

statement? "I do not see," says Mr Monro<sup>1</sup>, "what proof of this is needed beyond placing the two passages together. We have:—

*Plato's sentence*

ὢν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν πεμπάδι συζυγείς δύο ἁρμονίας παρέχεται τρὶς αὐξήθεις.

*Aristotle's quotation and comment*

‘ὢν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν πεμπάδι συζυγείς δύο ἁρμονίας παρέχεται,’ λέγων ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τοῦτου γένηται στερεός.”

Stated in this way, the view which Mr Monro supports is superficially engaging and attractive. But it is wholly illegitimate to institute a comparison of this kind between two *parts* of a sentence, each of which is incomplete in point of sense, and cannot possibly be otherwise than incomplete because they each begin with a relative pronoun—a pronoun, too, of which, so far as I can see, Mr Monro offers no explanation whatsoever. No fair-minded jury would ever accept as evidence of identification the scrap of incomplete and unintelligible testimony on which we are invited to identify τρὶς αὐξήθεις with Aristotle's γένηται στερεός. They would insist that the evidence should be intelligible in itself and as far as possible complete. Make the evidence in this case intelligible and complete by writing αὐξήσεις—ἀπέφηναν before Plato's ὢν, and φησὶ—ἀρχὴν δ' εἶναι τούτων before Aristotle's ὢν, and I think a jury of scholars will then pronounce that λέγων ὅταν—γένηται explains ἀρχήν and not τρὶς αὐξήθεις, a phrase which Aristotle does not even quote. If it does not explain ἀρχήν, but Plato's τρὶς αὐξήθεις, the participle λέγων is not only superfluous but misleading, for ὅταν—γένηται by itself would in that case be sufficient for Aristotle's purpose, and the addition of λέγων would suggest that what he is about to explain has already been named or referred to. Cf. *Pol.* Δ 2. 1289<sup>b</sup> 21 ταύτας τὰς πολιτείας, λέγω δὲ δημοκρατίας κτλ., E 7. 1307<sup>a</sup> 10 μάλιστα δὲ τὰ δύο· λέγω δὲ τὰ δύο δῆμον καὶ ὀλιγαρχίαι, and other passages in the *Ind. Arist.* s.v. λέγω<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Cl. Rev.* l.c. p. 243.

<sup>2</sup> As it seems to have been suggested that my reason for interpreting the passage in Aristotle as I do is because the other interpretation would be fatal to my view that τρὶς αὐξήθεις means 'thrice increased' (see *Cl. Rev.* l.c. p. 154), it is fair to remind the reader that it was Schneider, and not the writer of this Appendix, who first interpreted λέγων ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τοῦτου γένηται στερεός as explaining the number arrived at in αὐξήσεις—ἀπέφηναν, and Schneider was not exposed to the same temptation as myself, for he makes τρὶς αὐξήθεις mean 'cubed,' like most other writers on the Number. Another objection raised was that my explanation makes "Aristotle's comment refer to words which are not only not quoted by him but are in the sentence preceding the words quoted" (*Cl. Rev.*

l.c. p. 243). In point of fact, I now make Aristotle's comment refer to ἀρχήν, which is in the text of Aristotle: the other view makes them refer to τρὶς αὐξήθεις, which is *not*. A somewhat parallel sentence in English would be 'Mr Disraeli says that the root of the mischief is a man "whose egotistical imagination can at all times supply an interminable series of arguments to malign his opponent"—meaning *Mr Gladstone*.' Why then does Aristotle trouble to quote the words ὢν ἐπίτριτος πυθμὴν πεμπάδι συζυγείς δύο ἁρμονίας παρέχεται at all? Because these words, as we have seen, give us Plato's *cause*—and not merely his ἀρχή—of change, and in the sequel Aristotle is going to criticise the Platonic *Cause* (καὶ διὰ γε—ἅμα ἅρα μεταβάλλει), as well as the Platonic *beginning*, of deterioration. In effect Aristotle says: Plato says the *Cause* of change

"By the 'number of this figure,'" continues Mr Monro, Aristotle "cannot well mean any single number; probably he uses ἀριθμός in the sense of 'linear measurement' as opposed to surfaces or solids.... Now the most natural way of raising the Pythagorean triangle to the third dimension is by cubing each of the sides; and this process leads us at once to the remarkable fact that  $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216 = 6^3$ ."

Mr Monro supposes that the ἀριθμός of the Pythagorean triangle is  $3 + 4 + 5$ . I have already, as I think, proved that the ἀριθμός of a figure is its area, and not the sum of its sides: and here it need only be remarked that ἀριθμός cannot possibly stand for ἀριθμοί, but must denote a single number. By Mr Monro it is interpreted as *three separate numbers*, which he proceeds to add together—here again, as it appears to me, without the shadow of a hint from Aristotle himself.

Mr Monro says that "the most natural way of raising the Pythagorean triangle to the third dimension is by cubing each of its sides." I should have thought that a more natural way of effecting this result would be to cube the area: but in point of fact it is *not* the Pythagorean triangle which Aristotle invites us to make solid: it is the *number* of the Pythagorean triangle. And if the number of the Pythagorean triangle is, as Mr Monro supposes,  $3 + 4 + 5$ , surely the most natural way of making that number solid is by cubing 12, since  $3 + 4 + 5 = 12$ . Or are we to suppose that Plato was so ignorant of arithmetic as to believe the cube of  $3 + 4 + 5$  to be  $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3$ ?

Finally, Mr Monro remarks, "It is difficult to resist the impression that this is what was in the mind of Plato." I hope there are other students of Plato besides myself who find it easy to resist an impression which attributes so many inconsequences both to Plato and to Aristotle. I should find it difficult to believe that this was in Plato's mind even if Aristotle categorically assured us that it was: but Aristotle does nothing of the sort, and Schneider's explanation of the words ὅταν ὁ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἀριθμὸς τοῦτου γένηται στερεός will now, I hope, be at last admitted to be right.

## II.

VIII 558 A. τί δέ; ἡ πρώτης ἐνίων τῶν δικασθέντων οὐ κομψή; ἢ οὐπω εἶδες ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ, ἀνθρώπων καταψηφισθέντων θανάτου ἢ φυγῆς, οὐδὲν ἦττον αὐτῶν μενόντων τε καὶ ἀναστρεφόμενων ἐν μέσῳ, καὶ ὡς οὔτε φροντίζοντος οὔτε ὀρώντος οὐδενὸς περιουστῇ ὥσπερ ἥρως;

This sentence has been much discussed. I will take the different points in order.

is that everything changes in a certain period of time (i.e. as we found, the Great Year), and that the *beginning* of change comes from the numbers (3, 4, 5), out of which he also builds up the numerical expression of the *Cause* of change etc. This 'beginning of change' is the number

216: it comes from 3, 4, 5 because  $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3 = 216$ : and the only difference between Aristotle and Plato is that Aristotle, who is interested only in the result, and not in the process, expresses 216 as  $6^3$  and not as  $3^3 + 4^3 + 5^3$ . See p. 309.



Is ἐνίων κτλ. (a) objective or (b) subjective genitive? Does Plato mean *lenitas erga damnatos* or *lenitas damnatorum*? Schneider and others hold the former view; the Oxford editors (apparently with Ficinus, Schleiermacher etc.) prefer the latter. In favour of (a), we might refer to VI 500 A, where allusion is made to the proverbial πραότης of the δῆμος. Schneider also remarks, quite justly, that throughout this section it is the characteristics of democracy which Plato is describing, so that the behaviour of criminals would seem to be irrelevant. But surely the description of the placid criminal is only an artistic and highly ironical way of ridiculing the ἀναρχία of the constitution; and it is in the highest degree forced and unnatural on grammatical grounds to explain ἐνίων as an objective genitive. Neither ξυνθήκας αὐτῶν in II 359 A nor βέλη αὐτοῦ in *Latius* 717 A is an exact parallel, and even if they were, the construction would still remain ambiguous and obscure. The proposal to insert a preposition (κατά Herwerden after Stephanus, περί Richards) is the refuge of despair.

I once inclined to believe (with Weil) that δικασθέντων is neuter. But apart from the difficulty mentioned in the notes, the sentence cannot be described as πρᾶον, if the culprit is condemned to death or exile.

On these grounds we must accept the interpretation *mansuetudo damnatorum quorundam*, as Ficinus translates. A new set of difficulties begins with ἡ οὐπω εἶδες. The words καταψηφισθέντων θανάτου ἡ φυγῆς have often been doubted. Hermann (*Gcs. Abh.* p. 175) makes the plural agree with both substantives taken together; but this solution is inadmissible, because the alternative penalties are mutually exclusive (Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 72). Madvig's καταψηφισθέντος appears to me to let too much stress fall upon ἀνθρώπων. I formerly printed θάνατον ἡ φυγὴν, but the mss have no variant and the text may be sound.

The syntax of ἀνθρώπων—ἀναστρεφόμενων is certainly difficult. It is impossible to supply ἐκείνην τὴν πραότητα to govern the genitive (with Reisig, quoted in Schneider's note). Few scholars will agree with Schneider in holding that εἶδον αὐτῶν μενόντων could mean *vidi eos manere* because οἶδα θνητὸς ὢν is *scio me mortalem esse*. Kühner (l.c. II p. 311) makes the words equivalent to ἡ οὐπω εἶδες—ἀνθρώπων ('in men condemned' etc.)—ὅτι οὐδὲν ἦττον ἔμενόν τε καὶ ἀνεστρέφοντο κτλ., comparing Xen. *Mem.* I I. II οὐδεὶς δὲ πώποτε Σωκράτους οὐδὲν ἀσεβὲς οὐδὲ ἀνόσιον οὔτε πράττοντος εἶδεν οὔτε λέγοντος ἤκουσεν, but the direct object of εἶδεν in Xenophon is the accusative οὐδέν, and there is no such accusative here.

On a general review, it must be admitted that in spite of its picturesqueness the sentence is unusually disjointed even for Plato. As in some other cases, for example 549 D, so here, we seem to miss the finishing touch. The alternative is to suppose that the text was seriously corrupted at an early date. There is no MS variant of any consequence, except περινοστεῖ ὁ καταψηφισθεὶς instead of περινοστεῖ in Ξ² v, and that is obviously a gloss. Schneider's conjecture, αὐτοῦ for αὐτῶν, is hardly necessary and does not attempt to remedy the graver faults. Herwerden formerly proposed ἡ πραότης <κατ'> ἐνίων—ἦσθον (for εἶδες)—καταψηφισθέντος: on a later occasion he made the following changes only:

καταψηφισθέντος—[καὶ] ὡς—ὄρῶν δοκοῦντος (for ὄρῶντος)—περινοστοῦσιν ὡς περ ἦρος. Richards would read the accusative singular (ἄνθρωπον καταψηφισθέντα etc.) or plural consistently throughout. Such drastic treatment is altogether inadmissible in dealing with the text of Plato. In 1867 Richter suggested ἦττον ὄντα τῶν μενόντων in place of ἦττον αὐτῶν μενόντων (*Fleck. Jb.* for 1867 p. 146). On the same lines is Weil's correction (*Rev. d. Phil.* VIII pp. 171 ff.): ἡ οὐπω εἶδες—ἄνθρωπον <τῶν> καταψηφισθέντων—οὐδὲν ἦττον αὐτῶν—ἐν μέσῳ [καὶ] ὡς κτλ. 'have you never seen how a man who is condemned—saunters about just as freely as those who remain' etc. This emendation deserves to be considered by those who think the text corrupt, although αὐτῶν <τῶν> would perhaps be easier and more natural than αὐτῶν: but for my own part, I think it much safer and wiser to leave the text alone.

## III.

VIII 559 B. ἡ μὲν γέ που τοῦ σίτου κατ' ἀμφότερα ἀναγκαία, ἡ τε ὠφέλιμος ἡ τε παῦσαι ζῶντα δυνατή.

My interpretation of this passage agrees with that of Schneider and Stallbaum.

Hermann (*Rhein. Mus.* 1846 p. 442) proposed ἀδυνάτη, and afterwards, when it was pointed out that ἀδυνάτη is not Greek, οὐ δυνατή, which he prints in his text. A similar conjecture (μὴ δυνατή) has forced its way into the text of *q* and Flor. U. Hermann's conjecture ('and because it cannot be stopped during life') is amply refuted by Schneider (*Addit.* pp. 66, 67), who observes that although ἀδύνατος παῦσαι in the sense of 'impossible to stop' is perfectly good Greek, ἀδύνατος παῦσαι ζῶντα in the sense of 'impossible for a living man to stop' is incorrect. The words could only mean 'unable to put a stop to life.' It is, I suppose, for this reason that Baiter proposes παῦσαι ζῶντα ἀδύνατον and Richards ζῶντι—οὐ δυνατή, the latter comparing Xen. *Anab.* IV I. 24 αὐτὸς δ' ἔφη ἡγήσασθαι δυνατὴν καὶ ὑποζυγίους πορεύεσθαι ὁδόν. Both these emendations are unexceptionable in point of grammar; but there are more serious difficulties, as will presently appear.

Campbell, reading μὴ δυνατή (with *q*), remarks that "negation is expressed through μὴ rather than οὐ—which Coraes suggested—because the sentence states a condition. The complete expression would be ἀναγκαία (ἂν εἴη) ἡ μὴ (ἔστι) δυνατή (τινι) παῦσαι ζῶντα." To me the sentence appears as categorical a statement as it is possible to make, even if we understand ἂν εἴη after ἀναγκαία, and, in spite of ἀναγκαῖος ἂν εἴη above, ἔστι is much more naturally supplied. Campbell explains the accusative ζῶντα by quoting IV 422 B, C to illustrate "the transition from the dative to the accusative with an infinitive," but there is no 'transition,' where the dative (apparently τινι) is only understood.

The reading of A, II and a vast majority of mss would never have been suspected except from a desire to find a *verbal* correspondence between παῦσαι ζῶντα on the one hand, and οὐκ ἂν οἶοί τ' εἶμεν ἀποτρέψαι (558 D), ἃς γέ τις ἀπαλλάξειεν ἄν (559 A) and δυνατὴ—ἀπαλλάττεσθαι

(559 B) on the other. But in point of fact, the correspondence, on Hermann's view, is not even verbal; for *παῦσαι ἐπιθυμίαν* and *ἀπαλλάξαι ἐπιθυμίαν* are different. The way 'to stop a desire' is to gratify it; the way 'to get rid of a desire' is never to gratify it at all. On the other hand, if we adopt the authoritative text, the correspondence, though not verbal, is real. A desire which is 'capable of putting a stop to life' is precisely one which we cannot *ἀποτρέψαι* or *ἀπαλλάξαι*, i.e. turn aside, get rid of finally, and for this very reason it is 'necessary,' and we must gratify it. *πεινῶντα*, which Ast reads (cf. Ath. XII 511 E) is of course absurd. Hunger is not cured by homœopathy.

## IV.

VIII 560 C, D. *κλήσαντες οἱ ἀλαζόνες λόγοι ἐκείνοι τὰς τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τείχους ἐν αὐτῷ πύλας οὔτε αὐτὴν τὴν ξυμμαχίαν παριᾶσιν οὔτε πρέσβεις πρεσβυτέρων λόγους ἰδιωτῶν εἰσδέχονται.*

Badham's δι' ὧτων in place of ἰδιωτῶν (Preface to *Phaedrus* p. x) is adopted by Baiter and has won much applause. See for example Cobet *Var. Lect.*<sup>2</sup> pp. 219, 533, Madvig *Adv. Cr.* I p. 431, Heller *Cur. Crit. in Pl. de Rep. lib.* p. 2 and Apelt *Berl. Phil. Woch.* 1895 p. 967.

Neither Badham, nor any other of these scholars except Heller, attempts to shew that ἰδιωτῶν is corrupt. Heller's criticism is as follows: "praeterquam quod ἰδιωτῶν vox inusitatum conlocationem occupavit, quid orationes hominum privatorum, qui" (*sic*) "tamen legati mittuntur, sibi volunt? An putas πρεσβυτέρων λόγους ἰδιωτῶν ratione habita τοῦ βασιλικοῦ τείχους memorari? Credat Judaeus Apella: ego ἰδιωτῶν depravatam esse censens Britannii mutationem et facilem et sententiae aptissimam amplector" (l.c.). The suggestion contained in 'An putas' etc. is due to Stallbaum. No one else, so far as I know, has adopted it; and it is certainly wrong. But the erroneous interpretation of a single commentator is poor evidence on which to condemn the text.

The explanation in the notes appears to me to solve the two difficulties felt by Heller. Some may be disposed to regard ἰδιωτῶν as contrasting with αὐτὴν τὴν ξυμμαχίαν ('nor admit the ambassador-words of elderly men who are not members of the alliance'). But the word ἰδιώτης has in itself a wider connotation; and the antithesis would not be strictly accurate, because it is the λόγοι of οἰκέοι, and not οἰκέοι themselves, who form the alliance. The word ἰδιωτῶν should be taken in its full signification; for οὔτε πρέσβεις provides a sufficient antithesis to οὔτε αὐτὴν τὴν ξυμμαχίαν. Schneider translates "noch nehmen die Reden an, die von einzelnen älteren abgesandt werden," but ἰδιωτῶν is more than 'einzelnen.'

To δι' ὧτων there are the following positive objections. (1) All the MSS have ἰδιωτῶν. (2) The ἀλαζόνες λόγοι are personified throughout; and εἰσδέχομαι δι' ὧτων means 'I admit through my own ears.' Surely the spectacle of ἀλαζόνες λόγοι admitting other λόγοι through their ears is ludicrous and unmeaning. (3) The words δι' ὧτων—supposing they



could be referred to the young man's ears—are not only in themselves superfluous—for by what other avenue could the λόγοι be admitted?—but also a blot on what is otherwise one of Plato's finest and most artistic similitudes. They compel us to identify the 'gates of the king's wall' with the man's ears. Apart from questions of literary and artistic propriety, it is enough to point out that the identification is false. We have before us a simile of the soul, and just as the gates of a city's acropolis are in the city, so the gates of the soul's acropolis are in the soul. The false λόγοι, who are themselves in possession of the fortress, shut its gates and keep the key of the situation in their own hands; but it does not follow that the young man may not hear the good message with his ears. It is because the wise words are not admitted to the soul's *citadel* (λόγον ἀληθῆ—οὐ προσδεχόμενος οὐδὲ παριείς εἰς τὸ φρούριον κτλ. 561 B) that their purpose fails.

To me these arguments appear to prove conclusively that Badham's emendation gravely disfigures one of the most finished and melodious passages that Plato ever wrote. If any still think differently, I hope they will admit that it is at least unnecessary and unwise to exercise the art of emendation until the text has been proved to be corrupt.

## V.

VIII 562 A. Φέρε δὴ, τίς τρόπος τυραννίδος, ὃ φίλε ἑταῖρε, γίγνεται; ὅτι μὲν γὰρ ἐκ δημοκρατίας μεταβάλλει, σχεδὸν δῆλον. Δῆλον. Ἄρ' οὖν τρόπον τινὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐκ τε ὀλιγαρχίας δημοκρατία γίγνεται καὶ ἐκ δημοκρατίας τυραννίς; Πῶς;

The explanation which I have given of this passage is due to Schneider. So far as the language is concerned, it is, I think, invulnerable; but we must allow that ἄρ' οὖν—*τυραννίς* would be easier and more natural if the original question referred to the *τρόπος τῆς γενέσεως* and not to the *τρόπος τῆς πολιτείας*.

Jowett and Campbell boldly construe τίς—γίγνεται as 'τίς τρόπος ἐστὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ' (*sic*); 'what is the nature of the process in the case of tyranny?' They cite no parallels, and it is surely inadmissible to do violence to the Greek in this way.

Others have resorted to emendation. Stallbaum thinks of *τίνα τρόπον*—*τυραννίς γίγνεται* or (with pardonable hesitation) *τίς τρόπος τυραννίδος ὃ, ὃ φίλε ἑταῖρε, γίγνεται*; Other suggestions are *τίς ἀρχὴ τυραννίδος γίγνεται*, or *γενέσεως* for *γίγνεται* (Richards). I once conjectured *τίς τρόπος τυραννίδος*—<καὶ τίνα τρόπον> *γίγνεται* in view of 555 B. If we adopt any of these readings, ὅτι μὲν γάρ etc. means 'as for the *fact* that tyranny comes from democracy, that is pretty clear: so that we need only describe the *τρόπος τῆς γενέσεως*.'

The sense is excellent, but none of the emendations carries conviction, and it is at least doubtful whether the text has suffered corruption. I agree with Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 214) and previous editors in adhering to the reading of the mss.

## VI.

VIII 568 D. Δῆλον, ἔφη, ὅτι, ἐάν τε ἱερὰ χρήματα ἦ ἐν τῇ πόλει, ταῦτα ἀναλώσει, ὅποι ποτὲ ἂν αἰὲ ἐξαρκῇ, <καὶ> τὰ τῶν ἀπολομένων, ἐλάττους εἰσφοράς ἀναγκάζων τὸν δῆμον εἰσφέρειν.

The reading of the best MSS—ὅποι ποτὲ ἂν αἰὲ ἐξαρκῇ τὰ τῶν ἀποδομένων, ἐλάττους κτλ.—is retained by Schneider and Stallbaum. The Oxford editors print ἀποδομένων, but pronounce it wrong. Schneider remarks “quidni τοὺς ἀποδομένους sacerdotes et sacrorum antistites intelligamus, quos tyrannus sacra vendere eamque pecuniam ad se deferre cogat?” and Stallbaum understands the passage in much the same way.

The arguments against this view have been well put by Vermehren. “Abgesehen davon dass es eine ganz unnöthige und Platonfremde Ausführlichkeit wäre, wenn für das an sich völlig klare und ausreichende ἀναλίσκειν τὰ ἱερὰ χρήματα noch die Art und Weise der Ausführung dieser Maasregel angegeben würde, begreift sich schwer, wie jener Gedanke aus den Worten hergeleitet werden soll” (*Plat. Stud.* pp. 108—110). τὰ τῶν ἀποδομένων cannot mean ‘the proceeds of sales’ but only ‘the property of those who sold,’ and it is inaccurate or strained to describe the tyrant as spending the sellers’ property.

To meet the linguistic difficulty the following emendations have been proposed: (1) τὰ τῶν ἀποδιδόμενων or τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀποδιδόμενων (Stephanus): (2) τὸ τῶν ἀποδομένων (Hermann, who compares τὸ τῶν παιζόντων and the like): (3) τὰ τῶν ἀποδεδομένων (Stallbaum): (4) τὰ τῶν πωλουμένων (Campbell). The first and third are wrong in point of language, for ἀποδίδοσθαι is not *vendi* but *vendere* (see Stephanus-Hase *Thes.* s.v. The disputed reading ἀπέδοσαν in Thuc. vi 62. 4 will scarcely be considered evidence). Hermann’s eccentric conjecture hardly needs refutation. πωλουμένων deserves the praise of ingenuity, but τὰ τῶν πωλουμένων cannot surely mean ‘the proceeds of what is thus exposed for sale.’ ἐκ is needed before τῶν.

Even if these suggestions were linguistically sound, which is not, I think, the case, Vermehren’s first objection still holds good. Why should Plato have troubled to explain a process as ἱερὰ χρήματα ἀναλῶσαι?

The kind of solution which I have adopted was first suggested by Vermehren. Dübner (Schneider *Addit.* p. 70) asserts that the λ over the δ of ἀποδομένων in A is by the first hand. Possibly; but I think it doubtful. ἀπολομένων is however read by Flor. U as well as by *g*. The correction in A is certainly old, and ought to carry weight; but in any case the intrinsic merit of ἀπολομένων is very great. τε in ἐάν τε ἱερὰ χρήματα suggests that some other kind of χρήματα will presently be specified, and it would be strange if Plato had ignored so obvious a source of revenue as the goods of the proscribed (Vermehren l.c. p. 109), in view especially of 567 B, C, as well as the history of tyranny in general

and Dionysius' tyranny in particular (see note). The change from  $\Lambda$  to  $\Delta$  is easy in uncial MSS. After ἀπολομένων was corrupted to ἀποδομένων, it was natural to omit καί, and make τὰ τῶν ἀποδομένων (probably mistaken for passive) subject to ἐξαρκῇ. Nothing short of this would give even a semblance of meaning to the passage. The editor of  $\eta$ , who was certainly an intelligent, if too facile, emendator, added καί before ὅποι. I formerly accepted his view: Vermehren adds τε after τὰ: but Baiter's insertion of καί before τὰ is not more difficult, and intrinsically, I think, better.



## Θ.

- 571 I. Αὐτὸς δὲ λοιπός, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὁ τυραννικὸς ἀνὴρ σκέψασθαι, πῶς τε μεθίσταται ἐκ δημοκρατικοῦ γενόμενός τε ποίος τις ἔστιν καὶ τίνα τρόπον ζῆν, ἄθλιον ἢ μακάριον. Λοιπὸς γὰρ οὖν ἔτι οὗτος, ἔφη. Οἷσθ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὁ ποθῶ ἔτι; Τὸ τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν, οἰαί τε καὶ ὅσαι εἰσὶν, οὗ μοι δοκοῦμεν ἱκανῶς διηρησθαι. τούτου δὲ 5  
B ἐνδεῶς ἔχοντος,<sup>1</sup> ἀσαφεστέρα ἔσται ἡ ζήτησις οὐ ζητοῦμεν. Οὐκοῦν, ἦ δ' ὅς, ἔτ' ἐν καλῷ; Πάνν μὲν οὖν· καὶ σκόπει γε ὁ ἐν αὐταῖς βούλομαι ἰδεῖν. ἔστιν δὲ τόδε. τῶν μὴ ἀναγκαίων ἡδονῶν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν δοκοῦσί τινές μοι εἶναι παράνομοι, αἱ κινδυνεύουσι μὲν ἐγγίγνεσθαι παντί, κολαζόμεναι δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῶν νόμων καὶ τῶν 10

7. ἔτ' (vel ἔτι) ἐν καλῷ Ξ q: ἔτ' (vel ἔτι) ἐγκαλῷ ΑΠ.

571 A—572 B *There remains the tyrannical man. Before beginning to describe his origin and character, we must complete our analysis of desire. Among the unnecessary desires, there is a special class which we call lawless or unnatural. It is these which are apt to be aroused in sleep, after over-indulgence in eating or drinking. But when we retire to rest with Desire and Anger in abeyance, and the rational element within us in full play, our dreams are innocent, and much is revealed to us in visions of the night.*

571 A 5 οὐ—διηρησθαι. The psychological foundation of Tyranny, as well as of Oligarchy and Democracy, is Desire; but there are three varieties of Desire, and it is the lowest of these, viz. the Unnecessary and παράνομοι, which Tyranny represents. See VIII 558 D n., and cf. Nettleship *Lect. and Rem.* II pp. 310—314.

571 B 7 ἔτ' ἐν καλῷ. See *cr. n.* ἐν καλῷ might well be written ἐγκαλῷ in early Greek script: see Meisterhans *Gr.*

*d. Att. Inschr.*<sup>3</sup> pp. 106—108. It is strange that Apelt (*Berl. Philol. Week.* for 1895 p. 965) should defend ἔτ' ἐγκαλῷ: "soll ich (das Fehlende) noch einklagen" gives a poor sense. For ἐν καλῷ see Jebb on *Soph. El.* 384 νῦν γὰρ ἐν καλῷ (i.e. εὐκαιρῶν) φρονεῖν.

9 παράνομοι is more like our 'unnatural' than 'lawless': cf. *Phaed.* 113 E, *Phaedr.* 254 A, *Eur. Med.* 1121 ὦ δεινὸν ἔργον παράνομόν τ' εἰργασμένη (addressed to Medea after she has slain her children), and the author of the *Διαλέξεις ἠθικαὶ* in *Mullach Frag. Phil. Gr.* I p. 546 τοὶ δὲ Πέρσαι—καλὸν νομίζοντι καὶ τὰ θυγατρὶ καὶ τὰ μητρὶ καὶ τὰ ἀδελφῇ συνίμεν· τοὶ δὲ Ἕλληνες καὶ ἀσχερὰ καὶ παράνομα. The phrase οὐ κατὰ νόμον in *Hdt.* I 61 has the same connotation. Compare the 'bestial' states—θηριώδεις like *θηριῶδες* below in 571 C—described in *Arist. Eth. Nic.* VII 6. 1148<sup>b</sup> 16 ff.

10 ἐγγίγνεσθαι παντί: 'are born in,' 'form an original part of every one' (D. and V.), not simply 'arise in' (as Bosan-

- βελτιόνων ἐπιθυμιῶν μετὰ λόγου ἐνίων μὲν ἀνθρώπων ἢ παντά-  
 πασιν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἢ ὀλίγαι λείπεσθαι καὶ ἀσθενεῖς, τῶν δὲ  
 ἰσχυρότεραι καὶ <sup>1</sup> πλείους. Λέγεις δὲ καὶ τίνας, ἔφη, ταύτας; C  
 Τὰς περὶ τὸν ὕπνον, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ἐγειρομένας, ὅταν τὸ μὲν ἄλλο τῆς  
 15 ψυχῆς εὖδῃ, ὅσον λογιστικὸν καὶ ἡμερον καὶ ἄρχον ἐκείνου, τὸ δὲ  
 θηριῶδες τε καὶ ἄγριον ἢ σίτων ἢ μέθης πλησθέν, σκιρτᾷ τε καὶ  
 ἀπωσάμενον τὸν ὕπνον ζητῇ ἵέναι καὶ ἀποπιμπλάναι τὰ αὐτοῦ  
 ἦθη. οἷσθ' ὅτι πάντα ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τολμᾷ ποιεῖν, ὥς ἀπὸ πάσης  
 λελυμένον τε καὶ ἀπηλλαγμένον αἰσχύνης καὶ φρονήσεως. μητρί  
 20 τε γὰρ ἐπιχειρεῖν <sup>1</sup> μίγνυσθαι, ὥς οἶεται, οὐδὲν ὀκνεῖ ἄλλῳ τε ὁτῶν D  
 ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν καὶ θηρίων, μαιφονεῖν τε ὁτιοῦν, βρώματός τε  
 ἀπέχεσθαι μηδενός· καὶ ἐνὶ λόγῳ οὔτε ἀνοίας οὐδὲν ἐλλείπει οὔτ'  
 ἀναισχυντίας. Ἀληθέστατα, ἔφη, λέγεις. "Ὅταν δέ γε, οἶμαι,  
 ὑγιεινῶς τις ἔχῃ αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ σωφρόνως καὶ εἰς τὸν ὕπνον  
 25 ἵῃ τὸ λογιστικὸν μὲν ἐγείρας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ ἐστίαςας λόγων καλῶν

22. ἐνὶ λόγῳ A<sup>2</sup>Π: fortasse ἐν ὀλίγῳ A<sup>1</sup>.

quet suggests, ignoring or forgetting ἀπαλλάττεσθαι and λείπεσθαι). Cf. ἐγ-  
 γίγνεται in 572 A and ἐκάσῳ ἔνεστι  
 572 B. There is something of 'the ape  
 and tiger' in every human being: see  
 infra 588 C ff. These παράνομοι ἐπιθυμίαι  
 doubtless represent "der verbrecherische  
 Hang der menschlichen Natur" (Krohn  
*Pl. St.* p. 216), but we ought not to  
 compare Plato's conception with the doc-  
 trine of 'original sin,' as Schleiermacher  
 (*Platons Staat* p. 601) and Susemihl  
 (*Gen. Entw.* II p. 238) appear to do.  
 According to Plato, Man is an οὐράνιον  
 φυτόν, οὐκ ἐγγεῖον.

571 C 13 λέγεις δὲ καὶ κτλ. 'And  
 pray what are these desires?' lit. 'and you  
 mean by these desires, pray, which?'  
 καὶ "significat accessionem aliquam pro  
 interrogantis voluntate necessariam vel  
 maiorem in modum expetitam" (Schneider,  
 who compares *Polit.* 291 A τίνας αὐτοῦς  
 καὶ λέγεις; *Euthyd.* 271 A and Heindorf  
 ad loc.).

14 τὰς περὶ τὸν ὕπνον κτλ. "The  
 cursed thoughts that Nature Gives way  
 to in repose" (*Macbeth* II i. 8). We must  
 however beware of supposing that Plato  
 regards sleep as the time when the lowest  
 part of soul normally and naturally asserts  
 its sway. It is only in the vicious, and  
 after acts of self-indulgence, that the beast  
 within vs pollutes our slumber: cf. Cic.

*de div.* I 115 and II 119. To translate  
 ὅταν by 'when' (D. and V.) is therefore  
 misleading: it means 'as often as.' See  
 571 D n.

17 ἵέναι "vix sanum videtur," says  
 Herwerden. The text is perfectly sound.  
 Although the man is, as we say, sleeping,  
 his θηριῶδες 'has shaken off sleep' and  
 'seeks to go and gratify its instincts.'  
 The theory is that in dreams the part of  
 the soul concerned is not asleep, but  
 awake, and goes out to seek the object of  
 its desire. Cf. 572 A n.

19 μητρί τε κτλ. Cf. *Soph. O. T.*  
 981 f. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἤδη κἀν ὀνείρασιν βροτῶν |  
 μητρί ζυγνῆνδάσθησαν, with Jebb ad loc.

571 D 20 ὥς οἶεται goes closely with  
 μίγνυσθαι ('intercourse, as it supposes,  
 with' etc.). ὥς Οἰδίπους (suggested by  
 Förster *Rhein. Mus.* for 1885 p. 631) is  
 a tasteless conjecture, which confuses  
 reality and dreamland.

21 μαιφονεῖν τε ὁτιοῦν: such as par-  
 ricide and other unnatural murders (φόνοι  
 παράνομοι *Phaed.* 113 E).

βρώματός τε κτλ. Cannibalism, etc.:  
 cf. *Arist. Eth. Nic.* VII 6. 1148<sup>b</sup> 20—25.

24 αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ. The genitive de-  
 pends on ὑγιεινῶς ἔχῃ as in ἡδύς ἔχων  
 ἑμαυτοῦ *Alexis ap. Athen.* x 419 C and  
 other examples quoted by Blaydes on *Ar.*  
*Lys.* 1125 and *Wasps* 357.

25 ἐστίαςας κτλ. For the metaphor

καὶ σκέψων, εἰς σύννοιαν αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ἀφικόμενος, τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν  
 E δὲ ἴ μῆτε ἐνδεία δούς μῆτε πλησμονῇ, ὅπως ἂν κοιμηθῇ καὶ μὴ  
 572 παρέχῃ θόρυβον τῷ | βελτίστῳ χαῖρον ἢ λυπούμενον, ἀλλ' ἐὰ  
 αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ μόνον καθαρὸν σκοπεῖν καὶ ὀρέγεσθαι του καὶ

2. του καὶ A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: τοῦ Π q: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

in ἐστίσας see I 354 A n. The general meaning of this passage is best illustrated from *Tim.* 45 E—46 A γενομένης δὲ πολλῆς μὲν ἡσυχίας βραχυδύνειρος ὕπνος ἐμπίπτει, καταλειφθεῖσάν δὲ τινων κινήσεων μεζύων, οἷαι καὶ ἐν οἷοις ἂν τόποις λείπωνται, τοιαῦτα καὶ τοσαῦτα παρέσχοντο ἀφομοιωθέντα ἐνδὸς—φαντάσματα, with which Aristotle's theory closely agrees: see *Eth. Nic.* I 13. 1102<sup>b</sup> 7 ff. and Stewart's note. In like manner Zeno recommended his followers to gauge their moral 'progress' (προκοπή) by the nature of their dreams (*Frag.* 160 ed. Pearson). See also on 572 A.

26 τὸ ἐπιθυμητικὸν κτλ. In *Cic. de div.* II 119 the Pythagorean veto on beans is attributed to this motive. Plato's psychology in this passage recalls the myth of the *Phaedrus*: cf. especially 253 C—256 E of that dialogue.

572 A 1 ἀλλ' ἐὰ κτλ. The bearing of this remarkable chapter on the theory of divination did not escape Cicero, who has translated, or rather paraphrased, from ὅταν 571 C to ἅπτεται 572 A: see his *de div.* I 60, 61. In *Tim.* 71 D—72 B it is not, as here, the best part of soul which is said to perceive 'past, present, or future' in dreams, but ἡ περὶ τὸ ἦπαρ ψυχῆς μοῖρα κατ'ἰσχυρισμένη, the function of λογισμός being to interpret the visions seen by the ἐπιθυμητικὸν in divination (whether ὄντα or ὕπαρ), ὅπη τι σημαίνει καὶ ὅτω μέλλοντος ἢ παρελθόντος ἢ παρόντος κακοῦ ἢ ἀγαθοῦ (*ib.* 72 A). In the present passage Plato appeals to the widespread popular view that the soul during sleep is freed from the trammels of the body, foresees the future, and has access to a region of truth denied, with few exceptions, to the waking mind: "viget enim animus in somnis, liberque est sensibus et omni impeditioe curarum, iacente et mortuo paene corpore" (*Cic. de div.* I 115): see *Pind. Frag.* 131 3—5 Bergk τὸ γὰρ ἐστὶ μόνον | ἐκ θεῶν' εὐδὲ δὲ πρᾶσσόντων μελέων, ἀτὰρ εὐδόντεσσιν ἐν πολλοῖς ὀνείροις | δείκνυσσι τερπνῶν ἐφέροισαν χαλεπῶν τε κρίσιν, *Aesch. Ag.*

179 ff. (στάξει δ' ἐν θ' ὕπνῳ κτλ.), *Eum.* 104 εὐδουσα γὰρ φρὴν ὄμμασιν λαμπρύνεται and *Xen. Cyr.* VIII 7. 21, and cf. generally Rohde *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> I pp. 6 ff., II pp. 309 n. 2 and 414. On this view the Stoic theory of divination by dreams was based (see *Cic. l.c.* I 110 ff.), and the same idea appears also in Aristotle *Frag.* 12 ὅταν—ἐν τῷ ὕπνῳ καθ' ἑαυτὴν γένηται ἡ ψυχὴ, τότε τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπολαβούσα φύσιν προμαντεύεται τε καὶ προαγορεύει τὰ μέλλοντα. We may compare the lines of Wordsworth:

"that serene and blessed mood  
 In which the affections gently lead us on  
 Until, the breath of this corporeal frame  
 And even the motion of our human blood  
 Almost suspended, we are laid asleep  
 In body, and become a living soul:  
 While with an eye made quiet by the power  
 Of harmony, and the deep power of joy,  
 We see into the life of things."

2 ὀρέγεσθαι του. Schneider and Stallbaum read ὀρέγεσθαι τοῦ αἰσθάνεσθαι with II (see *cr. n.*) and a majority of MSS; but such an expression would be heavy and unpleasing. Jowett and Campbell think "καὶ αἰσθάνεσθαι should perhaps be struck out and the accent restored to του," while Burnet omits καὶ, reading ὀρέγεσθαι του αἰσθάνεσθαι. The text, I believe, is sound, but cannot mean 'to aspire further (καὶ) to perceive something which it knows not' (J. and C.). We may translate 'to yearn after it knows not what and perceive what it knoweth not.' Just as in evil dreams the baser part of soul reaches out after the object of its desires (571 C), so also the βέλτιστον, in these happier visions of the night, has longings which are all its own. ὀρέγεσθαι expresses the instinctive and unconscious turning of the soul towards the fountain of her being, and the waking counterpart of these visions of the night are just

"those shadowy recollections,  
 Which, be they what they may,  
 Are yet the fountain light of all our day,  
 Are yet a master light of all our seeing."

With the use of ὀρέγεσθαι cf. *Phaed.* 65 c ὀρέγεται τοῦ ὄντος κτλ., a passage which throws light on Plato's meaning here in more ways than one.



- αἰσθάνεσθαι ὃ μὴ οἶδεν, ἥ τι τῶν γεγονότων ἢ ὄντων ἢ καὶ μελλόντων, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ τὸ θυμοειδὲς πρᾶννας καὶ μὴ τισιν εἰς ὀργὰς  
 5 ἔλθων κεκινημένῳ τῷ θυμῷ καθεύδῃ, ἀλλ' ἡσυχάσας μὲν τῷ δύο εἶδη, τὸ τρίτον δὲ κινήσας, ἐν ᾧ τὸ φρονεῖν ἐγγίγνεται, οὕτω ἀναπαύηται, οἷσθ' ὅτι τῆς τ' ἀληθείας ἐν τῷ τοιοῦτῳ μάλιστα  
 ἄπτεται καὶ ἥκιστα παράνομοι | τότε αἱ ὄψεις φαντάζονται τῶν B  
 ἐνυπνίων. Παντελῶς μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, οἶμαι οὕτω. Ταῦτα μὲν τοίνυν  
 10 ἐπὶ πλεόν ἐξήχθημεν εἰπεῖν· ὃ δὲ βουλόμεθα γινῶναι, τόδ' ἐστίν, ὡς ἄρα δεινόν τι καὶ ἄγριον καὶ ἄνομον ἐπιθυμιῶν εἶδος ἐκάστῳ ἔνεστι, καὶ πάννυ δοκοῦσιν ἡμῶν ἐνίοις μετρίοις εἶναι· τοῦτο δὲ ἄρα ἐν τοῖς ὕπνοις γίγνεται ἐνδηλον. εἰ οὖν τι δοκῶ λέγειν καὶ συγχωρεῖς, ἄθρει. Ἀλλὰ συγχωρῶ.  
 15 II. Τὸν τοίνυν δημοτικὸν ἀναμνήσθητι οἶον ἔφαμεν εἶναι. ἦν δέ | που γεγωνὺς ἐκ νέου ὑπὸ φειδωλῷ πατρὶ τεθραμμένος, τὰς C  
 χρηματιστικὰς ἐπιθυμίας τιμῶντι μόνας, τὰς δὲ μὴ ἀναγκαίους

5. ἔλθων II: ἔλθων A. τῷ A<sup>1</sup>II: τῷ A<sup>2</sup>.

5 ἡσυχάσας. ἡσυχάζω is used transitively only in the aorist: cf. Solon ap. Arist. *Ath. Pol.* 5. 3. Schleiermacher (*Platons Staat* p. 601) thinks that Plato recognises here, and in ἐγέλρας, ἐστιάσας, πρᾶννας, κινήσας etc., a fourth principle or 'part' of soul, that viz. which is able to excite or calm the others. Krohn on the other hand sees in this passage a sort of implicit recognition of the 'ego' as a separate and distinct entity (*Pl. St.* p. 217). The latter view is nearer the truth (cf. v 462 C, D *nn.*); but we ought not to press the words too much: cf. ἐπιεικέϊ τιμῇ ἑαυτοῦ βίᾳ κατέχει ἄλλας κακὰς ἐπιθυμίας VIII 554 C, and III 411 B n.

6 εἶδη. Other examples of this rare form of the dual in Plato are cited by Roepke *de dual. usu Plat.* p. 12.

7 μάλιστα: i.e. more than when he retires to sleep in any other condition. It is better, in view especially of the second half of this clause, to understand μάλιστα in this way, than to take the word generally, as if divination by dreams were the best way of grasping truth. Plato would hardly say this, nor indeed would the average Greek. See especially *Tim.* 71 D ff.

8 παράνομοι. 571 B n.

572 B—573 C The origin of the tyrannical man is as follows. A democratical father has a son, who is led away by evil

associates into every form of lawlessness. When his family come to the rescue, these tyrant-breeders implant in him a master-passion to act as champion of his drone-desires. The history of the corresponding State repeats itself in the young man's soul, and the champion Lust becomes a tyrant in due course. We look on Lust, Drink, Madness as tyrants; and the tyrannical man arises when these three tyrants establish their dominion over the soul.

572 B 10 βουλόμεθα. W. H. Thompson's ἐβουλόμεθα is unnecessary and even awkward with the present ἐστίν just following. The Greek means simply 'but what we want to notice is this' etc.

12 καὶ πάννυ belongs to μετρίοις (Schneider) rather than to δοκοῦσιν (J. and C.): 'however virtuous we may some of us appear to be.'

15 οἶον ἔφαμεν εἶναι. VIII 561 A—562 A.

ἦν δέ που κτλ.: 'he had been, you remember, produced, by having been brought up from early years' etc. Socrates recalls the genesis of the democratical man (described in 558 C, 559 D ff.) before recalling his nature (in D below). Ast suggested γεγωνὺς <καὶ> or γεγωνὺς <τε καὶ>, taking γεγωνὺς of birth. The correct interpretation was pointed out by Schneider.

ἀλλὰ παιδιᾶς τε καὶ καλλωπισμοῦ ἕνεκα γιγνομένης ἀτιμάζοντι.  
 ἡ γάρ; Ναί. Συγγενόμενος δὲ κομψοτέροις ἀνδράσι καὶ μεστοῖς  
 ὧν ἄρτι διήλθομεν ἐπιθυμιῶν, ὁρμήσας εἰς ὕβριν τε πᾶσαν καὶ 20  
 τὸ ἐκείνων εἶδος μίσει τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς φειδωλίας, φύσιν δὲ τῶν  
 D διαφθειρόντων βελτίῳ ἔχων, ἀγόμενος ἀμφοτέρωσε ἡ κατέστη εἰς  
 μέσον ἀμφοῖν τοῖν τρόποιν καὶ μετρίως δὴ, ὡς ᾤετο, ἐκάστων  
 ἀπολαύων οὔτε ἀνελεύθερον οὔτε παράνομον βίον ζῇ, δημοτικὸς  
 ἐξ ὀλιγαρχικοῦ γεγονώς. Ἦν γάρ, ἔφη, καὶ ἔστιν αὕτη ἡ δόξα 25  
 περὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον. Θὲς τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πάλιν τοῦ τοιούτου ἤδη  
 πρεσβυτέρου γεγονότος νέον ὕν ἐν τοῖς τούτου αὐτῷ ἡθεσιν τεθραμ-  
 μένον. Τίθημι. Τίθει τοίνυν καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐκείνα περὶ αὐτὸν  
 E γιγνόμενα, ἥπερ καὶ περὶ τὸν πατέρα αὐτοῦ· ἀγόμενόν τε ἡ εἰς  
 πᾶσαν παρανομίαν, ὀνομαζομένην δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἀγόντων ἐλευθερίαν 30  
 ἥπασαν, βοηθοῦντά τε ταῖς ἐν μέσῳ ταύταις ἐπιθυμίαις πατέρα τε  
 καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους οἰκέλους, τοὺς δ' αὐτὰ παραβοηθοῦντας· ὅταν δ'  
 ἐλπίσωσιν οἱ δεινοὶ μάγοι τε καὶ τυραννοποιοὶ οἷτοι μὴ ἄλλως  
 τὸν νέον καθέξειν, ἔρωτά τινα αὐτῷ μηχανωμένους ἐμποῦνται  
 573 προστάτην τῶν ἀργῶν καὶ τὰ ἔτοιμα διανεμομένων ἐπιθυμιῶν, 35

23. ἐκάστων ἀπολαύων Π: ἐκάστων ἀπολαβῶν A<sup>1</sup>: ἕκαστον ἀπολαβῶν A<sup>2</sup>.  
 28. αὐτὸν A<sup>2</sup>Ξg: αὐτῶν A<sup>1</sup>Π.

572 C 18 παιδιᾶς—καλλωπισμοῦ. Plato is less severe than in VIII 559 D—562 A. He has since discovered a yet lower depth than merely democratical desire, and the democratical man is almost virtue itself compared with the tyrannical.

19 κομψοτέροις κτλ. VIII 559 D η.

21 τὸ ἐκείνων εἶδος: 'their kind of conduct.' εἶδος is used almost like τρόπον, as in Thuc. II 41. 1, VI 77. 2 and VIII 56. 2. Ficinus has *mores*, but it does not follow that he read ἡθος, which is less suitable with ὁρμήσας.

572 D 22 κατέστη κτλ. VIII 561 A—562 A. The words ὡς ᾤετο qualify μετρίως: cf. 571 D.

24 οὔτε ἀνελεύθερον κτλ.: i.e. 'in the mean between ὀλιγαρχία and ἀναρχία' etc. (J. and C., comparing VIII 561 A and 561 E). ἔζη for ζῇ was conjectured by Ast, on account, no doubt, of ᾤετο. Schneider holds that ᾤετο refers to the time "quo primum ingrediens in istam vivendi rationem optimum factu statuebat omnibus pariter cupiditatibus obtempe-

rare." It is difficult to understand ᾤετο otherwise than as the imperfect of recapitulation; and I prefer to think that Plato, in spite of the inconsistency, wrote ζῇ rather than ἔζη in order to bring the δημοτικὸς before us as a living reality, so as to prepare for θὲς τοίνυν—τεθραμμένον. There is no MS authority for ἔζη.

26 περὶ τὸν τοιοῦτον: "anlangend, den so beschaffenen" (Schneider), "touching such a person" (D. and V.).

28 τίθει κτλ. The present echoes τίθημι (cf. I 339 D, VII 514 B, 519 B, 527 B, VIII 564 A al.), and is in itself more appropriate than θὲς to introduce a succession of pictures. τοίνυν means 'further' (I 339 D η.). The reference in ἥπερ καὶ—πατέρα is to VIII 559 E ff.

572 E 35 προστάτην κτλ. This overmastering passion becomes the champion of the drone-desires, exactly as the budding tyrant is the προστάτης of the proletariat: see VIII 564 D, 565 C ff. With ἔτοιμα διανεμομένων cf. τῶν ἐτοιμῶν ἀναλωτῆς VIII 552 B (J. and C.).

ὑπόπτερον καὶ μέγαν κηφήνά τινα. ἢ τί ἄλλο οἶει εἶναι τὸν τῶν  
 τοιούτων ἔρωτα; Οὐδὲν ἔγωγε, ἢ δ' ὅς, ἀλλ' ἢ τοῦτο. Οὐκοῦν  
 5 ὅταν περὶ αὐτὸν βομβοῦσαι αἱ ἄλλαι ἐπιθυμίαι, θυμιαμάτων τε  
 γέμουσαι καὶ μύρων καὶ στεφάνων καὶ οἴνων καὶ τῶν ἐν ταῖς  
 τοιαύταις συνουσίαις ἡδονῶν ἀνειμένων, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔσχατον αὖξουσαι  
 τε καὶ τρέφουσαι πόθου κέντρον ἐμποιήσωσι τῷ κηφήνι, τότε δὴ  
 δορυφορεῖται τε ὑπὸ μανίας καὶ οἰστρά<sup>1</sup> οὗτος ὁ προστάτης τῆς Β  
 ψυχῆς, καὶ ἐάν τις ἐν αὐτῷ δόξας ἢ ἐπιθυμίας λάβῃ ποιουμένας  
 10 χρηστὰς καὶ ἐτι ἐπαισχυνομένας, ἀποκτείνει τε καὶ ἔξω ὠθεῖ παρ'  
 αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἂν καθήρῃ σωφροσύνης, μανίας δὲ πληρώσῃ ἐπακτοῦ.  
 Παντελῶς, ἔφη, τυραννικοῦ ἀνδρὸς λέγεις γένεσιν. Ἄρ' οὖν, ἦν  
 δ' ἐγώ, καὶ τὸ πάλαι διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον τύραννος ὁ Ἔρως λέγεται;  
 Κινδυνεύει, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν, ὦ φίλε, εἶπον, καὶ μεθυσθεὶς ἀνὴρ  
 15 τυραννικόν τι φρόνημα<sup>1</sup> ἴσχει; Ἴσχει γάρ. Καὶ μὴν ὁ γε C  
 μαινόμενος καὶ ὑποκεκνηκὼς οὐ μόνον ἀνθρώπων ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν

10. ἐπαισχυνομένας Π: ἐπαισχυρόμενος Α. ἀποκτείνει—ὠθεῖ Α<sup>1</sup>Π: ἀποκτείνῃ  
 —ὠθεῖ Α<sup>2</sup>.

11. μανίας Π: καὶ μανίας Α.

**573 A 2** ὑπόπτερον is doubly appropriate: for Ἔρως too has wings.

τῶν τοιούτων. Masculine, not neuter, as Stallbaum once supposed.

**4 ὅταν.** A large majority of MSS have ὅταν δῆ, which Schneider retains. δῆ is unsuitable after οὐκοῦν, and may possibly have arisen from the accidental reduplication of AN: see on V 450 c. I agree with most editors in accepting the text of A.

αὐτὸν κτλ. αὐτὸν means ἔρωτα, the μέγαν κηφήνα. On βομβοῦσαι see VIII 564 D n. The position of the participial adjective ἀνειμένων is illustrated on VII 532 c.

**6 αὖξουσαι τε καὶ τρέφουσαι.** The object is τὸν κηφήνα, not of course πόθου κέντρον, as Jowett translates. This master-passion grows by what it feeds on, until it becomes acute, and ends in madness and frenzy. πόθου κέντρον (cf. *Phaedr.* 253 E πόθου κέντρων) is 'the sting of unsatisfied desire' (*Sehnsucht* Schneider): cf. the definition of πόθος in *Crat.* 420 A πόθος—οὐ τοῦ παρόντος—ἀλλὰ τοῦ ἀλλοθὶ που ὄντος καὶ ἀπόντος. Ast conjectured τρέφουσαι πόθον, κέντρον κτλ., "namque πόθος s. ἔρως iam inest in fuco." But in point of fact the ἔρως is the drone, and the MS text is far more picturesque and expressive.

**8 δορυφορεῖται.** Cf. VIII 566 B ff.

**573 B 9 ἐν αὐτῷ.** The Oxford editors, with Herwerden, read ἐν αὐτῷ, "i.e. the man," remarking that "good opinions and desires could hardly be supposed to exist" in the drone. True; but παρ' αὐτοῦ shews that αὐτῷ is right, and αὐτῷ is unpleasing on aesthetic as well as on grammatical grounds. Plato speaks as if the master-passion were itself the soul. The inaccuracy is easily excused because the whole soul is rapidly falling under its sway.

ποιουμένας = 'accounted.' Hermann proposes ποτωμένας, Herwerden ἐμποιουμένας: but the text is sound. See VI 498 A n.

**11 καθήρῃ:** as in the καθαρός of VIII 567 c.

μανίας δὲ κτλ. See *cr. n.* A few *deterioris notae* MSS agree with A, which is certainly in error here. Cf. IV 441 D. The epithet ἐπακτοῦ recalls the ξενικοί of VIII 567 D f.

**14 καὶ μεθυσθεὶς κτλ.** Ast compares Bacchyl. *Frag.* 27. 6 f. Bergk (on the effects of wine) αὐτίχ' ὁ μὲν πόλεων κρήδεμνα λύει | πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις μοναρχήσιν δοκεῖ. But τυραννικόν τι φρόνημα ἴσχει has of course a wider meaning than this.

**573 C 16 ὑποκεκνηκὼς** = 'deranged'



ἐπιχειρεῖ τε καὶ ἐλπίζει δυνατὸς εἶναι ἄρχειν. Καὶ μάλ', ἔφη. Τυραννικὸς δέ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ δαιμόνιε, ἀνὴρ ἀκριβῶς γίγνεται, ὅταν ἢ φύσει ἢ ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἢ ἀμφοτέροις μεθυστικός τε καὶ ἐρωτικός καὶ μελαγχολικὸς γένηται. Παντελῶς μὲν οὖν.

20

III. Γίγνεται μὲν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὕτω καὶ τοιοῦτος ἀνὴρ· ζῇ δὲ D δὴ πῶς; Τὸ τῶν παιζόντων, ἔφη, τοῦτο<sup>1</sup> σὺ καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐρεῖς. Λέγω

(D. and V.). The litotes in ὑπο- is only euphemistic. ὑποκεκινηκώς with this meaning does not apparently occur elsewhere in classical Greek: see Stephanus-Hase *Thes.* s.v., where the only parallel cited is from a scholium on Soph. *Aj.* 531 ὑποκεκινηκότε μὴ πιστεύουσα. W. H. Thompson (on *Phaedr.* 249 D) proposes παρακεκινηκώς, in view of Ar. *Frogs* 643, where he approves 'on MS authority' the reading ἦν με παρακινήσαντ' ἴδης. In point of fact, however, this reading will not scan, and the Ravenna with other MSS has ἦν μ' ὑποκινήσαντ' ἴδης, although ὑποκινεῖν is not used with the same sense as here.

οὐ μόνον κτλ. The madman also τυραννικὸν τι φρόνημα ἴσχει. ἐλπίζει is not here 'expects' (D. and V.) but 'fancies,' 'imagines' (II 383 B n.).

18 τυραννικὸς δὲ κτλ. I formerly printed δὴ for δέ (with *q* and Vermehren *Plat. Stud.* p. 112), but now prefer the reading of the best MSS. Plato is testing his account of the origin of the tyrannical man by obvious and admitted facts: cf. (with Schneider) IV 442 E ff. Lust, Drink, and Madness are confessedly tyrants; and we hold that a τυραννικὸς ἀνὴρ in the strictest sense of the term (for ἀκριβῶς cf. I 341 C) is produced when a man falls under the dominion of all three. So that our theory accords with everyday experience. μελαγχολικός is not of course 'passionate' (Jowett), but 'insane': cf. ὁ γε μαίνόμενος καὶ ὑποκεκινηκώς above.

573 C—576 B In respect of his character and mode of life, the tyrannical man plunges into every form of dissipation, and is hounded on by ever fresh desires. His income and property soon disappear; and in order to satisfy his clamorous lusts, he plunders his father's estate, not hesitating if need be to lay violent hands on father and mother. Then follow sacrilege and theft, and every variety of crime; for he has now become in living fact that which once he rarely

was in dreams. Such men, if few in number, may go abroad and join a tyrant's bodyguard or remain to swell the ranks of petty criminals at home; but if they are numerous, they make the worst of all their crew into a tyrant over their fatherland. Tyranny is the goal and consummation of such a man's desires. Throughout his whole existence, both before and after he attains the crown of his ambition, the tyrannical man is a stranger to freedom and friendship, faithless and superlatively unrighteous—in one word, he is the living embodiment of the monstrous lusts we found in dreams, and the longer he rules, the worse he grows.

573 C ff. Plato's τυραννικός is a monster without a single redeeming feature of any kind, the incarnation of unnatural desire, "bloody, Luxurious, avaricious, false, deceitful, Sudden, malicious"—"not in the legions Of horrid hell can come a devil more damned In evils" (*Macbeth* Act IV Sc. 3). It must be admitted that Plato takes a terrible revenge on Dionysius: see on 577 A.

21 γίγνεται κτλ. 'Such, apparently, is the origin also of the tyrannical man.' The stress of the voice falls on τοιοῦτος i. q. τυραννικός (τυραννικός ἀνὴρ in Socrates' last sentence). καὶ is *etiam*: we have now described *his* origin as well as that of the others. J. and C. propose ἀνὴρ, as if Plato meant γίγνεται οὕτω, καὶ ἐστὶν τοιοῦτος. But the character of the man has still to be described (ζῇ δὲ δὴ πῶς); hitherto we have been concerned only with his *genesis* (γίγνεται μὲν). Schneider caught the meaning ("so nun entsteht auch dieser Mann"); but recent English translators are wrong. For μὲν Richards conjectures μὲν οὖν (or οὐκοῦν γίγνεται μὲν as an alternative). The asyndeton helps of course to accentuate the antithesis between γίγνεται and ζῇ.

22 τὸ τῶν παιζόντων. παροιμία ἦλκα τις ἐρωτηθεὶς τι ὑπὸ γινώσκοντος τὸ ἐρω-

- δή, ἔφην. οἶμαι γάρ, τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο ἑορταὶ γίνονται παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ κῶμοι καὶ θαλῖαι καὶ ἑταῖραι καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα πάντα, ὧν ἂν
- 25 Ἐρως τύραννος ἔνδον οἰκῶν διακυβερνᾷ τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἅπαντα. Ἀνάγκη, ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ πολλαὶ καὶ δειναὶ παραβλαστάνουσιν ἐπιθυμίαι ἡμέρας τε καὶ νυκτὸς ἐκάστης, πολλῶν δεόμεναι; Πολλὰί μέντοι. Ταχὺ ἄρα ἀναλίσκονται ἐάν τινες ὥσι πρόσοδοι. Πῶς δ' οὐ; Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο<sup>1</sup> δὴ δανεισμοὶ καὶ τῆς οὐσίας παραιρέσεις. E
- 30 Τί μήν; Ὅταν δὲ δὴ πάντ' ἐπιλίπη, ἄρα οὐκ ἀνάγκη μὲν τὰς ἐπιθυμίας βοᾶν πυκνὰς τε καὶ σφοδρὰς ἐννεοττευμένας, τοὺς δ' ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κέντρων ἐλαυνομένους τῶν τε ἄλλων ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ διαφερόντως ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔρωτος, πάσαις ταῖς ἄλλαις ὥσπερ δορυφόροις ἡγουμένου, οἰστρᾶν καὶ σκοπεῖν, τίς τι ἔχει, ὃν δυνατόν
- 35 ἀφελέσθαι ἀπατήσαντα ἢ | βιασάμενον; Σφόδρα γ', ἔφη. Ἀναγ- 574 καίον δὴ πανταχόθεν φέρειν, ἢ μεγάλας ὠδῖσί τε καὶ ὀδύνας

24. θαλῖαι Π: θάλειαι A.

30. ἐπιλίπη A<sup>1</sup>Π: ἐπιλείπη A<sup>2</sup>.

τηθέν, αὐτὸς ἀγνοῶν, οὕτως ἀποκρίνηται 'σὺ καὶ ἐμοὶ ἐρεῖς' (Schol.). Cf. *Phil.*

25 B.

573 D 23 αὐτοῖς: the τυραννικός and his associates.

24 θαλῖαι. See *cr. n.* θάλεια is either an adjective or the name of the Muse. Schneider (who was unaware that Π has θαλῖαι) retains θάλειαι, but his note conclusively proves, I think, that the Attic writers as well as Homer invariably observed the distinction. Stallbaum alone of recent editors reads θαλῖαι.

ἑταῖραι. "Nullus locus scortis est inter ἑορτὰς atque κῶμους καὶ θαλῖαι" says Stallbaum. On this account he prefers ἑταιραῖαι (a conjecture of G. W. Nitzsch), taking the word, strangely enough, for *hupanaria*. There is not the shadow of a difficulty: cf. II 373 A *n.* and ἑταῖρας 574 B below.

ὧν κτλ.: 'in whoso's breast the tyrant Love indwelling steers all their soul.' The words are tinged with poetical colouring, as often in passages of this kind: cf. VIII 560 D, E al. J. and C. erroneously make ὧν neuter and dependent on Ἐρως. The pronoun is construed with τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς ἅπαντα by Shorey (*A. J. Ph.* xvi p. 237), but in that case οἷς would have been more natural. The view I take agrees with Schneider's.

26 παραβλαστάνουσιν: 'shoot up beside' the master-passion. These desires

correspond to τὸ τοῦ τυράννου στρατέπεδον τὸ καλὸν τε καὶ πολὺ καὶ ποικίλον καὶ οὐδέποτε ταῦτόν in the τυραννομένη πόλις (VIII 568 D).

28 ἀναλίσκονται κτλ. Cf. VIII 568 D.

573 E 29 τῆς οὐσίας παραιρέσεις κτλ.: 'encroachments on his capital' etc. (J. and C.), viz. to meet the money-lender's claims. See VIII 555 E. On ἐπιλίπη see VIII 568 E *n.*

30 ἀνάγκη μὲν κτλ. Bekker reads ἀνάγκη τὰς μὲν with *q* and Flor. U: "recte, si cupiditates ipsis opponi statuimus. Sed nihil impedit, quo minus alteram necessitatem—quae postea hanc consequi particula δὴ significatur, iam hic scriptori obversatam atque hanc illi alteri oppositam putemus. Accedit quod si τὰς μὲν ἐπιθυμίας scripsisset, non τοὺς δέ, sed αὐτοὺς δέ dicturus fuisse videtur" (Schneider). We have no right to change τοὺς to αὐτοὺς as Stallbaum is fain to do.

31 ἐννεοττευμένας is copied, as Ast observes, by Longinus *περὶ ὕψους* 44. 7.

32 κέντρων. The other desires (as well as the master Passion) are compared to goads. For the idiom ὥσπερ ὑπὸ κέντρων τῶν κτλ. cf. VIII 553 B *n.*

33 αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔρωτος κτλ. is not for τῶν αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἔρωτος κτλ., as Stallbaum seems to hold; for the ἔρως is itself an ἐπιθυμία: see 572 E ff. With δορυφόροις cf. VIII 567 D.

ξυνέχεσθαι. Ἀναγκαῖον. Ἄρ' οὖν ὥσπερ αἱ ἐν αὐτῷ ἡδοναὶ ἐπιγιγνώμεναι τῶν ἀρχαίων πλέον εἶχον καὶ τὰ ἐκείνων ἀφηροῦντο, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸς ἀξιώσει νεώτερος ὢν πατρός τε καὶ μητρὸς πλέον 5 ἔχειν καὶ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι, ἐὰν τὸ αὐτοῦ μέρος ἀναλώσῃ, ἀπονειμάμενος τῶν πατρῶων; Ἀλλὰ τί μὴν; ἔφη. Ἄν δὲ δὴ αὐτῷ μὴ ἐπιτρέ-  
**B** πωσιν, ἄρ' οὐ<sup>1</sup> τὸ μὲν πρᾶτον ἐπιχειροῖ ἂν κλέπτειν καὶ ἀπατᾶν τοὺς γονέας; Πάντως. Ὅποτε δὲ μὴ δύναίτο, ἀρπάξοι ἂν καὶ βιάζοιτο μετὰ τοῦτο; Οἶμαι, ἔφη. Ἀντεχομένων δὴ καὶ μαχο- 10 μένων, ὃ θαυμάσιε, γέροντός τε καὶ γραὸς ἄρ' εὐλαβηθείη ἂν καὶ φείσαιτο μή τι δρᾶσαι τῶν τυραννικῶν; Οὐ πάνν, ἦ δ' ὅς, ἔγωγε θαρρῶ περὶ τῶν γονέων τοῦ τοιούτου. Ἄλλ', ὃ Ἀδείμαντε, πρὸς Διός, ἔνεκα νεωστὶ φίλης καὶ οὐκ ἀναγκαίας ἐταίρας γεγωνυίας τὴν  
**C** πάλαι φίλῃν<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀναγκαίαν μητέρα, ἣ ἔνεκα ὠραίου νεωστὶ φίλου 15 γεγονότος οὐκ ἀναγκαίου τὸν ἄωρόν τε καὶ ἀναγκαῖον πρεσβύτην πατέρα καὶ τῶν φίλων ἀρχαιότατον δοκεῖ ἂν σοι ὁ τοιοῦτος πληγαῖς τε δοῦναι καὶ καταδουλώσασθαι ἂν αὐτοὺς ὑπ' ἐκείνοις, εἰ εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν οἰκίαν ἀγάγοιτο; Ναὶ μὰ Δία, ἦ δ' ὅς. Σφόδρα γε μακάριον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἔοικεν εἶναι τὸ τυραννικὸν ὑὸν τεκεῖν. Πανύ 20  
**D** γ', ἔφη. Τί δ', ὅταν δὴ τὰ πατρός καὶ μητρὸς<sup>1</sup> ἐπιλείπῃ τὸν τοιοῦτον, πολὺ δὲ ἤδη ξυνειλεγμένον ἐν αὐτῷ ἢ τὸ τῶν ἡδονῶν σμῆνος, οὐ πρῶτον μὲν οἰκίας τινὸς ἐφάψεται τοίχου ἢ τινος, ὁψὲ νύκτωρ ἰόντος τοῦ ἱματίου, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἱερόν τι νεωκορήσει;

21. τὰ A<sup>2</sup>II: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

**574 A 1 ἀναγκαῖον δὴ κτλ.** The civic parallel is in VIII 568 D ff. φέρειν = 'lift' (in the sinister sense of ἄγειν καὶ φέρειν: cf. *Laus* 762 A). On the position of ἐπιγιγνώμεναι see VII 532 C n. The words ἀξιώσει νεώτερος ὢν κτλ. correspond to VIII 568 E ff., and ἐὰν—ἀναλώσῃ is subordinate to ἀπονειμάμενος τῶν πατρῶων ('his father's property', not, of course, 'his patrimony': cf. VIII 568 E).

**574 B 10 ἀντεχομένων.** The middle of ἀντέχω in the sense of 'resist' is extremely rare; but occurs in Arist. *H. A.* VII 3. 583<sup>a</sup> 18, possibly in Xen. *de Ven.* 6. 6, and occasionally in later Greek: see Stephanus-Hase *Thes.* s.v. The presence of μαχομένων makes it unlikely that ἀντεχομένων means 'cleaving to' sc. in the attitude of supplication.

**14 οὐκ ἀναγκαίας.** The adjective ἀναγκαῖος throughout this sentence combines the two senses of 'necessary' ) (

'superfluous,' and 'related by the ties of blood.' Bosanquet justly draws attention to the singular pathos and *pietas* of Plato's words: cf. V 470 D n. For the parallel in the State see VIII 569 B.

**574 C 17 πληγαῖς—δοῦναι.** See VIII 566 C n.

**574 D 21 ἐπιλείπῃ.** The present has better MS authority, and is intrinsically more appropriate than the aorist: "nam et ei quod sequitur ξυνειλεγμένον ἢ magis respondet et eo ipso temporis puncto quo patrimonium delicere incipit filium istum ad latrocinia et sacrilegia abripi accuratius significat" (Heller *Curr. Crit.* p. 4). Contrast VIII 568 E n.

**23 ἐφάψεται:** 'put himself in touch with' (*sich in Berührung setzen* Schneider). The delicate euphemism is missed by the English translators.

**24 ἱερόν τι νεωκορήσει:** 'will sweep out a temple.' The euphemism may be



25 καὶ ἐν τούτοις δὴ πᾶσιν, ἃς πάλαι εἶχεν δόξας ἐκ παιδὸς περὶ  
καλῶν τε καὶ αἰσχυρῶν, τὰς δικαίας ποιούμενας, αἱ νεωστὶ ἐκ δου-  
λείας λελυμέναι, δορυφοροῦσαι τὸν ἔρωτα, κρατήσουσι μετ' ἐκείνου,  
αἱ πρότερον μὲν ὄναρ ἐλύοντο ἐν ὕπνῳ, ὅτε ἦν ἰ αὐτὸς ἔτι ὑπὸ Ε  
νόμοις τε καὶ πατρὶ δημοκρατούμενος ἐν ἑαυτῷ· τυραννευθεὶς δὲ  
30 ὑπὸ ἔρωτος, οἷος ὀλιγάκις ἐγένετο ὄναρ, ὕπαρ τοιοῦτος αἰεὶ γενό-  
μενος, οὔτε τινὸς φόνου δεινοῦ ἀφέξεται οὔτε βρώματος οὔτ' ἔργου,  
ἀλλὰ | τυραννικῶς ἐν αὐτῷ ὁ ἔρως ἐν πάσῃ ἀναρχίᾳ καὶ ἀνομίᾳ 575  
ζῶν, ἅτε αὐτὸς ὢν μόναρχος, τὸν ἔχοντά τε αὐτὸν ὥσπερ πόλιν  
ἄξει ἐπὶ πᾶσαν τόλμαν, ὅθεν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν περὶ αὐτὸν θόρυβον  
θρέψει, τὸν μὲν ἔξωθεν εἰσεληλυθότα ἀπὸ κακῆς ὁμιλίας, τὸν δ'

illustrated by Cicero's jest about Verres, "futurum ut omnia vereretur" (Quint. VI 3. 55). Suidas has νεωκορήσει· ἐνίοτε ἀντὶ τοῦ ἱεροσυλήσει· κορεῖν γὰρ λέγουσι τὸ καλλύνειν, τὸ σαροῦν ('sweep') καὶ ἐκκαλλύνειν. The explanation of the Scholiast is less accurate. See also Shüick *de Scholiis* p. 34 and Photius I p. 103 (ed. Porson) ἱερὸν τι νεωκορήσας· εὐφημώτερον ἀντὶ τοῦ ἱεροσυλήσας (as emended by Schneider). L. and S. say that νεωκόρος does not mean 'temple-sweeper' till Philo, but the present passage shews that this meaning is at least as old as Plato.

26 δικαίας. The letters αια are written over an erasure in A, so that the scribe may have originally written δίκας, which appears in all other mss. The Scholiast read δικαίας, as appears from his paraphrase τῶν δοξῶν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, αἱ πάλαι εἶχεν, and no one, since Bekker, has adopted δίκας except Stallbaum. τὰς δίκας ποιούμενας is indefensible, and χρηστάς in 573 B, to which Plato here refers, proves δικαίας right.

ποιούμενας κτλ. ποιούμενας = 'accounted': see on VI 498 A. The words ἐκ δουλείας λελυμέναι correspond to VIII 567 E. ὄναρ is an adverbial accusative: cf. VII 520 C n. The expression ἐν ὕπνῳ, though excised by Cobet (*V. L.*² p. 525), is quite in keeping with Plato's *ubertas orationis*.

574 E 29 ἐν ἑαυτῷ. So also in 579 C. Herwerden calls for ἐν ἑαυτοῦ, which could, of course, only mean 'in his senses': see Blaydes on Ar. *Wasps* 642.

30 γενόμενος κτλ. γιγνόμενος (Richards in *Cl. Rev.* VIII p. 23, following Ste-

phanus) is a groundless conjecture. The tyrannical man must have reached this stage *before* he sticks at nothing. On βρώματος see 571 D n.

575 A 2 ἅτε αὐτὸς κτλ.: 'being himself a monarch with sole sway will not only lead the man in whom he dwells as in a city unto every form of daring' etc. τε is used ἀνακολούθως: see on II 373 B. The words ἅτε αὐτὸς ὢν μόναρχος suggest as the proper supplement of the τε clause something like 'but will also make *him* a tyrant too'; and the sentiment appears in a somewhat different form in 575 C, D (where see *nn.*). So Hoefler (*de part. Pl.* p. 14) correctly explains the passage. Schneider understands κυβερνῶν or the like (to balance ὢν) after πόλιν—an impossible solution, which he himself abandoned afterwards in his translation. Others cancel τε (q and Stallbaum), or suggest ἔχοντά τε καὶ τρέφοντα (Richards). Neither proposal is either necessary or probable. The words ὥσπερ πόλιν have also caused difficulty; and Vind. E offers the ingenious emendation πῶλον (*sic*). Should ὥσπερ πόλιν be connected with τὸν ἔχοντά τε αὐτὸν or with ἄξει? The latter view has hitherto, I believe, been held; but the introduction of the parallel is very awkward, and, in point of fact, neither 'ἔρως nor even the tyrant himself was said in Book VIII to lead the city into daring deeds (VIII 566 D ff., quoted by Stallbaum, is nothing to the point). On the other view ὥσπερ πόλιν is natural and easy; if ὁ ἔρως is a μόναρχος, ὁ ἔχων τὸν ἔρωτα is the πόλις where he rules. Cf. ἔως ἂν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ ἐν πόλει πολιτείαν καταστήσωμεν 590 E.

ἐνδοθεν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπων καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνεθέντα καὶ ἐλευθερω- 5  
θέντα· ἢ οὐχ οὗτος ὁ βίος τοῦ τοιούτου; Οὗτος μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.  
B Καὶ ἂν μὲν γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὀλίγοι οἱ τοιοῦτοι ἐν πόλει ὥσι<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
τὸ ἄλλο πληθὸς σωφρονῇ, ἐξελθόντες ἄλλον τινὰ δορυφοροῦσι  
τύραννον ἢ μισθοῦ ἐπικουροῦσιν, ἐάν που πόλεμος ᾖ· ἐὰν δ' ἐν  
εἰρήνῃ τε καὶ ἡσυχίᾳ γένωνται, αὐτοῦ δὴ ἐν τῇ πόλει κακὰ δρῶσι 10  
σμικρὰ πολλά. Τὰ ποῖα δὴ λέγεις; Οἷα κλέπτουσι, τοιχωρυ-  
χοῦσι, βαλλαντισιοτομοῦσι, λωποδυτοῦσιν, ἱεροσυλοῦσιν, ἀνδραποδί-  
ζονται· ἔστι δ' ὅτε συκοφαντοῦσιν, ἐὰν δυνατοὶ ὥσι λέγειν, καὶ  
ψευδομαρτυροῦσι καὶ δωροδοκοῦσιν. Σμικρά γ', ἔφη, κακὰ λέγεις,  
C<sup>1</sup> ἐὰν ὀλίγοι ὥσιν οἱ τοιοῦτοι. Τὰ γὰρ σμικρά, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πρὸς τὰ 15  
μεγάλα σμικρά ἐστὶν καὶ ταῦτα δὴ πάντα πρὸς τύραννον πονηρία  
τε καὶ ἀθλιότητι πόλεως, τὸ λεγόμενον, οὐδ' ἔκταρ βάλλει. ὅταν  
γὰρ δὴ πολλοὶ ἐν πόλει γένωνται οἱ τοιοῦτοι καὶ ἄλλοι οἱ ξυνε-

17. ἔκταρ II: ἔκταρ A.

5 ὑπὸ τῶν—ἑαυτοῦ has been called 'nonsense' by Richards, who conjectures for καὶ ἑαυτοῦ either ἑαυτῶ, or καὶ αὐτόν: Herwerden contents himself with deleting καί. The text is assuredly sound; and although Stallbaum is here at fault, Vermehren correctly explained the passage as long ago as 1870 (*Pl. Stud.* pp. 112 ff.). καὶ is *quoque*, and we should translate 'by means of the same dispositions in himself also' ('durch dieselben Eigenschaften auch seiner selbst' Vermehren). τῶν αὐτῶν sc. as those of his evil associates. The history of the State furnishes an exact parallel in the contrast between the *foreign* mercenaries and the emancipated slaves (VIII 567 D, E). Jowett's translation is right, but in his edition he still takes καί as 'and.'

575 B II κλέπτουσι κτλ. recalls I 344 B (where see *n.*) and 348 D. From Xen. *Mem.* I 2. 62 and *Symp.* 4. 36 it would seem that these crimes were commonly cited as instances of ἀδικία in the Socratic school. Cf. also Ar. *Thesm.* 817 ff.

575 C 15 ἐάν—τοιοῦτοι is bracketed by Herwerden. The words are certainly difficult, if σμικρά γε κακὰ be taken as ironical, for we have no right to render ἐάν by 'even if': 'a small catalogue of evils—(even) if there are only a few such men!' J. and C. But there is no irony. The meaning is 'True, they

are small evils, if such men are few in number.' 'Yes,' said I, 'for small is small in comparison with great.' Adimantus' *caveat* prepares us for ὅταν γὰρ δὴ πολλοὶ κτλ. below.

16 πονηρία: 'in respect of a city's wretchedness and misery.' For the datives cf. VI 509 D (σαφηνεία καὶ ἀσαφεία), VIII 555 A and *infra* 576 C. Its union with ἀθλιότητι seems to shew that πονηρία is here 'wretchedness' rather than 'vice,' although the Greeks did not clearly separate the two ideas (see on I 335 B), and in Plato wickedness *is* misery.

17 οὐδ' ἔκταρ βάλλει: 'are not within sight of.' The proverb means οὐδὲ ἐγγύς ἐστιν (Diogen. III 46). The other sources are given in Deutsch u. Schneidewin *Paroem. Gr.* II p. 43). Eustathius (*in Od.* II 292. 27, quoted by Schneider) argues for the rough breathing ἔκταρ (see *cr. n.*), on the ground that the word comes from ἰκνοῦμαι; but it is clear from his argument, as well as from the other authorities, that ἔκταρ was the regular pronunciation.

ὅταν γὰρ δὴ κτλ. The tyrannical man is like the philosopher in *one* respect. He does not attain to his full development except in a city meet for him. See VI 497 A and Nettleship *Lect. and Rem.* II p. 318. With μετὰ δήμου ἀνόλιας cf. Solon *Frag.* II ed. Bergk.

πόμενοι αὐτοῖς καὶ αἰσθωνται ἑαυτῶν τὸ πλῆθος, τότε οὐτοί εἰσιν  
 20 οἱ τὸν τύραννον γεννῶντες μετὰ δήμου ἀνοίας, ἐκείνον, ὃς ἂν αὐτῶν  
 μάλιστα αὐτὸς ἐν αὐτῷ μέγιστον καὶ ἰ πλείστον ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ D  
 τύραννον ἔχῃ. Εἰκότως γ', ἔφη· τυραννικώτατος γὰρ ἂν εἴη.  
 Οὐκοῦν ἐὰν μὲν ἐκόντες ὑπέικωσιν· ἐὰν δὲ μὴ ἐπιτρέπη ἡ πόλις,  
 ὥσπερ τότε μητέρα καὶ πατέρα ἐκόλαζεν, οὕτω πάλιν τὴν πατρίδα,  
 25 ἐὰν οἷός τ' ᾖ, κολάσεται ἐπεισαγόμενος νέους ἐταίρους, καὶ ὑπὸ  
 τούτοις δὴ δουλεύουσιν τὴν πύλαι φίλῃν μητρίδα τε, Κρήτές φασι,  
 καὶ πατρίδα ἔξει τε καὶ θρέψει. καὶ τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τέλος ἂν εἴη τῆς  
 ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ τοιούτου ἀνδρός. ἰ Τοῦτο, ἡ δ' ὅς, παντάπασί γε. E  
 Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οὐτοί γε τοιοῖδε γίνονται ἰδίᾳ καὶ πρὶν ἄρχειν;  
 30 πρῶτον μὲν οἷς ἂν ξυνῶσιν, ἡ κόλαξιν ἑαυτῶν ξυνόντες καὶ πᾶν  
 ἐτοίμοις ὑπηρετεῖν, ἡ ἐὰν τοῦ τι δέωνται, αὐτοὶ ὑποπεσόντες, πάντα 576  
 σχήματα τολμῶντες ποιεῖν ὡς οἰκεῖοι, διαπραξάμενοι δὲ ἀλλότριοι;  
 Καὶ σφόδρα γε. Ἐν παντὶ ἄρα τῷ βίῳ ζῶσι φίλοι μὲν οὐδέποτε  
 οὐδενί, αἰεὶ δὲ του δεσπόζοντες ἡ δουλεύοντες ἄλλῳ, ἐλευθερίας δὲ  
 5 καὶ φιλίας ἀληθοῦς τυραννικὴ φύσις αἰεὶ ἄγευστος. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν.  
 Ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ ὀρθῶς ἂν τοὺς τοιούτους ἀπίστους καλοῖμεν; Πῶς  
 δ' οὐ; Καὶ μὴν ἀδίκους γε ὡς οἷόν τε μάλιστα, εἴπερ ὀρθῶς ἐν  
 τοῖς πρόσθεν ἰ ὠμολογήσαμεν περὶ δικαιοσύνης, οἷόν ἐστιν. Ἀλλὰ B  
 μὴν, ἡ δ' ὅς, ὀρθῶς γε. Κεφαλαιωσώμεθα τοῖνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὸν  
 10 κάκιστον. ἔστιν δέ που, οἷον ὅναρ διήλθομεν, ὃς ἂν ὕπαρ τοιούτος

31. τοῦ τι (vel του τί) Ξq: τοῦτι ΑΠ.

575 D 21 πλείστον—τύραννον. The  
 τύραννος is ἔρως: see 575 A τυραννικῶς ἐν  
 αὐτῷ ὁ ἔρως—ζῶν and 573 D. This ex-  
 planation, with which Schneider agrees,  
 is better than to make τύραννος equi-  
 valent merely to 'the tyrannical element'  
 (cf. II 382 D n.) and so weaken the force  
 of τυραννικώτατος γὰρ ἂν εἴη. Plato here  
 ignores the fact that if a successful tyrant  
 has strong passions he is usually not less  
 strong in capacity and will. If he were  
 entirely the slave of Passion, he would  
 not prove successful.

23 ἐὰν μὲν κτλ. Cf. *Prot.* 325 D.  
 The idiom, which begins with Homer,  
 is illustrated at length by Herwerden  
*Mn.* XIX pp. 338 f. The reference in  
 ὥσπερ τότε is to 574 C. νέους is 'new'  
 (Schneider), not 'young': cf. VIII 568 A n.,  
 and νεωστὶ φίλης, νεωστὶ φίλου 574 B, C.  
 μητρίδα Photius (ed. Porson I p. 268)  
 thus explains: μητρίδα· τὴν πατρίδα.

καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Φερεκράτης. Cf. Synes.  
*Ep.* 93. 1460 A Migne μητρίδος, ὡς ἂν  
 Κρήτες εἴποιεν.

27 ἔξει τε καὶ θρέψει: 'will have and  
 hold' ('haben und halten' Schneider).  
 There is no sarcasm in θρέψει ('that is  
 his way of supporting her!': J. and C.):  
 nor does the word in this passage mean  
 more than 'keep.'

29 τοιοῖδε γίνονται. τοιοῖδε "ad se-  
 quentia spectat" (Schneider), and γίνον-  
 ται = 'prove themselves,' 'shew them-  
 selves,' as often.

576 A 2 ἀλλότριοι: sc. γιγνόμενοι,  
 rather than γίνονται, which Schneider  
 supplies. The participles are all in ex-  
 planatory apposition with τοιοῖδε. Ast  
 bids us repeat ὡς, wrongly: see Heindorf  
 on *Theaet.* 167 E.

3 φίλοι μὲν—οὐδενί. Cf. Xen. *Hiero*  
 3 and VIII 567 B n.

576 B 10 οἷον κτλ.: "qui vigilans



ἦ. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Οὐκοῦν οὗτος γίγνεται ὃς ἂν τυραννικώτατος φύσει ὦν μοναρχήσῃ, καὶ ὅσῳ ἂν πλείω χρόνον ἐν τυραννίδι βιῇ, τοσοῦτ' ἄλλῳ τοιοῦτος. Ἀνάγκη, ἔφη διαδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον ὁ Γλαῦκων.

IV. Ἀρ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὃς ἂν φαίνεται πονηρότατος, καὶ 15  
C ἀθλιώτατος<sup>1</sup> φανήσεται; καὶ ὃς ἂν πλείστον χρόνον καὶ μάλιστα τυραννέσῃ, μάλιστα τε καὶ πλείστον χρόνον τοιοῦτος γεγοινῶς τῇ ἀληθείᾳ; τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς πολλὰ καὶ δοκεῖ. Ἀνάγκη, ἔφη, ταῦτα

talis est, qualem finximus supra (571 C, D, E) *somniantem*" (Stallbaum). The Oxford editors, with D. and V., and apparently also Schneider, translate 'He is the man who in reality is such as we imagined him in our dream.' The Greek is perhaps a little simpler if we take this view, but I agree with Bosanquet in preferring Stallbaum's, partly because such a statement could scarcely be called a κεφάλαιον, and partly on account of 574 E οἷος ὁλιγάκις ἐγίνετο εἶναι, ὅπου τοιοῦτος δὲ γινόμενος—a striking observation which would be at once recalled to Adimantus' mind, although the strong antithesis between εἶναι and ὅπου is alone sufficient to suggest the meaning. We expect brevity and compression in a summary description of this kind. For the purposes of grammatical explanation we should supply εἶναι after διήλομεν ('as we described a man to be in dreams'). The ellipse is easy because of ὅ: for ὅς—ἦ is logically antecedent to οἷον—διήλομεν.

II οὗτος γίγνεται. οὗτος is in the predicate. For γίγνεται see on VIII 562 A.

13 διαδεξάμενος κτλ. We have now finished our account of depraved cities and individuals, and the change of interlocutors shews that we are about to enter on a new stage in the discussion: cf. VI 487 A, 506 D al. Aristotle blames Plato for not saying what is to follow tyranny (*Pol.* E 12. 1316<sup>a</sup> 25 ff.). In reply, Plato would, I think, first point out that he is not required to touch on this subject either by the main thesis of the *Republic* or by the special aim which he has in view throughout Books VIII and IX (see VIII 543 A n.). He might afterwards observe that, since the best hope of founding the perfect city lies in imbuing an absolute ruler or one of his descendants with a love of genuine philosophy (VI

499 B—502 C), the deepest darkness perhaps contained a promise of the dawn. See especially the striking passage in *Lysis* 709 E—712 A. Aristotle seems to have understood him to mean this (ἐπεὶ κατ' ἐκείνον δεῖ εἰς τὴν πρώτην καὶ τὴν ἀρίστην οὕτως γὰρ ἂν ἐγίνετο συνεχὲς καὶ κύκλος l.c.), and criticises him accordingly from the facts of experience; but the succession of polities in the *Republic* is not intended to be in all respects, or even primarily and chiefly, historical (VIII 543 A n.).

576 B—577 B *What shall we say then about the happiness or unhappiness of the individual who is most depraved? As is the city, so will the individual be in point of happiness as well as virtue. And the city in which a tyrant rules is of all cities the worst and most unhappy. What of the tyrannical man? He that has lived with a tyrant, and is himself moreover capable of judging, will best decide. Let us pretend, says Socrates, that we ourselves possess these qualifications.*

576 C ff. We have now discussed ὁ κάκιστος, and it only remains to compare him with ὁ ἀριστος in respect of happiness and misery. The present chapter is introductory to the triad of arguments by means of which Plato proves that the victory rests with ὁ ἀριστος. His description of the misery of the tyrant is based, as he virtually tells us, on the evidence of his own eyes (577 A, B m.), but we should of course remember that in such cases we are apt to see what we wish to see, and Plato's description, regarded as a portrait of Dionysius I, though it doubtless possesses a certain historical value, may well be somewhat overdrawn.

576 C 18 τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς κτλ. = 'although the multitude are multitudinous also in their views' expresses the antithesis implied in the emphatic τῇ ἀληθείᾳ

γούν οὕτως ἔχειν. Ἄλλο τι οὖν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ὃ γε τυραννικὸς κατὰ  
 20 τὴν τυραννουμένην πόλιν ἂν εἴη ὁμοιότητι, δημοτικὸς δὲ κατὰ  
 δημοκρατουμένην, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι οὕτω; Τί μὴν; Οὐκοῦν ὃ τι  
 πόλις πρὸς πόλιν ἀρετῇ καὶ εὐδαιμονία, τοῦτο καὶ ἀνὴρ πρὸς  
 ἄνδρα; Ἰ Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Τί οὖν ἀρετῇ τυραννουμένη πόλις πρὸς D  
 βασιλευομένην οἶαν τὸ πρῶτον διήλθομεν; Πᾶν τοῦναντίον, ἔφη.  
 25 ἡ μὲν γὰρ ἀρίστη, ἡ δὲ κακίστη. Οὐκ ἐρήσομαι, εἶπον, ὅποτεράν  
 λέγεις· δῆλον γάρ. ἀλλ' εὐδαιμονίας τε αὖ καὶ ἀθλιότητος ὡσαύ-  
 τως ἢ ἄλλως κρίνεις; καὶ μὴ ἐκπληττώμεθα πρὸς τὸν τύραννον  
 ἕνα ὄντα βλέποντες, μηδ' εἴ τινας ὀλίγοι περὶ ἐκείνον, ἀλλ' ὡς χρὴ  
 ὅλην τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντας θεάσασθαι, καταδύντες ἰ εἰς ἅπασαν E  
 30 καὶ ἰδόντες, οὕτω δόξαν ἀποφαινώμεθα. Ἄλλ' ὀρθῶς, ἔφη, προ-  
 καλεῖ· καὶ δῆλον παντί, ὅτι τυραννουμένης μὲν οὐκ ἔστιν ἀθλιωτέρα,  
 βασιλευομένης δὲ οὐκ εὐδαιμονεστέρα. Ἄρ' οὖν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ  
 περὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν τὰ αὐτὰ ταῦτα προκαλούμενος ὀρθῶς ἂν προ- 577  
 καλοίμην, ἀξίων κρίνειν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐκείνον, ὃς δύναται τῇ διανοίᾳ  
 εἰς ἀνδρὸς ἥθος ἐνδὺς διιδεῖν, καὶ μὴ καθάπερ παῖς ἔξωθεν ὀρῶν  
 ἐκπλήττεται ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τυραννικῶν προστάσεως, ἣν πρὸς τοὺς  
 5 ἔξω σχηματίζονται, ἀλλ' ἱκανῶς διορᾷ; εἰ οὖν οἰοίμην δεῖν ἐκείνου

23. ἀρετῇ γρ in marg. A<sup>2</sup>: ἀρα ἢ A<sup>1</sup>: ἀρα ἢ IIΞ γ.

(τῇ δόξῃ. Herwerden's conjecture τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ἄλλα δοκεῖ is singularly feeble and inelegant. The Scholiast neatly remarks πολλά δοκεῖ· ἀντὶ τοῦ ψευδῆ· τὸ γὰρ ψεῦδος πολυχρῶν, 'ἀπλοῦς δ' ὁ μῦθος τῆς ἀληθείας ἔφυν.' On Plato's contempt of the many see VI 494 A n.

ταῦτα refers to the two questions, not to τοῖς—δοκεῖ. If otherwise, Plato would, I think, have written τοῦτο here.

20 ὁμοιότητι, though doubted by Ast, Cobet, Herwerden, and others, is sound enough: see on VIII 555 A.

576 D 23 ἀρετῇ. See *cr. n.* The correct reading was first restored by Schneider.

26 εὐδαιμονίας—ἀθλιότητος κτλ. For the genitive see on V 470 A. μὴ ἐκπληττώμεθα = 'do not let us be dazzled' (D. and V.); cf. 577 A. Jowett's 'panicked' suggests a wrong idea.

28 ἀλλ' ὡς κτλ.: 'but as it is necessary to go into and survey the entire city, do not let us give our opinion until we have crept into the whole of the interior and seen it.' It is best to make ὡς

virtually causal, as it often is when dependent on imperatives or imperative expressions (here ἀποφαινώμεθα): cf. I 336 D, IV 420 E, *Sympr.* 189 B et al. With εἰς ὅλην τὴν πόλιν κτλ. cf. IV 421 B ἡ τοῦτο μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὅλην βλέποντας θεατέον κτλ. καταδύναι playfully suggests that we mean to elude the tyrant's eye (cf. *infra* 579 B, *Gorg.* 485 D). He shall not catch us if we can help it. For other views on this clause see App. I.

577 A 4 τῆς—σχηματίζονται: 'circumstance and pomp of majesty, which they put on to the world outside.' Cf. προστήσασθαι X 599 A n. and (with Schneider) II 365 C πρόθυρα μὲν καὶ σχῆμα—περιγραπεύον. τῶν τυραννικῶν seems to be usually taken as masculine, in which case it might have been omitted without any loss to the meaning. I think it is the genitive of τὰ τυραννικά: cf. B below ἐν οἷς μάλιστα γυμνὸς ἂν ὀφείλῃ τῆς τραγικῆς σκευῆς.

5 εἰ οὖν οἰοίμην κτλ. 'If then I should think it right for all of us to listen to the man who is both capable

πάντας ἡμᾶς ἀκούειν, τοῦ δυνατοῦ μὲν κρίναι, ξυνωρκηκόςτος δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ καὶ παραγεγονότος ἐν τε ταῖς κατ' οἰκίαν πράξεσιν, ὡς  
 B πρὸς ἐκάστους τοὺς οἰκείους<sup>1</sup> ἔχει, ἐν οἷς μάλιστα γυμνὸς ἂν ὀφθεῖη τῆς τραγικῆς σκευῆς, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς δημοσίοις κινδύνοις, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα ἰδόντα κελεύοιμεν ἐξαγγέλλειν, πῶς ἔχει εὐδαιμονίας καὶ 10 ἀθλιότητος ὁ τύραννος πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους; Ὁρθότατ' ἂν, ἔφη, καὶ ταῦτα προκαλοῖο. Βούλει οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, προσποιησώμεθα ἡμεῖς

8. ἂν ὀφθεῖη Π: ἀνοφθεῖη A.

12. προσποιησώμεθα A<sup>1</sup>Π: προσποιήσμεθα A<sup>2</sup>.

of judging' etc. The dialogue form is strained almost to breaking in this remarkable sentence. We are all to be silent and listen to Plato himself. Plato might fairly claim from his psychological studies and experience as a teacher, to be δυνατὸς τῇ διανοίᾳ εἰς ἀνδρὸς ἥθος ἐνδὺς διαδεῖν and so δυνατὸς κρίναι, and he had lived under the same roof with Dionysius I of Syracuse. The poet Gray was one of the first to observe that Plato is here meant.

577 B 8 ἐν οἷς = 'among whom' is surely better and more natural than ἐν αἷς, which Richards has conjectured. The tyrant lays aside the mask in his own family.

9 τραγικῆς σκευῆς = "theatrical garb" (D. and V.) again betrays "a feeling of the kinship between the shows of tyranny and those of tragedy" (Bosanquet: cf. VIII 568 A n.). Dionysius I was himself a writer of tragedies, and notoriously jealous—so we are told—of his poetical reputation (Grote x pp. 302 ff.): but it would be frigid to suppose that this was in Plato's mind when he wrote the word τραγικῆς.

αὐτοῖς was first conjecturally restored by Heindorf (on *Soph.* 262 A), following Ficinus, instead of the vulgar αὐτοῖς. It has since been found to be the reading of most of the other MSS as well as A.

10 κελεύοιμεν. The singular κελεύοιμι (7 Flor. U) is still read by Stallbaum. There is surely no reason why Socrates should not associate Glauco with himself in this hypothetical invitation.

11 ὀρθότατ' ἂν—προκαλοῖο forms the apodosis to what Socrates has said (cf. 582 E), but refers "ad initium potius quam ad exitum orationis Socraticae" (Schneider. Cf. V 465 E n.). Glauco admits most fully the claim that Plato

has earned a right to speak with authority on this subject.

12 προσποιησώμεθα κτλ. Plato cannot appear *in propria persona*, so that it is necessary for Socrates and Glauco to pretend that they also belong to the number of those 'who would be able to judge' and have met with τύραννοι and τυραννικοί. The fiction is rendered necessary by the laws of dialogue as *ἔνα—ἐρωτώμεν* frankly states. We must beware of supposing that it is Plato who 'pretends': Plato does not pretend, but *is* δυνατὸς μὲν κρίναι, ξυνωρκηκόςτος δὲ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ κτλ. (577 A). Richards objects to ἂν with δυνατῶν, and it is certainly unusual to find ἂν with an adjective in this way. But as δυνατῶν can itself take an infinitive, it hardly differs from the participle δυναμένων, and the suggestions δυνατῶν ὄντων, or δυνατῶν ἂν <όντων>, are unattractive. I should add in conclusion that nearly all critics are now agreed in holding that Plato throughout the whole of this passage is referring to his own experience of Dionysius I: see for example Susemihl *Gen. Entw.* II pp. 240, 294 ff., Teichmüller *Lit. Fehd.* I p. 110, Hirmer *Entst. u. Komp. d. Pl. Pol.* pp. 667 ff., with Zeller<sup>4</sup> II p. 413 n. 1. The date of Plato's first visit to the elder Dionysius was in or near 388 B.C. Compare *Epp.* VII 324 A—327 D. Whether this epistle be genuine or not, the visit is abundantly attested, as Zeller proves (l.c. pp. 413—415 nn.), and it is strange that J. and C. should still have doubts upon the subject. See also on V 473 D, VI 496 B, 499 B and infra 579 B n.

577 B—580 C Like the city whose counterpart he is, the tyrannical man is in reality a slave, powerless to work his will, penniless and insatiate, full of fear and lamentation. A still greater depth of misery awaits him if he becomes a



εἶναι τῶν δυνατῶν ἂν κρῖναι καὶ ἤδη ἐντυχόντων τοιούτοις, ἵνα ἔχωμεν ὅστις ἀποκρινεῖται ἂ ἐρωτῶμεν; Πάνυ γε.

- 15 V. Ἴθι δὴ μοι, ἔφη, ὧδε σκόπει. ἴ τὴν ὁμοιότητα ἀναμνη- C σκόμενος τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός, οὕτω καθ' ἕκαστον ἐν μέρει ἀθρῶν τὰ παθήματα ἐκατέρου λέγε. Τὰ ποῖα; ἔφη. Πρῶτον μὲν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὡς πόλιν εἰπεῖν, ἐλευθέραν ἢ δούλην τὴν τυραννουμένην ἐρεῖς; Ὡς οἶόν τ', ἔφη, μάλιστα δούλην. Καὶ μὴν 20 ὁρᾷς γε ἐν αὐτῇ δεσπότας καὶ ἐλευθέρους. Ὅρῳ, ἔφη, σμικρόν γέ τι τοῦτο· τὸ δὲ ὅλον, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ τὸ ἐπιεικέστατον ἀτίμως τε καὶ ἀθλίως δούλον. Εἰ οὖν, εἶπον, ὅμοιος ἴ ἀνὴρ τῇ D πόλει, οὐ καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἀνάγκη τὴν αὐτὴν τάξιν ἐνεῖναι, καὶ πολλῆς μὲν δουλείας τε καὶ ἀνελευθερίας γέμειν τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ,

22. ἀνὴρ Campbell: ἀνὴρ codd.

tyrant. Imagine the piteous plight of one who is suddenly transported into a solitary place where he is at the mercy of his own slaves, and surrounded by free neighbours who make common cause with them! Such is the position of the tyrant, a prisoner in his own palace, tormented by longings which he can never appease. To sum up, he is the supreme embodiment of vice and misery, and the longer he holds sway, the worse he becomes.

Let us now give judgment. In respect of virtue and happiness the different individuals stand as follows: (1) Kingly, (2) Timocratical, (3) Oligarchical, (4) Democratical, (5) Tyrannical. He who is most kingly is best and happiest, he who is most a tyrant over himself and city, worst and most miserable,—whether their true character be hidden from men and gods, or not.

577 c ff. The arguments by means of which Plato establishes his conclusion may be briefly described as the political argument, the psychological argument, and the metaphysical argument. The first (577 B—580 C) depends on the resemblance between the soul and the State, the second (580 C—583 A) on the three-fold division of the soul into λογιστικόν, θυμοειδές, and ἐπιθυμητικόν, the third (583 B—587 B) on Plato's theory of Reality or Being. Now it is just these three methods of investigation, and these alone, which have been employed in the different parts of the dialogue, the political and psychological in II—IV and VIII—IX, the

metaphysical in V—VII; and it is therefore altogether appropriate and right that Plato should bring them together now, and use their united forces 'in making up the last account.' The sequence of the three arguments follows the usual Platonic way of progression from the exoteric to the esoteric, and as the ideal city culminated in metaphysical idealism, so it is a metaphysical argument that crowns our citadel of proof.

577 C 16 καθ' ἕκαστον κτλ. καθ' ἕκαστον = 'point by point,' 'in detail,' not 'singly' (D. and V.), which would be καθ' ἑκάτερον here, since only two objects of comparison are involved. ἀθρῶν: sc. ἑκάτερον, viz. the city and the man (J. and C.). On ὡς πόλιν εἰπεῖν and ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν ('I might almost say') see I 341 B n.

577 D 22 ἀνὴρ. See *cr. n.* I have followed the advice of a reviewer of my *Text of the Republic in Hermath.* xxiv p. 256 and accepted Campbell's ἀνὴρ. It is difficult to dispense with the article here: cf. τῆς τε πόλεως καὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός above.

24 ἀνελευθερίας κτλ. In ἀνελευθερίας there is here a strong suggestion of the etymological meaning ("Unfreiheit" Schneider). μικρόν, as J. and C. observe, is introduced to make the parallel between State and individual as complete as possible. From another point of view it might be held that the μοχθηρότατον in the tyrannical soul is not σμικρόν but πολύ (573 D—576 B).

καὶ ταῦτα αὐτῆς τὰ μέρη δουλεύειν, ἅπερ ἦν ἐπιεικέστατα, μικρὸν 25  
 δὲ καὶ τὸ μοχθηρότατον καὶ μανικώτατον δεσπόζειν; Ἀνάγκη,  
 ἔφη. Τί οὖν; δούλην ἢ ἐλευθέραν τὴν τοιαύτην φήσεις εἶναι  
 ψυχὴν; Δούλην δὴ που ἔγωγε. Οὐκοῦν ἢ γε αὖ δούλη καὶ  
 τυραννουμένη πόλις ἥκιστα ποιεῖ ἂ βούλεται; Πολύ γε. Καὶ ἢ  
 E τυραννουμένη ἄρα ἡ ψυχὴ ἥκιστα ποιήσει ἂ ἂν βουληθῇ, ὥς περὶ 30  
 ὅλης εἰπεῖν ψυχῆς· ὑπὸ δὲ οἴστρου αἰὲ ἐλκομένη βία ταραχῆς  
 καὶ μεταμελείας μεστὴ ἔσται. Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Πλουσίαν δὲ ἢ  
 πενομένην ἀνάγκη τὴν τυραννουμένην πόλιν εἶναι; Πενομένην.  
 578 Καὶ ψυχὴν ἄρα τυραννικὴν | πενιχρὰν καὶ ἀπληστον ἀνάγκη αἰεὶ  
 εἶναι. Οὕτως, ἢ δ' ὅς. Τί δέ; φόβου γέμειν ἄρ' οὐκ ἀνάγκη τὴν  
 τε τοιαύτην πόλιν τὸν τε τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα; Πολλή γε. Ὀδυρμούς  
 δὲ καὶ στεναγμούς καὶ θρήνους καὶ ἀλγηδόνας οἶει ἔν τινι ἄλλῃ  
 πλείους εὐρήσειν; Οὐδαμῶς. Ἐν ἀνδρὶ δὲ ἡγεῖ τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν 5  
 ἄλλῳ τινὶ πλείω εἶναι ἢ ἐν τῷ μαινομένῳ ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμιῶν τε καὶ  
 ἐρώτων τούτῳ τῷ τυραννικῷ; Πῶς γὰρ ἂν; ἔφη. Εἰς πάντα δὴ,  
 B οἶμαι, ταῦτά τε καὶ ἂ ἄλλα τοιαῦτα ἀποβλέψας τὴν γε πόλιν τῶν  
 πόλεων ἀθλιωτάτην ἔκρινας. Οὐκοῦν ὀρθῶς; ἔφη. Καὶ μάλα, ἦν  
 δ' ἐγώ. ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτοῦ τυραννικοῦ τί λέγεις εἰς ταῦτα 10

3. τε τοιαύτην Ξ: γε τοιαύτην ΑΠq. τε ΑΠq<sup>1</sup>.

4. δὲ Ξ: τε ΑΠq.

8. γε Ξq<sup>2</sup>:

577 D, E 29 καὶ ἡ τυραννουμένη κτλ. There is no βούλησις, in the true sense of that term, except τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ: cf. I 336 A with the *Gorgias* quoted ad loc. and *Men.* 77 C ff. Or in other words Virtue alone is free: cf. ἀρετὴ δὲ ἀδέσποτον X 617 E with note ad loc. See also Nettleship *Lect. and Rem.* II p. 317.

30 ὥς—ψυχῆς. The restriction (for which cf. 579 E) is necessary, for the μοχθηρότατον part of the τυραννουμένη ψυχὴ will have its way.

31 ἐλκομένη κτλ. Badham's ἐλαινομένη would be less suitable with βία than ἐλκομένη (cf. VII 515 E), and is otherwise a gratuitous alteration. On ταραχῆς see VIII 547 A, 557 A, 561 C *nm*. In the tyrannical soul the fatal principle of ἀνομοιότης attains its highest development. With μεταμελείας cf. ὁ δ' ἀκρατὴς μεταμελητικός (Arist. *Eth. Nic.* VII 9. 1150<sup>b</sup> 30).

578 A 1 ἀπληστον: like the sieve in *Gorg.* 493 A—D (Nettleship). Nothing can 'fill up the cistern' of his lust.

2 τὴν τε—πόλιν. I follow the Ox-

ford editors in putting τε for γε (see *cr. n.*). γε is not indefensible; but the balance with τὸν τε τοιοῦτον ἄνδρα is strongly in favour of τε: see the examples cited in Hoefel *de part. Plat.* p. 12.

3 Ὀδυρμούς δέ. See *cr. n.* Jowett defended τε: Campbell and all the other editors do better in accepting the text of Ξ. A few MSS have γε: and Plato may have written Ὀδυρμούς δέ γε as Schneider suggests.

5 ἐν ἀνδρὶ κτλ.: 'and in an individual,' viz. as contrasted with a πόλις, whence the emphatic position to which the words are assigned. In ἐν ἄλλῳ τινὶ the idiom is akin to 'partitive apposition': see IV 431 A *n*.

578 B 8 τὴν γε πόλιν. γε is restrictive: our verdict on the *individual* has still to be pronounced. Cf. 582 B, C. J. and C. are the only editors who retain τε here (see *cr. n.*), but the anacoluthon would be too harsh, and τὸν ἔχοντά τε in 575 A is different: see note ad loc.

ταῦτα ἀποβλέπων; Μακρῶ, ἔφη, ἀθλιώτατον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων. Τοῦτο, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οὐκέτ' ὀρθῶς λέγεις. Πῶς; ἦ δ' ὅς. Οὐπω, ἔφην, οἶμαι, οὐτός ἐστιν ὁ τοιοῦτος μάλιστα. Ἀλλὰ τίς μήν; "Οδε ἴσως σοι ἔτι δόξει εἶναι τούτου ἀθλιώτερος. Ποῖος; 15 "Ὅς ἂν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τυραννικὸς ὢν μὴ ἰδιώτην βίον καταβιῶ, ἀλλὰ C δυστυχῆς ἦ καὶ αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τινος συμφορᾶς ἐκπορισθῇ ὥστε τυράννῳ γενέσθαι. Τεκμαίρομαί σε, ἔφη, ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων ἀληθῆ λέγειν. Ναί, ἦν δ' ἐγώ· ἀλλ' οὐκ οἶσθαι χρὴ τὰ τοιαῦτα, ἀλλ' εὖ μάλα τὸ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ σκοπεῖν. περὶ γάρ τοι τοῦ μεγίστου ἡ 20 σκέψις, ἀγαθοῦ τε βίου καὶ κακοῦ. Ὀρθότατα, ἦ δ' ὅς. Σκόπει δῆ, εἰ ἄρα τι λέγω. δοκεῖ γάρ μοι δεῖν ἐννοῆσαι ἢ ἐκ τῶνδε περὶ D αὐτοῦ σκοπούντας. Ἐκ τίνων; Ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τῶν ἰδιωτῶν, ὅσοι πλούσιοι ἐν πόλεσιν ἀνδράποδα πολλὰ κέκτηνται. οὗτοι γὰρ

19. τὸ τοιούτῳ nos: τῷ τοιούτῳ AΠΞg.

13 τοιοῦτος μάλιστα: i.q. ἄθλιος μάλιστα. The subject is οὗτος, and ὁ τοιοῦτος μάλιστα is in the predicate.

578 C 15 τυραννικὸς ὢν. "Have a care of inserting any negative particle here, as H. Stephanus would do, which would wholly destroy the sense" (Thomas Gray). Cf. 575 C, D and 579 C.

16 δυστυχῆς ἦ. Cobet (*V. L.*<sup>2</sup> p. 534) revives Bekker's *δυστυχῆς*: but the MS reading is preferable: "significatur infelicitatem ei qui tyrannus factus sit, usque adesse perpetuoque eum comitari" (Schneider). Cf. VIII 561 A n. and *δυστυχεῖ εἶναι* 580 A.

18 ἀλλ' εὖ μάλα κτλ.: 'but carefully study by means of argument the two individuals in question.' τὸ τοιούτῳ is literally 'the two such people,' i.e. the two τυραννικοί, viz. the τυραννικός who lives an ἰδιώτης βίος, and the τυραννικός who becomes a τύραννος. It is the relative position of these two individuals in respect of misery which is the question before us now, and the rest of this chapter aims at answering it by argument: see 579 C, D, where the conclusion of the reasoning is given. No satisfactory explanation of the MS reading τῷ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ σκοπεῖν (*cr. n.*) has yet been offered. Some hold that τοιούτῳ refers forward ("nach folgender Regel," Schleiermacher, Prantl), but τῷ τοιούτῳ cannot be thus used, although τοιούτῳ by itself might be. Others translate "by the help of such a process of reasoning as we now employ" (J. and C. etc.). I doubt whether

this meaning, which does not, by the way, furnish a sufficiently pointed antithesis to οἶεσθαι, is easily conveyed by τῷ τοιούτῳ. The translations "bei einer solchen Untersuchung" (Schneider), "where the argument is of such a nature" (J. and C., comparing the altogether different τοῖς τοιοῦτοις κακοῖς in 579 C), and 'in this high argument' are untenable on grammatical grounds; nor can we easily explain the dative as meaning 'in the interests of' ("videndum ne datus eam rem significet, cuius gratia accurate quaerendum esse Socrates dicat" Schneider). The emendations proposed are (1) τὸ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ (Stephanus), (2) τὸ τοιοῦτον λόγῳ or τὸν τοιοῦτον λόγῳ (Ast), (3) fortasse εὖ μάλ' ἐν κτλ. (W. H. Thompson *J. Ph.* v p. 218). Did Stephanus mean by τῷ τοιούτῳ λόγῳ something like the δίκαιος and ἀδίκος λόγος of the *Clouds*? τοιούτῳ could not convey so much, but Stephanus was, I believe, on the right track when he restored τὸ τοιούτῳ. The corruption was all the easier, because the dual is constantly corrupted in the MSS of the *Republic*: thus in III 410 E all MSS have ἀμφοτέρα, in III 412 A ἐπιτεινομένῳ was written by A<sup>1</sup>, in IV 422 E πολέμια is the reading of A, and in IV 442 D both A and II give τῷ ἀρχομένῳ for τὸ ἀρχομένῳ. Cf. also III 395 A n.

578 D 23 ὅσοι πλούσιοι. We ought not, with J. and C., to understand ὄντες. The adjective logically belongs to ἰδιωτῶν, but is idiomatically placed in the relative clause: see Kuhner *Gr. Gr.* II pp. 924 ff.



τοῦτό γε προσόμοιον ἔχουσιν τοῖς τυράννοις, τὸ πολλῶν ἄρχειν·  
 διαφέρει δὲ τὸ ἐκείνου πλῆθος. Διαφέρει γάρ. Οἴσθ' οὖν ὅτι 25  
 οὗτοι ἀδεῶς ἔχουσιν καὶ οὐ φοβοῦνται τοὺς οἰκέτας; Τί γὰρ ἂν  
 φοβοῖντο; Οὐδέν, εἶπον· ἀλλὰ τὸ αἷτιον ἐννοεῖς; Ναί· ὅτι γε  
 E πᾶσα ἡ πόλις ἐνὶ ἐκάστῳ βοηθεῖ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν. Καλῶς, ἡν δ'  
 ἐγώ, λέγεις. τί δέ; εἰ τις θεῶν ἄνδρα ἕνα, ὅτῳ ἔστιν ἀνδράποδα  
 πεντήκοντα ἢ πλείω, ἄρας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως αὐτόν τε καὶ γυναῖκα καὶ 30  
 παῖδας θείη εἰς ἐρημίαν μετὰ τῆς ἄλλης οὐσίας τε καὶ τῶν οἰκετῶν,  
 ὅπου αὐτῷ μηδεὶς τῶν ἐλευθέρων μέλλοι βοηθήσειν, ἐν ποίῳ ἂν  
 τιμὴ καὶ ὁπόσῃ φόβῳ οἶε γενέσθαι αὐτὸν περὶ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ παίδων  
 καὶ γυναικός, μὴ ἀπόλοιτο ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν; Ἐν παντί, ἡ δ'  
 579 ὅς, ἔγωγε. Οὐκοῦν | ἀναγκάζοιτο ἂν τινες ἤδη θωπεύειν αὐτῶν 35  
 τῶν δούλων, καὶ ὑπισχνεῖσθαι πολλὰ καὶ ἐλευθεροῦν οὐδὲν δεό-  
 μενος, καὶ κόλαξ αὐτὸς ἂν θεραπόντων ἀναφανείη; Πολλὴ ἀνάγκη,  
 ἔφη, αὐτῷ, ἢ ἀπολωλέναι. Τί δ', εἰ καὶ ἄλλους, ἡν δ' ἐγώ, ὁ θεὸς

30. ἄρας II: ἄρας A.

25 ἐκείνου. On the transition from plural to singular see I 347 A n.

26 τί γάρ κτλ.: 'Why of course, what should they be afraid of?' sc. in their slaves. τί is not 'why,' but 'what,' as οὐδέν shews: cf. v 449 B n. Campbell, making τί 'why,' translates οὐδέν by 'Oh, for no reason,' and refers to *Prol.* 310 B; but there too οὐδέν is 'nothing': see my note ad loc.

578 E 29 εἰ τις θεῶν κτλ. It is a mistake to suppose from this passage that the treatment of slaves in Athens or Greece generally was exceptionally cruel or unkind. Granted the existence of slavery at all, what Plato here says would nearly always be found true, especially where, as in Athens, the slaves belonged for the most part to an alien and inferior race. See Gilbert *Gk Const. Ant.* E. T. pp. 170—174. Fifty slaves would of course be more than the average number belonging to a single citizen. In Athens, during the fourth century B.C., the slaves were probably little, if at all, more numerous than the free-born population and metoecs (Beloch *Die Bevolk. d. Gr.-Röm. Welt* p. 99).

33 ὁπόσῃ. On ὁπόσῃ following ποίῳ see I 348 B n.

579 A 1 αὐτῶν τῶν δούλων. "Quum ingenui desint, a quibus auxilium petat,

nonnullis ex servorum ipsorum, quos timet, numero adulari cogitur" (Schneider). This explanation, which Vermehren also approves (*Pl. Stud.* p. 114), exactly meets the case, and there is no reason either to change αὐτῶν to αὐ (with Stephanus) or to delete τῶν δούλων (with Ast and Herwerden).

2 οὐδὲν δεόμενος: 'when he needn't.' He is under no obligation to set them free: why then should he make them a present of their freedom? The innuendo is in Plato's neatest style. For the language cf. (with Schneider) *Plut. Tib. Gracch.* 21. 2 δέισασα περὶ τοῦ ἀνδρός ἡ βουλὴ ψηφίζεται μηδὲν δεομένην πέμπειν αὐτὸν εἰς Ἀσίαν. The conjecture οὐδὲν δεομένου (Groen v. Prinsterer *Prosof. Plat.* p. 211, Ast, and Herwerden, who appeals in vain to *Plut. Cato Maior* 12. 3, *Dem.* 11. 9, and *Isocr. Areop.* 25) is, as Schneider shews, inept; for if the slaves do not need to be set free, because they are practically free already, "ne ero quidem opus est ut ad eos coercentes illam aliamve ineat rationem."

4 ἄλλους—γείτονας. These free-born neighbours in Plato's simile represent surrounding independent States, who detest tyranny, and help the tyrant's subjects. See Newman's *Politics of Aristotle* II p. 315.

5 κύκλῳ κατοικίσειεν γείτονας πολλοὺς αὐτῷ, οἳ μὴ ἀνέχονται, εἴ τις ἄλλος ἄλλον δεσπόζειν ἀξιού, ἀλλ' εἴ πού τινα τοιοῦτον λαμβάνοιεν, ταῖς ἐσχάταις τιμωροῦντο τιμωρίαις; Ἔτι ἂν, ἔφη, οἶμαι, ἢ μᾶλλον ἐν παντὶ κακοῦ εἴη, κύκλῳ φρουρούμενος ὑπὸ πάντων B πολεμίων. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ ἐν τοιούτῳ μὲν δεσποτηρίῳ δέδεται ὁ 10 τύραννος, φύσει ὦν οἶον διεληλύθαμεν, πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν φόβων καὶ ἐρώτων μεστός· λίχνῳ δὲ ὄντι αὐτῷ τὴν ψυχὴν μόνῳ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει οὔτε ἀποδημῆσαι ἔξεστιν οὐδαμῶσε οὔτε θεωρῆσαι ὅσων δὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἐλεύθεροι ἐπιθυμηταὶ εἰσιν, καταδεδυκῶς δὲ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τὰ πολλὰ ὡς γυνὴ ζῇ, φθονῶν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πολί- C 15 ταις, ἐάν τις ἔξω ἀποδημῇ καὶ τι ἀγαθὸν ὀρά; Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

VI. Οὐκοῦν τοῖς τοιούτοις κακοῖς πλείω καρποῦται ἀνὴρ ὃς ἂν κακῶς ἐν ἑαυτῷ πολιτευόμενος, ὃν νῦν δὴ σὺ ἀθλιώτατον ἔκρινας, τὸν τυραννικόν, ὥς μὴ ιδιώτης καταβιῇ, ἀλλὰ ἀναγκασθῇ

5. κατοικίσειε q<sup>2</sup>: κατοικήσειεν vel κατοικήσειε AΠΞ q<sup>1</sup>. 8. εἴη Ξ q: εἰ εἴη AΠ, sed εἰ puncto notavit A<sup>2</sup>. 18. ἑαυτῷ A<sup>2</sup>Π: ταυτῷ (sic) A<sup>1</sup>.

579 B 8 ὑπὸ πάντων πολεμίων: 'by none but enemies': cf. πᾶσι ἀγρίοις in VI 496 D. The tyrant's splendid but awful isolation is admirably brought out by Plato: see also on VIII 567 B. In this respect Plato's similitude faithfully reflects the position of Dionysius I in Sicily and indeed, except for the support which Sparta lent him, in the whole Hellenic world. See Grote x p. 306 ff.

9 ἐν τοιούτῳ κτλ. The picture which follows is no doubt also drawn from Dionysius I: see Grote x pp. 244, 328 *nn*.

11 λίχνῳ "is the same with regard to the eye, that liquoriness is to the taste" (Thomas Gray).

12 οὔτε ἀποδημῆσαι κτλ. The parallel with Xen. *Hiero* I. 11 is singularly close. Plato speaks *con amore*, thinking doubtless of his own sojournings in foreign lands. See Zeller<sup>1</sup> II pp. 404—414. Neuman *de locis Aegypti. in oper. Plat.* (1874) discovers many allusions to Plato's 'Wanderjahre' throughout his works.

13 ὅσων δὴ κτλ. Such as the Olympic games etc.: cf. Xen. l.c. τὰς κοινὰς πανηγύρεις ἐνθα τὰ ἀξιοθεατότατα δοκεῖ εἶναι ἀνθρώποις συναγείρεσθαι. Dionysius was represented at Olympia by deputy, as Hermann reminds us (*Gesch. u. System*

p. 116). Cf. Grote x p. 303. The phrase τι ἀγαθὸν ὀρά, with which the sentence concludes, has a curiously modern sound.

17 οὐκοῦν κτλ.: 'greater then, by evils such as these, is the profit which is reaped by the individual who' etc. ("Um so grosse Übel reicher also ist der Mann" Schleiermacher). τοῖς τοιούτοις κακοῖς is dative of amount of difference: cf. II 373 E μείζονος—οὔτι μικρῷ, ἀλλ' ὅλῳ στρατοπέδῳ, VI 507 E οὐ μικρῷ—ιδέα—τιμωτέρῳ and *Laus* 848 B (Schneider *Addit.* p. 72). The passage has been strangely misunderstood, Stephanus suggesting variously <ἐπὶ> or <πρὸς> τοῖς τοιούτοις or τῶν τοιούτων, and Ast <ἐν> τοῖς τοιούτοις. Stallbaum comes nearer to the truth in his "per huius modi mala," but the dative is exactly as in τοσούτῳ πλείω. The view that the dative is merely one of 'circumstance'—an alternative suggestion in J. and C.—cannot be upheld. See also on 578 C. The reference in νῦν δὴ is to 578 B.

19 ὥς μὴ κτλ. I have returned to the text of A, Π, and nearly all the mss. Θ<sup>1</sup> with Stobaeus (*Flor.* 50. 50) has μὴ ὥς, and so Stallbaum and Baier read. μὴ ὥς suits better with ἀλλὰ ἀναγκασθῇ, but the irregularity is slight, and, as Schneider observes, the sentence opens as if it were

ὑπό τινος τύχης τυραννεῦσαι, καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὦν ἀκράτωρ ἄλλων 20  
 ἐπιχειρήσῃ ἄρχειν· ὥσπερ εἴ τις κáμνουντι σώματι καὶ ἀκράτορι  
 D ἑαυτοῦ μὴ ἰδιωτεύων, ἀλλ' ἀγωνιζόμενος<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἄλλα σώματα καὶ  
 μαχόμενος ἀναγκάζεται διάγειν τὸν βίον. Παντάπασιν, ἔφη,  
 ὁμοιότατά τε καὶ ἀληθέστατα λέγεις, ὦ Σώκρατες. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν  
 δ' ἐγώ, ὦ φίλε Γλαῦκων, παντελῶς τὸ πάθος ἄθλιον, καὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ 25  
 σοῦ κριθέντος χαλεπώτατα ζῆν χαλεπώτερον ἔτι ζῆν ὁ τυραννῶν;  
 Κομιδῇ γ', ἔφη. Ἔστιν ἄρα τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, κὰν εἰ μὴ τῷ δοκεῖ, ὁ τῷ  
 ὄντι τύραννος τῷ ὄντι δούλος τὰς μεγίστας θωπείας καὶ δουλείας  
 E<sup>1</sup> καὶ κόλαξ τῶν πονηροτάτων, καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας οὐδ' ὅπωςτιοῦν  
 ἀποπιμπλᾷ, ἀλλὰ πλείεστων ἐπιδεέστατος καὶ πένης τῇ ἀληθείᾳ 30  
 φαίνεται, εἰάν τις ὅλην ψυχὴν ἐπίστηται θεάσασθαι, καὶ φόβου  
 γέμων διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου σφαδασμῶν τε καὶ ὀδυνῶν πλήρης,  
 εἴπερ τῇ τῆς πόλεως διαθέσει ἥς ἄρχει ἔοικεν. ἔοικεν δέ· ἦ γάρ;  
 580 Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. | Οὐκοῦν καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι ἀποδώσομεν τῷ  
 ἀνδρὶ καὶ ἂ τὸ πρότερον εἶπομεν, ὅτι ἀνάγκη καὶ εἶναι καὶ ἔτι  
 μᾶλλον γίνεσθαι αὐτῷ ἢ πρότερον διὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν φθονερῷ, ἀπίστῳ,  
 ἀδίκῳ, ἀφίλῳ, ἀνοσίῳ καὶ πάσης κακίας πανδοκεῖ τε καὶ τροφεῖ,

27. δοκεῖ Lob.: δοκῇ A cum ceteris.

meant to be positive and not negative, so that *ὡς μή* is suited to what precedes. We may add that *ὡς μὴ ἰδιώτης καταβιῶ* is a clearer echo of *μὴ ἰδιώτην βίον καταβιῶ* 578 C, which Plato wishes to recall.

579 D 27 *κὰν εἰ μὴ τῷ δοκεῖ κτλ.* Cf. V 473 A and (for *κὰν*) III 408 B n. The reading *δοκῇ* (see *cr. n.*) is retained by Schneider, but *ε* and *η* are easily confused, and, even if we allow sporadic instances of *εἰ* with the subjunctive in Attic, the analogy of V 473 A, as well as the sense, is in favour of *δοκεῖ*. There need not be a specific allusion in *τῷ*: for praises of tyranny and the tyrant's lot were common enough in Greece: cf. I 344 B, VIII 568 A m. The phrase *τῷ ὄντι* invites us to understand *τύραννος* and *δούλος* in the fullest sense: cf. V 474 A n.

28 *δούλος κτλ.* I once too rashly placed *καὶ κόλαξ* after *δούλος*, in order to obtain a chiasmus, understanding *δουλείας τῶν πονηροτάτων* like *δούλων δουλείαν* in VIII 569 c. Two inferior mss have *δουλείας καὶ θωπείας*: but the inversion is not difficult, because the two notions are

so closely allied: cf. (with Schneider) *Euthyd.* 302 B ἄπορόν τινα στροφὴν ἐφευγόν τε καὶ ἐστρεφόμην (where Schanz's brackets 'nemini nocent').

579 E 29 *καὶ τὰς ἐπιθυμίας κτλ.* Xenophon's *Hiero* is in effect a diluted commentary on this sentence: cf. also *Gorg.* 524 E ff., and especially Shakespeare's *Macbeth* IV 3. 50—99, V 3. 22—29.

32 *σφαδασμῶν* = 'convulsive movements' is a rare word. The spelling *σφαδασμός* appears in no MS except A<sup>1</sup>; but the *iota* is attested from other sources: see Stephanus-Hase *Thes.* s. v. The verb *σφαδάζειν* (*μετὰ σπασμοῦ πηδᾶν* Hesych.) denotes any nervous, twitching, convulsive motion, outside one's own control, the result of excitement, fear, pain, disease etc. (Stephanus-Hase l. c.). For the sense of this passage cf. 577 E n.

580 A 2 *τὸ πρότερον κτλ.* The reference is to VIII 567 and supra 576 A, B. *ἢ πρότερον* might of course have been spared, and Herwerden *more suo* cuts it out; but the sentence gains in weight by the addition.



5 καὶ ἐξ ἀπάντων τούτων μάλιστα μὲν αὐτῷ δυστυχεῖ εἶναι, ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ τοὺς πλησίον αὐτῷ τοιούτους ἀπεργάζεσθαι. Οὐδέεις σοι, ἔφη, τῶν νούν ἔχόντων ἀντερεῖ. "Ἴθι δὴ μοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, νῦν ἤδη ὥσπερ ὁ διὰ <sup>1</sup> πάντων κριτῆς ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ σὺ οὕτω, τίς πρῶτος B

580 A, B 7 νῦν ἤδη ('nunc demum') is fully illustrated by Jecht *de usu part. ἡδῃ in Pl. dialog.* pp. 44 f.

8 ὥσπερ ὁ διὰ πάντων κτλ. The comparison is borrowed from the Athenian method of judging in musical or dramatic competitions. According to Petersen, who in his Dorpat program *über die Preisrichter der Grossen Dionysien zu Athen* (1878) has carefully investigated the whole subject, the mode of procedure was as follows. Some time before the festival a number of qualified persons were selected by the *βουλευταὶ* in cooperation with the *χορηγοί*, and their names deposited in 10 urns, one for each *φυλή*. On the day of the contest, one name was drawn from each urn, and the ten judges thereby constituted, after witnessing the performance, each wrote down in his *γραμματεῖον* the order in which he arranged the several competitors. Of these ten judges five were next selected by lot, and the final verdict was given in accordance with the votes already registered by these five. The most important piece of evidence in support of this theory is furnished by Lysias 4. 3 ἐβουλόμην δ' ἂν μὴ ἀπολαχεῖν αὐτὸν κριτὴν Διονυσίοις, ἵν' ὑμῖν φανερός ἐγένετο ἐμοὶ διηλλαγμένος, κρίνας τὴν ἐμὴν *φυλὴν νικᾶν*· νῦν δὲ ἔγραψε μὲν ταῦτα *eis τὸ γραμματεῖον*, ἀπέλαχε δέ. In none of the ancient authorities, which are fully cited by Petersen, do we find the expression ὁ διὰ πάντων κριτῆς: but Petersen thinks the phrase may perhaps denote any one of the surviving five, *who had lasted through all the stages*, having been originally chosen by the Senate, and afterwards by lot on the two remaining opportunities. The singular number, according to Petersen, is generic, as in *Laws* 659 A, B and elsewhere. It is true of course that the matter could not always be brought to an immediate issue in this way; for, to take a single instance, in a case where there were, let us say, three competitors, the votes of the five judges might result in a tie between two competitors for each of the three prizes. Thus we might have:

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)
1st Prize	A	B	C	A	B
2nd Prize	B	A	B	C	C
3rd Prize	C	C	A	B	A

In such a case we must, I suppose, believe either that one of the five judges, who will then be ὁ διὰ πάντων κριτῆς, had a casting vote, or else—and this is the more reasonable view—that C was held to be disqualified for the first prize, and fresh scrutinies began. Petersen's explanation is accepted in the main by Müller (*Griech. Bühnenalt.* pp. 369–372), and, though to some extent conjectural, appears to me the best available, except in one point. ὁ διὰ πάντων κριτῆς can hardly be separated from ὁ διὰ πάντων ἀγών, a phrase which is quoted from Cratinus' *Panoptai* (*Fr.* 157 Kock), and explained as ὁ ἐσχάτος ἀγών in Bekker's *Anecdota* p. 91. 10. The διὰ πάντων κριτῆς must surely mean the judge of the διὰ πάντων ἀγών, and if so, διὰ πάντων should be similarly interpreted in both phrases. In διὰ πάντων ἀγών it cannot mean "der durch alle Stadien oder besser durch alle Collegien hindurchgegangen war" (Petersen l. c. p. 24), but may possibly mean the last and greatest ἀγών, as τὸ διὰ πασῶν is the greatest interval in a scale of one octave. The expression is strangely reminiscent of the musical terms διὰ πέντε, διὰ τεττάρων, διὰ πασῶν etc., and in a competition between *χοροί*, it is natural enough that musical analogies should provide a name for the decisive struggle in which the claims of the competitors as it were contend with one another for the final victory. It will be seen that I understand ἀγών in the quotation from Cratinus as referring, not to the actual dramatic or musical representation, but to the final struggle in which the lot arbitrates between the rival claims, the earlier ἀγών being presumably that which is decided by the votes of the ten judges: so that the upshot of the whole matter will be that Socrates appeals to Glauco, as the Archon might to one of the five judges in what we may be forgiven for calling the 'grand finale.'

κατὰ τὴν σὴν δόξαν εὐδαιμονία καὶ τίς δεύτερος, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους  
 ἐξῆς πέντε ὄντας κρῖνε, βασιλικόν, τιμοκρατικόν, ὀλιγαρχικόν, <sup>10</sup>  
 δημοκρατικόν, τυραννικόν. Ἀλλὰ ῥαδία, ἔφη, ἡ κρίσις. καθάπερ  
 γὰρ εἰσῆλθον, ἔγωγε ὥσπερ χοροὺς κρίνω, ἀρετῇ καὶ κακίᾳ καὶ  
 εὐδαιμονίᾳ καὶ τῷ ἐναντίῳ. Μισθωσώμεθα οὖν κήρυκα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,  
 ἡ αὐτὸς ἀνείπω, ὅτι ὁ Ἀρίστωνος υἱὸς τὸν ἀριστόν τε καὶ δικαιο-  
 C τατον <sup>1</sup> εὐδαιμονέστατον ἔκρινε, τοῦτον δ' εἶναι τὸν βασιλικώτατον <sup>15</sup>  
 καὶ βασιλεύοντα αὐτοῦ, τὸν δὲ κάκιστόν τε καὶ ἀδικώτατον ἀθλιώ-  
 τατον, τοῦτον δὲ αὐτὴν τυγχάνειν ὄντα ὃς ἂν τυραννικώτατος ᾖν ἑαυτοῦ  
 τε ὅτι μάλιστα τυραννῇ καὶ τῆς πόλεως; Ἀνειρήσθω σοι, ἔφη.  
 Ἦ οὖν προσαναγορεύω, εἶπον, εἰάν τε λανθάνωσιν τοιοῦτοι ὄντες εἰάν  
 τε μὴ πάντας ἀνθρώπους τε καὶ θεοὺς; Προσαναγόμενε, ἔφη. <sup>20</sup>

VII. Εἶπεν δὴ, εἶπον· αὕτη μὲν ἡμῖν ἡ ἀπόδειξις μία ἂν εἴη·  
 D <sup>1</sup> δευτέραν δὲ ἰδὲ τήνδε, εἰάν τι δόξῃ εἶναι. Τίς αὕτη; Ἐπειδὴ,  
 ὥσπερ πόλις, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, διήρηται κατὰ τρία εἶδη, οὕτω καὶ ψυχὴ  
 ἐνὸς ἐκάστου τριχῇ, δέξεται, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, καὶ ἑτέραν ἀπόδειξιν.

14. ὁ A<sup>2</sup>P: om. A<sup>1</sup>. 22. δὲ ἰδὲ nos: δεῖ δὲ AP: δὲ δεῖ vulgo cum Ξ q.  
 24. δέξεται Ξ: τὸ (punctis notatum) λογιστικὸν δέξεται A: λογιστικὸν δέξεται II:  
 λογιστικὴν δέξεται q<sup>1</sup>: λογιστικὴ δέξεται q<sup>2</sup>.

calling on him to pronounce τίς πρῶτος κτλ. The word ἀποφαινεσθαι is probably formal: cf. *Latw* 659 B and Dio Chrys. quoted by Petersen l. c. p. 7. For a further discussion of this passage see App. II [where see Mr E. Meyrick's suggestion].

580 B <sup>10</sup> πέντε ὄντας: viz. in all.

12 εἰσῆλθον κτλ. "in scenam ingressi sunt" (Stallbaum). In dramatic and musical contests the victor's name was publicly proclaimed by a herald (see Müller l. c. p. 372 n. 2): hence μισθωσώμεθα κτλ. pursues the comparison introduced by ὥσπερ ὁ διὰ πάντων κτλ. Cf. also *Phil.* 66 A πάντῃ δὴ φήσεις—ὑπὸ τε ἀγγέλων πέμπων καὶ παροῦσι φράζων ὡς ἡδονὴ κτῆμα οὐκ ἔστι πρῶτον κτλ. (the result arrived at in the dialogue). For the verbal play in Ἀρίστωνος—τὸν ἀριστον cf. II 368 A n.

19 580 C εἰάν τε λανθάνωσιν κτλ. is said with reference to the challenge in II 367 E.

580 C—583 A A second proof may be founded on our psychological theory. Let us agree to call the three varieties of soul, knowledge-loving, honour-loving, and gain-loving respectively, and let us distinguish three corresponding varieties

both of men and of pleasures. If you ask any three men who represent these different classes, which of the three lives is the most pleasurable, each will pronounce in favour of his own. Which of them is right? The necessary requisites for deciding this, like every other question, are experience, intelligence or wisdom (φρόνησις), and argument. Now the lover of knowledge is the only one among the three in whom any of these qualifications is present, and he possesses them all. We therefore accept his verdict, and arrange accordingly, placing love of knowledge first, love of honour second, and love of money last.

580 D ff. 21 εἶπεν δὴ κτλ. After the political follows the psychological argument: see 577 C n.

22 δὲ ἰδὲ. My correction of δεῖ δὲ (the reading of the best MSS: see *cr. n.*) has been generally accepted. The reading δὲ δεῖ is intrinsically unsatisfactory, and can only be an attempt to 'emend' δεῖ δὲ. See *Cl. Rev.* XI p. 349.

24 δέξεται κτλ.: 'it will admit also of another demonstration.' The subject is simply 'our thesis,' as stated just before in the conclusion of the first argument

25 Τίνα ταύτην; Τήνδε. τριῶν ὄντων τριταὶ καὶ ἡδοναὶ μοι φαίνονται, ἐνὸς ἐκάστου μία ἰδία, ἐπιθυμίαι τε ὡσαύτως καὶ ἀρχαί. Πῶς λέγεις; ἔφη. Τὸ μὲν, φαρμέν, ἦν ᾧ μανθάνει ἄνθρωπος, τὸ δὲ ᾧ θυμούνται· τὸ δὲ τρίτον διὰ πολυειδίαν ἐνὶ οὐκ ἔσχομεν ὀνόματι ἰ προσειπεῖν ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ὃ μέγιστον καὶ Ε  
30 ἰσχυρότατον εἶχεν ἐν αὐτῷ, τοῦτ' ἐπωνομάσαμεν· ἐπιθυμητικὸν γὰρ αὐτὸ κεκλήκαμεν διὰ σφοδρότητα τῶν περὶ τὴν ἐδωδὴν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ πόσιν καὶ ἀφροδίσια καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τούτοις ἀκόλουθα, καὶ φιλοχρήματον δὴ, ὅτι διὰ χρημάτων μάλιστα ἀποτε|λονται 581 αἱ τοιαῦται ἐπιθυμίαι. Καὶ ὀρθῶς γ', ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὖν καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλίαν εἰ φαίμεν εἶναι τοῦ κέρδους, μάλιστ' ἂν εἰς ἐν κεφάλαιον ἀπερειδοίμεθα τῷ λόγῳ, ὥστε τι ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς

26. ἰδία Π: ἰδίᾳ Α.

3. φαίμεν Α<sup>2</sup>Ξ: φαμέν Α<sup>1</sup>Π: φῶμεν γ.

(580 c). Cf. (with Stallbaum) v 453 D οὐ γὰρ εὐκόλῳ ἔοικεν and *Phaed.* 69 E τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς ἀπιστίαν παρέχει (unjustly bracketed by Schanz), where the subject similarly 'latet in antegressis.' Idiomatic expressions like δηλώσει (VI 497 C n.), δείξει etc. belong to a somewhat different category. It is impossible to extract any satisfactory sense out of the passage if (with Schneider alone of all the editors) we retain τὸ λογιστικόν (see *cr. n.*) or λογιστικόν, the latter of which occurs before δέξεται in many MSS. The Oxford editors, with much probability, suggest that λογιστικόν is the relic of some such gloss on τριχῇ as we actually find in Par. K, viz. λογιστικόν. ἐπιθυμητικόν θυμικόν (*sic*).

25 ἡδοναὶ κτλ. Hitherto in the *Republic* the words Pleasure and Desire have, with few exceptions (e.g. I 328 D, VI 485 D, VIII 554 E al.), had an evil, or at least unmoral, connotation. The view now put forward, viz. that each 'part' of soul has its own pleasures and desires differing in point of virtue and vice (cf. VI 505 c) like the 'parts' to which they belong, is related not only to the theory of the *Philebus* but also to the Aristotelian analysis of pleasure in *Eth. Nic.* x cc. 3—5.

26 ἰδία. Paris A has ἰδίᾳ—see *cr. n.*—"multo minus concinne" (Schneider). Cf. ἰδίῳ αὐτοῦ infra E.

27 ἀρχαὶ κτλ. Any one of the three may hold rule in the soul. The reference in ἦν is to IV 436 A ff.

580 E 29 ὃ μέγιστον κτλ.: viz.

ἐπιθυμία. The words τοῦτ' ἐπωνομάσαμεν mean 'we gave the name of ἐπιθυμία to this part,' when we called it ἐπιθυμητικόν (ἐπιθυμητικὸν γὰρ κτλ.). Cf. (with Stallbaum) *Theat.* 185 c ᾧ τὸ ἐστὶν ἐπωνομάξαις, *Crat.* 420 B and elsewhere. J. and C. wrongly understand τοῦτ' as instrumental. The variant τοῦτο has little authority and is much inferior: still worse is τοῦτου which Madvig (*Adv. Cr.* I p. 431) 'suspiciatur fuisse.'

30 ἐπιθυμητικόν κτλ. IV 439 D. The lowest part of soul was called φιλοχρήματον in IV 436 E et al.: see next note.

581 A 4 εἰς ἐν κεφάλαιον κτλ. Plato recognised three varieties in τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν, corresponding respectively to the oligarchical, democratical, and tyrannical man (VIII 558 D n.). In the present chapter these varieties again recede into the background. This apparent 'Inconsequenz,' together with other reasons, led Krohn to suppose that the whole of this proof, as well as the next, was written at a different time from the rest of Books VIII and IX (*Pl. St.* pp. 221 ff. Cf. Pfeleiderer *Zur Lösung* etc. p. 75. Krohn has since retracted his view: see his *Pl. Fr.* p. 104). But the unity of the ἐπιθυμητικόν as such has never been sacrificed, since each of its varieties are also expressions of desire; and Plato is therefore fully justified in setting it over against φιλόσοφον and θυμοειδές. To have compared each of its varieties separately with the two higher principles would have greatly lengthened and complicated Plato's proof; and he



δηλοῦν, ὁπότε τοῦτο τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ μέρος λέγοιμεν, καὶ καλοῦντες 5  
αὐτὸ φιλοχρήματον καὶ φιλοκερδὲς ὀρθῶς ἂν καλοῖμεν; Ἐμοὶ  
γοῦν δοκεῖ, ἔφη. Τί δέ; τὸ θυμοειδὲς οὐ πρὸς τὸ κρατεῖν μέντοι  
B φαμέν καὶ νικᾶν καὶ εὐδοκιμεῖν αἰεὶ ὅλον ὥρμησθαι; <sup>1</sup> Καὶ μάλα.  
Εἰ οὖν φιλόνικον αὐτὸ καὶ φιλότιμον προσαγορεύοιμεν, ἡ ἔμμελως  
ἂν ἔχοι; Ἐμμελέστατα μὲν οὖν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν ὃ γε μανθάνομεν, 10  
παντὶ δῆλον ὅτι πρὸς τὸ εἰδέναι τὴν ἀλήθειαν ὅπῃ ἔχει πᾶν αἰεὶ  
τέταται, καὶ χρημάτων τε καὶ δόξης ἥκιστα τούτων τούτῳ μέλει.  
Πολύ γε. Φιλομαθὲς δὴ καὶ φιλόσοφον καλοῦντες αὐτὸ κατὰ  
τρόπον ἂν καλοῖμεν; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ ἄρχει  
C ἐν ταῖς ψυχαῖς <sup>1</sup> τῶν μὲν τοῦτο, τῶν δὲ τὸ ἕτερον ἐκείνων, ὁπότερον 15  
ἂν τύχη; Οὕτως, ἔφη. Διὰ ταῦτα δὴ καὶ ἀνθρώπων λέγομεν  
6, 7. ἐμοὶ γοῦν A<sup>1</sup>P: ἐμοιγ' οὖν A<sup>2</sup>. 16. λέγομεν Ξ<sup>q2</sup>: λέγωμεν AΠ<sup>q1</sup>.

reserves this point for another mode of treatment at a later opportunity (587 C n.). Why does he select the word *φιλοχρήματον* (s. *φιλοκερδὲς*) to denote the *ἐπιθυμητικόν* here? He wishes to find a *single* word to contrast with *φιλόσοφον* and *φιλόνικον* (s. *φιλότιμον*). The word *ἐπιθυμητικόν* itself is excluded, because we have agreed that the *φιλόσοφον* and *φιλόνικον* have also *ἐπιθυμῖαι* of their own (580 D), and, as *φιλοχρήματον* made its appearance in each of the three forms of *ἐπιθυμία* (VIII 551 A, 553 C, 555 A, 558 D, 561 A, 568 D, IX 572 C, 573 D), it is the best summary description available. Plato himself claims no more for it, and that is why he says *μάλιστα ἂν εἰς ἐν κεφάλαιον ἀπηρεδοίμεθα*. Cf. Grimmelt *de reip. Pl. comp. et unit.* pp. 73 ff.

7 οὐ—μέντοι. See on I 339 B.

581 B 9 *φιλόνικον*. For the spelling of this word see VIII 548 C n. and my note on *Prot.* 336 E. The present passage and also 586 C, D below conclusively prove that Plato connected the word with *νίκη* and not with *νείκος*, from which indeed it could not be derived without doing violence to the laws of the Greek language (cf. Schanz Vol. VI p. x). Now Plato certainly did not write *νείκη*, but *νίκη*; and it is therefore highly improbable that he wrote *φιλόνικος*. *φιλόνικος* has also considerable support from the inferior MSS of the *Republic*. The substitution of *ει* for long *ι* became extremely common in imperial times, especially in proper names derived from *νίκη* (Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> p. 49), and even *ἐνελ-*

*κων* and the like are also found on late inscriptions (e.g. CIG 1585). In the case of *φιλόνεικος* the error was apparently established by Plutarch's time: see his *Ages.* 5. 4. The meaning 'lover of strife' is often unsuitable in Plato; where it suits, it is secondary and derivative, for the lover of victory must also love strife: *non sine pulvere palma*. For an exhaustive discussion of the question the student may be referred to Schmidt *Ethik d. alten Griechen* I pp. 386—391. While admitting that '*φιλόνικος* and its derivatives are far more frequent in Attic writers,' Schmidt is inclined to admit the existence of *φιλόνεικος* as a separate word, connected with *νείκη* as a by-form—so he thinks—of *νείκος*: but *νείκη*, at least in classical Greek, is only a conjecture on Aeschylus *Ag.* 1378 and *Eum.* 903; and in Plato, at all events, there is, I believe, no case in which *φιλόνικος* does not give the meaning required by the context.

12 ἥκιστα τούτων: 'less than any of them,' lit. 'least of these' three *εἶδη* of soul. There is no good reason for suspecting the text; for although strictly speaking the *φιλόσοφον* can only care for *σοφία*, the *φιλόσοφος*, who presently (581 C ff.) takes the place of the *φιλόσοφον*, is not wholly indifferent to either (582 B, C): he merely cares much less for them than the *φιλόνικος* and *φιλοχρήματος* do. *τούτων* is necessary to bring out the contrast: *ἥκιστα* alone, proposed by Baier, or *ἥκιστα πάντων* (W. H. Thompson) would express too much.

581 C 16 *διὰ ταῦτα δὴ κτλ.* Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* I 3. 1095<sup>b</sup> 17 ff. *τρεῖς*

τὰ πρῶτα τριττὰ γένη εἶναι, φιλόσοφον, φιλόνικον, φιλοκερδές;  
 Κομιδῇ γε. Καὶ ἡδονῶν δὴ τρία εἶδη, ὑποκείμενα ἐν ἐκάστῳ  
 τούτων; Πάνυ γε. Οἴσθ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὅτι εἰ 'θέλοις τρεῖς  
 20 τοιούτους ἀνθρώπους ἐν μέρει ἕκαστον ἀνερωτᾶν, τίς τούτων τῶν  
 βίῳ ἡδιστος, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστος μάλιστα ἐγκωμιάσεται; ὃ γε  
 χρηματιστικὸς πρὸς <sup>1</sup> τὸ κερδαίνειν τὴν τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι ἡδονὴν ἢ τὴν D  
 τοῦ μαθάνειν οὐδενὸς ἀξίαν φήσει εἶναι, εἰ μὴ εἴ τι αὐτῶν ἀργύριον  
 ποιεῖ. Ἀληθῆ, ἔφη. Τί δὲ ὁ φιλότιμος; ἦν δ' ἐγώ· οὐ τὴν μὲν  
 25 ἀπὸ τῶν χρημάτων ἡδονὴν φορτικὴν τινα ἡγεῖται, καὶ αὐτὴν ἀπὸ  
 τοῦ μαθάνειν, ὃ τι μὴ μάθημα τιμὴν φέρει, καπνὸν καὶ φλυαρίαν;  
 Οὕτως, ἔφη, ἔχει. Τὸν δὲ φιλόσοφον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τί οἴωμεθα τὰς

18. ὑποκείμενα A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: ὑποκείμενον A<sup>1</sup>Π q.  
 cum ceteris.

27. τί οἴωμεθα Graser: ποιῶμεθα codd.

21. γε Hermann cum M: τε A

γάρ εἰσι μάλιστα οἱ προύχοντες (sc. βλοῖ),  
 ὃ τε νῦν εἰρημένος (i.e. ὁ ἀπολαυστικὸς)  
 καὶ ὁ πολιτικὸς (i.e. ὁ φιλότιμος here) καὶ  
 τρίτος ὁ θεωρητικὸς.

Λέγομεν κτλ. 'And for this reason  
 we say that the primary classes of men  
 are also three in number' etc.? Λέγομεν  
 (see *cr. n.*) is the reading of all MSS  
 except AΠq<sup>1</sup>, and Schneider is right,  
 I think, in retaining it, not only because  
 these three γένη have been named before  
 (IV 435 E), but still more because the  
 classification was apparently a familiar  
 one: see Stewart on Arist. I. c. For the  
 orthographical error see *Introd.* § 5.  
 I take τριττὰ as predicative: the hyper-  
 baton is not, I think, a difficult one,  
 because the stress of the voice falls on  
 τριττὰ, and to my ear it sounds more  
 idiomatic than τὰ πρῶτα γένη τριττὰ εἶναι  
 would be. A possible alternative would be  
 to take εἶναι with φιλόσοφον κτλ. ('that the  
 three primary classes of men are lovers  
 of wisdom' etc.), but this is somewhat  
 less natural and satisfactory, in view  
 especially of καὶ ἡδονῶν κτλ. The words  
 τὰ πρῶτα mean 'the first' or 'original,' as  
 in Aristotle's *πρώτῃ ὕλῃ*, the Stoic *πρώται*  
*ἀφ' ἧς* and the like: it would be possible  
 to subdivide each of these primary classes  
 into δεύτερα γένη, τρίτα γένη etc. Jowett,  
 reading λέγωμεν, translates 'we may  
 begin by assuming,' but it is harsh to  
 separate τὰ πρῶτα from γένη, and the  
 adverbial τὰ πρῶτα generally, if not  
 always, refers *back* to something said or  
 done 'at the beginning.' Cf. Shorey  
*A. J. Ph.* XIII p. 366.

18 ὑποκείμενα. The singular ὑποκει-  
 μένον (see *cr. n.*), retained by Schneider  
 and all other editors except Baiter, is  
 questionable Greek. In such cases the  
 adjective, participle, or verb agrees with  
 the whole and not with the part. ὑποκει-  
 μένα is little inferior to ὑποκείμενον in  
 authority and the corruption was easy.  
 Cf. VIII 550 E n.

21 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ κτλ. Cf. Pind. *Frag.*  
 215 Bergk ἄλλο δ' ἄλλοισιν νόμισμα,  
 σφετέραν δ' αἰνεῖ δίκαν ἕκαστος and *Gorg.*  
 484 E ff.

ὃ γε. See *cr. n.* Hermann's con-  
 jecture is, I now think, right. We may  
 perhaps explain τε as ἀνακόλουθον (cf. II  
 373 B n.) and taken up in τί δὲ ὁ φιλότιμος;  
 κτλ., but γε is much livelier and better:  
 'the money-maker, at all events' etc.  
 Cf. VIII 556 A n. If γε is right, we should  
 not, as Hermann does, make the sen-  
 tence interrogative.

581 D 23 ἀργύριον ποιεῖ: 'produces  
 money.' ποιεῖ (Badham) is a neat con-  
 jecture; but the text is sound: cf. χρή-  
 ματα ποιεῖν Arist. *Pol.* A 9, 1258<sup>a</sup> 11.

26 καπνὸν καὶ φλυαρίαν. This con-  
 temptuous, half-proverbial, use of καπνός  
 is illustrated by Blaydes on Ar. *Clouds*  
 320.

581 D, E 27 τὸν δὲ φιλόσοφον κτλ.  
 'But the lover of knowledge, said I, what  
 value shall we suppose that he assigns to  
 the other pleasures compared with that  
 of knowing how the truth stands and  
 always enjoying a kindred sort of pleasure  
 while he learns? Will he not think them  
 very far away?' (viz. from ἡ τοῦ εἰδέναι

Ε ἄλλας ἡδονὰς νομίζειν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ εἰδέναι ἰταλήθες ὅπῃ ἔχει καὶ ἐν τοιοῦτῳ τινὶ αἰεῖ εἶναι μανθάνοντα τῆς ἡδονῆς; οὐ πάνυ πόρρω, καὶ καλεῖν τῷ ὄντι ἀναγκαίᾳς, ὥς οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων δεό- 30 μιν, εἰ μὴ ἀνάγκη ᾖ; Εὐ, ἔφη, δεῖ εἰδέναι.

VIII. "Ὅτε δὴ οὖν, εἶπον, ἀμφισβητοῦνται ἐκάστου τοῦ εἶδους αἱ ἡδοναὶ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ βίος, μὴ ὅτι πρὸς τὸ κάλλιον καὶ αἰσχιον ζῆν μηδὲ τὸ χεῖρον καὶ ἄμεινον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἴδιον καὶ 582 ἁλυνότερον, | πῶς ἂν εἰδεῖμεν, τίς αὐτῶν ἀληθέστατα λέγει; Οὐ πάνυ, ἔφη, ἔγωγε ἔχω εἰπεῖν. Ἄλλ' ὥδε σκόπει. τίνη χρὴ κρίνεσθαι τὰ μέλλοντα καλῶς κριθῆσθαι; ἂρ' οὐκ ἐμπειρία τε καὶ φρονήσει καὶ λόγῳ; ἢ τούτων ἔχοι ἂν τις βέλτιον κριτήριον; Καὶ πῶς ἂν; ἔφη. Σκόπει δὴ. τριῶν ὄντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν τίς ἐμπειρότατος 5 πασῶν ὧν εἵπομεν ἡδονῶν; πότερον ὁ φιλοκερδής, μανθάνων αὐτὴν τὴν ἀλήθειαν οἷόν ἐστιν, ἐμπειρότερος δοκεῖ σοι εἶναι τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ Β ἰεῖδέναι ἡδονῆς, ἢ ὁ φιλόσοφος τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ κερδαίνειν; Πολύ, ἔφη, διαφέρει. τῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀνάγκη γεύεσθαι τῶν ἐτέρων ἐκ παιδὸς 29. τῆς ἡδονῆς Α<sup>3</sup>Π cum ceteris; punctis notavit Α<sup>2</sup>.

κτλ.). The χρηματιστικὸς considers the pleasures of honour and learning οὐδενὸς ἀξίας, compared with his own; the φιλότιμος similarly, *multatis mutandis*; what then does the φιλόσοφος consider *his* pleasures to be compared with the others? What are his pleasures? Let us see. He either *knows* (i.e. has learnt) the truth in any given instance or is getting to know (i.e. is *learning*) it; his pleasures are therefore that of knowing and that of learning, i.e. τοιοῦτόν τι τῆς ἡδονῆς, for the pleasures of learning are akin to those of knowing. From each of these pleasures those of gain and fame are far removed. With the general sense, cf. *Phaed.* 64 D; for the use of ἐν IV 429 C, D: for τοιοῦτῳ τινὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς Xen. *An.* I 7. 5 ἐν τοιοῦτῳ εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου προσόντος: and for the position of τῆς ἡδονῆς Braun *de hyperb.* Pl. II p. 4, where many examples of similar hyperbata are quoted. The mss read ποιῶμεθα (see *cr. n.*), but Graser's emendation is in my opinion certainly right. I have taken τῆς ἡδονῆς with τοιοῦτῳ τινὶ: others wrongly, as I believe, join it to οὐ πάνυ πόρρω. See on the whole passage App. III.

581 E 29 οὐ πάνυ πόρρω: sc. οὐ μὲτα νομίζειν; as before.

30 ἀναγκαίᾳς: *necessarias*, quippe ceteris nihil indigentem nisi *necessitas*

cogeret (after Stallbaum). Hence τῷ ὄντι: see on VI 511 B.

31 δεῖ εἰδέναι: we should not *surpse* (οἰεσθαι), but be sure of it. Badham's conjecture διέλλου (*ad Euthyd.* p. 98) is wholly needless and inept.

32 ἀμφισβητοῦνται: 'are in dispute' (Jowett). For this somewhat irregular use of the passive cf. Cope's *Rhetoric of Aristotle* I p. 299. It is tempting to make the verb middle ('dispute with one another'), as in *Latius* 957 D, and suppose that the pleasures are personified, as the two lives are in Prodicus' apologue of Heracles at the cross-roads (Xen. *Mem.* II 1. 21 ff.). αὐτῶν in τίς αὐτῶν will then mean τῶν ἡδονῶν, and not τῶν ἀνδρῶν. But on such a theory, instead of αὐτὸς ὁ βίος, we should rather have had αὐτοὶ οἱ βιοί: and on the whole it is doubtless better to acquiesce in the ordinary interpretation, which is also more in harmony with τριῶν ὄντων τῶν ἀνδρῶν κτλ. below.

582 B 9 τῶν ἐτέρων. "Glauco simul *utrisque* philosophum praeferit experientia, quoniam Socrates quis omnium experientissimus esset voluptatum rogaverat" (viz. in 582 A τριῶν ὄντων κτλ.) Schneider. The English translators take τῶν ἐτέρων as 'the other' (Jowett), viz. 'gain'; but that would be τοῦ ἐτέρου.



- 10 ἀρξαμένω· τῷ δὲ φιλοκερδεῖ, ὅπη πέφυκε τὰ ὄντα μαυθάνοντι, τῆς  
 ἡδονῆς ταύτης, ὡς γλυκεῖά ἐστιν, οὐκ ἀνάγκη γεύεσθαι οὐδ' ἐμπείρῳ  
 γίγνεσθαι, μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ προθυμouμένῳ οὐ ῥάδιον. Πολὺν ἄρα,  
 ἣν δ' ἐγώ, διαφέρει τοῦ γε φιλοκερδοῦς ὁ φιλόσοφος ἐμπειρία  
 ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἡδονῶν. Πολὺν<sup>1</sup> μέντοι. Τί δὲ τοῦ φιλοτίμου; C  
 15 ἄρα μᾶλλον ἄπειρός ἐστι τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι ἡδονῆς ἢ ἐκεῖνος  
 τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φρονεῖν; Ἀλλὰ τιμὴ μὲν, ἔφη, ἐάνπερ ἐξεργάζωνται  
 ἐπὶ ὃ ἕκαστος ὥρμηκε, πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐπεται· καὶ γὰρ ὁ πλούσιος  
 ὑπὸ πολλῶν τιμᾶται καὶ ὁ ἀνδρεῖος καὶ ὁ σοφός· ὥστε ἀπὸ γε τοῦ  
 τιμᾶσθαι, οἷόν ἐστιν, πάντες τῆς ἡδονῆς ἐμπειροί· τῆς δὲ τοῦ ὄντος  
 20 θέας, οἷαν ἡδονὴν ἔχει, ἀδύνατον ἄλλῳ γεγεῖσθαι πλὴν τῷ φιλο-  
 σόφῳ. Ἐμπειρίας<sup>1</sup> μὲν ἄρα, εἶπον, ἔνεκα κάλλιστα τῶν ἀνδρῶν D  
 κρίνει οὗτος. Πολύ γε. Καὶ μὴν μετὰ γε φρονήσεως μόνος  
 ἐμπειρος γεγονὼς ἔσται. Τί μὴν; Ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ δι' οὗ γε δεῖ

16. τιμὴ μὲν ν: τί μὴν ΑΠΞ: τί μὴ γ.

18. ὁ σοφός Α<sup>2</sup>Ξ γ: σοφός Α<sup>1</sup>Π.

22. οὗτος Π: οὕτως Α.

φρονήσεως Α<sup>2</sup>Ξ γ: σωφρονήσεως Π et fortasse Α<sup>1</sup>.

**582 C 14** τί δὲ τοῦ φιλοτίμου; 'and how does he stand in relation to the lover of honour?' Supply διαφέρει ὁ φιλόσοφος, or rather a more general idea of comparison out of διαφέρει: cf. 585 D and X 597 D. We must beware of translating 'but what of the lover of honour?' (D. and V.), as if τοῦ φιλοτίμου were here equivalent to περὶ τοῦ φιλοτίμου (V 470 A n.). This error caused Groen v. Prinsterer (*Prosop. Pl.* p. 210) to suggest ἄρα μᾶλλον ἐμπειρός ἐστι τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ φρονεῖν ἡδονῆς, ἢ ἐκεῖνος τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ τιμᾶσθαι; with which the translation of Davies and Vaughan also agrees. The subject of ἀπειρός ἐστι is of course ὁ φιλόσοφος, and ἐκεῖνος means ὁ φιλότιμος.

**18** ὁ ἀνδρεῖος represents ὁ φιλότιμος: cf. ἀνδρεία 582 E and πολεμικοῦ 583 A n.

**19** τοῦ ὄντος. The presence of such metaphysical terms in this and the succeeding proof is what chiefly encourages Pfeleiderer (*Zur Lösung* etc. pp. 74 ff.) and some others to maintain that §§ 580—587 were written at a later period than the rest of this Book, most of which they believe to be earlier than V 471 C—VII inclusive. See also on 581 A. Others with much more reason find in these expressions a strong argument in defence of the structural unity of the *Republic*; for it would seem that τῆς τοῦ ὄντος θέας and the like presuppose the discussions of Book VII. See Zeller<sup>4</sup> II p. 561 n.

**582 D 22** κρίνει. Bekker's conjecture κρίνει is unnecessary.

μετὰ γε φρονήσεως corresponds to φρονήσει in 582 A. Plato is taking the three requisites in order. The ἐμπειρία of the φιλόσοφος is alone intelligent, and, without φρόνησις, ἐμπειρία is no more than a sort of ἀτεχνος τριβή (*Phaedr.* 260 E: cf. *Gorg.* 463 B). It is indeed quite true, as Nettleship reminds us (*Lect. and Rem.* II p. 322), that the higher kind of man learns more from the experience which he shares with the lower kind without having to go through nearly the same amount of it.

**23** ἀλλὰ μὴν κτλ. Bosanquet observes that "this is perhaps a good argument to prove that the man of culture is pre-eminently competent to appraise the value of different ideals of life, but it is not a good argument to prove that he is a good judge of degrees of agreeable feeling in lives fundamentally different from his own" (similarly Nettleship l. c. p. 321). True; but that is not the point. Plato is attempting to prove that the φιλόσοφος is the best judge, not of 'the degrees of agreeable feeling' experienced, in one particular kind of life, but of the relative pleasure of three *different* kinds of life, and his reasoning, granted that pleasures can be compared at all, is perfectly legitimate. Each of the three men pronounces his own life not merely

ὀργάνου κρίνεσθαι, οὐ τοῦ φιλοκερδοῦς τοῦτο ὄργανον οὐδὲ τοῦ φιλοτίμου, ἀλλὰ τοῦ φιλοσόφου. Τὸ ποῖον; Διὰ λόγων που 25 ἔφαμεν δεῖν κρίνεσθαι. ἦ γάρ; Ναί. Λόγοι δὲ τούτου μάλιστα ὄργανον. Πῶς δ' οὐ; Οὐκοῦν εἰ μὲν πλούτῳ καὶ κέρδει ἄριστα Εἰ ἐκρίνετο τὰ κρινόμενα, ἃ ἐπῆναι ὁ φιλοκερδὴς καὶ ἔψεγεν, ἀνάγκη ἂν ᾦν ταῦτα ἀληθέστατα εἶναι. Πολλή γε. Εἰ δὲ τιμῇ τε καὶ νίκῃ καὶ ἀνδρείᾳ, ἅρ' οὐχ ἃ ὁ φιλότιμός τε καὶ ὁ φιλόνομος; 30 Δῆλον. Ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐμπειρία καὶ φρονήσῃ καὶ λόγῳ; Ἀνάγκη, ἔφη, ἃ ὁ φιλόσοφος τε καὶ ὁ φιλόλογος ἐπαινεῖ, ἀληθέστατα εἶναι.

583 Τριῶν ἅρ' οὐσῶν τῶν | ἡδονῶν ἢ τούτου τοῦ μέρους τῆς ψυχῆς, ᾧ μανθάνομεν, ἡδίστη ἂν εἴη, καὶ ἐν ᾧ ἡμῶν τοῦτο ἄρχει, ὁ τούτου βίος ἡδιστος; Πῶς δ' οὐ μέλλει; ἔφη· κύριος γοῦν ἐπαινέτης ὢν ἐπαινεῖ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ βίον ὁ φρόνιμος. Τίνα δὲ δευτέρον, εἶπον, βίον καὶ τίνα δευτέραν ἡδονὴν φησιν ὁ κριτὴς εἶναι; Δῆλον ὅτι τὴν 5 τοῦ πολεμικοῦ τε καὶ φιλοτίμου· ἐγγυτέρω γὰρ αὐτοῦ ἐστὶν ἢ ἡ τοῦ χρηματιστοῦ. Ὑστάτην δὲ τὴν τοῦ φιλοκερδοῦς, ὡς ἔοικεν. Τί μὴν; ἦ δ' ὅς.

3. ὦν A<sup>2</sup>Π: ων ut videtur A<sup>1</sup>.

pleasant, but *pleasanter* than those of the other two: how then are we to decide? Nothing but argument will help us, and the φιλόσοφος is the only one of the triad who possesses that weapon. It should be observed that throughout this part of the discussion Plato takes it for granted that some kinds of pleasure are in point of fact more pleasant than others. At present his object is to discover what these are, but in the argument which is still to come (585 B ff.), he grapples with the metaphysical question—for to him it was a question, not of psychology, but of metaphysics—and attempts to shew that pleasures contain more or less of pleasure according as there is in them more or less of truth.

26 ἔφαμεν κτλ. The reference is to 582 A. Λόγοι means 'rational arguments,' 'reasoning' (cf. VI 511 B n.), and τούτου is of course τοῦ φιλοσόφου, not τοῦ κρίναι, as Stallbaum thinks.

582 E 29 ἀληθέστατα here and in ἀληθέστατα εἶναι below contains a hint of the theory which is afterwards developed in 585 B ff., where the various kinds of pleasure are shewn to be different in respect of reality and truth.

30 φιλόνομος. See on 581 B.

31 ἀνάγκη, ἔφη κτλ. supplies the apodosis to ἐπειδὴ—λόγῳ: cf. supra 577 B n.

583 A 5 ὁ κριτὴς κτλ. ὁ κριτὴς is the φιλόσοφος, as αὐτοῦ in the next sentence shews. There is therefore no reference to 580 B. For πολεμικοῦ Herwerden proposes φιλονίκου, very arbitrarily: see on 582 C. It is worth noting that the conclusion of this argument incidentally furnishes a further reply to the objection raised by Adimantus, in IV 419 Aff., viz. that Plato's guardians cannot possibly be happy.

583 B—585 A. Our third and crowning proof is as follows. All the pleasures except those of the wise (φρόνιμοι) are untrue and impure. We must recognise the existence of three distinct states, viz. Pleasure and Pain, which are positive and opposite, and the Neutral state, which is negative and intermediate. Men frequently identify the intermediate condition with Pleasure; but they are mistaken when they do so, for there are some pleasures, e.g. those of smell, which have a positive character of their own. Now bodily pleasures, so-called, together with the corresponding pleasures of anticipation, are for the most part merely ways of escape from pain, and belong to the neutral

IX. Ταῦτα μὲν<sup>1</sup> τοῖνυν οὕτω δὴ ἐφεξῆς ἂν εἴη καὶ δις νενι-  
 10 κηκῶς ὁ δίκαιος τὸν ἄδικον· τὸ δὲ τρίτον Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ σωτήρῳ  
 τε καὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Δίῳ, ἄθρει ὅτι οὐδὲ παναληθῆς ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν

state. They are falsely judged pleasant through juxtaposition and contrast with positive Pain.

583 B ff. 9 ταῦτα μὲν κτλ. The political and psychological λόγοι have registered their votes, and it only remains for us to hear the verdict of the metaphysical, to which Plato characteristically assigns the greatest value (καλροῖ — πτωμάτων below). See on 577 C. Plato's theory of true or pure and false or impure pleasures reappears in the *Philebus*. Both dialogues teach (1) that Pleasure consists in πλήρωσις, (2) that the majority of bodily pleasures are not pleasures at all, but only λυπῶν ἀπαλλαγῆς, and (3) that there are other—true or pure—pleasures (e.g. smell) which are not preceded or followed by pain. The last generation of scholars mostly placed the *Republic* after the *Philebus*. I am inclined to agree with more recent critics in thinking it earlier (see on VI 506 B and Jackson in *Journal of Philology* XXV pp. 65—82), but the greater degree of elaboration which marks the treatment of this subject in the *Philebus* may be and has been accounted for on either hypothesis. Aristotle also touches on the question of Mixed and Unmixed Pleasures in *Eth. Nic.* VII 12. 1152<sup>b</sup> ff., especially 1152<sup>b</sup> 35—1153<sup>a</sup> 7, ib. 15. 1154<sup>a</sup> 22—<sup>b</sup> 31 and again in X 2—5, especially 2. 1173<sup>a</sup> 22—<sup>b</sup> 20. The present section is further important in the history of ethics for its clear distinction between the μέση κατὰ-στάσις and the two extremes; a distinction already noted by the Cyrenaics (RP<sup>7</sup>. § 208<sup>b</sup>) and afterwards adopted by Epicurus (ib. § 380 ff.).

δύο and δις refer of course to the two preceding proofs 577 B—580 C and 580 C—583 A.

10 τὸ δὲ τρίτον κτλ. The libations at banquets (according to the Schol. on *Phil.* 66 D: cf. also Schol. on *Charm.* 167 A and on Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 7 with Hesych. s. ν. τρίτος κρατήρ and Pollux VI 15, 100) were offered in the following sequence: (1) to Olympian Zeus and the Olympian gods, (2) to the heroes, (3) to Zeus Soter. Hence the proverb τὸ τρίτον τῷ σωτήρῳ, with which Plato sometimes introduces the third or culminating stage

in an argument, demonstration, or the like (*Phil.* and *Charm.* ll. cc., *Laus* III 692 A, *Epp.* VII 340 A). In the present instance there is also an allusion to the Olympic games, as appears from Ὀλυμπικῶς ('Olympic-wise'). Stallbaum conjectures that competitors at Olympia were in the habit of making their third libation "non uni tantum Διὶ σωτήρῳ, sed sicuti consentaneum fuit, τῷ σωτήρῳ τε καὶ τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Δίῳ": but there is no authority for this idea. Is Plato thinking of the πένταθλον, in which it was necessary to win in three (probably leaping, discus-throwing, javelin-throwing) out of the five events in order to obtain the prize (see P. Gardner in *J. of H. Studies* I p. 217, where the evidence is quoted)? Schneider takes this view: but the words τῶν πτωμάτων below make it clear that the reference is only to wrestling. The point manifestly is, that as in wrestling the third throw decided the contest between two athletes (Schol. on Aesch. *Eum.* 592 et al.), so here the δίκαιος wins after he has thrice defeated the ἄδικος (cf. also *Euthyd.* 277 C). I think Ὀλυμπικῶς is intended to suggest that the contest between justice and injustice is the greatest of all moral, as the Olympic was of all physical, παλαιάματα: the victors ἔχουσιν τοῦ μακαριστοῦ βίου ὃν οἱ ὀλυμπιονίκαί ζωσι μακαριώτερον (V 465 D n.). Compare *Phaedr.* 256 B τῶν τριῶν παλαισμάτων τῶν ὡς ἀληθῶς Ὀλυμπιακῶν ἐν νενικήρασιν. Plato adds the epithet τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ δεσίο: in an Olympic contest Zeus Soter is also in the truest sense Olympian too, although in banquets Zeus Olympius received only the first, and not also the third libation. With similar and even greater emphasis on the word Ὀλυμπίῳ Pindar prays for an Olympic victory for Phylacidas in the words εἴη δὲ τρίτον | σωτήρῳ πορσαίνοντας Ὀλυμπίῳ Ἀλγίαν κατὰ | σπένδειν μελι-φθόγγους ἀοιδαῖς (*Isthm.* l.c.: see Donaldson ad loc.).

11 οὐδὲ παναληθῆς — καθαρά. In what sense is pleasure said by Plato to be pure and true? It is pure when unadulterated by pain, whether antecedent, present or consequent; and there is also perhaps in Plato's use of the epithet 'pure' a relic or hint of the old half-



ἄλλων ἡδονὴ πλὴν τῆς τοῦ φρονίμου οὐδὲ καθαρὰ, ἀλλ' ἐσκια-  
 γραφημένη τις, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκῶ μοι τῶν σοφῶν τινὸς ἀκηκοέναι.  
 καίτοι τοῦτ' ἂν εἴη μέγιστόν τε καὶ κυριώτατον τῶν πτωμάτων.  
 Πολύ γε· ἀλλὰ πῶς λέγεις; Ὡδ', εἶπον, ἐξευρήσω, σοῦ ἀπο- 15  
 C κρινομένου ζητῶν ἅμα. Ἐρώτα δὴ, ἔφη. Λέγε δὴ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ·  
 οὐκ ἐναντίον φαμέν λύπην ἡδονῇ; Καὶ μάλα. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ  
 μήτε χαίρειν μήτε λυπεῖσθαι εἶναι τι; Εἶναι μέντοι. Μεταξὺ  
 τούτοις ἀμφοῖν ἐν μέσῳ ὄν, ἡσυχίαν τινὰ περὶ ταῦτα τῆς ψυχῆς;  
 ἢ οἷχ οὕτως αὐτὸ λέγεις; Οὕτως, ἢ δ' ὅς. Ἄρ' οὐ μνημονεύεις, 20  
 ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τοὺς τῶν καμνόντων λόγους, οὓς λέγουσιν ὅταν κάμνω-  
 σιν; Ποίους; Ὡς οὐδὲν ἄρα ἐστὶν ἡδίων τοῦ ὑγιαίνειν, ἀλλὰ  
 D σφῶς ἡ ἐλελήθει, πρὶν κάμνειν, ἡδιστον ὄν. Μέμνημαι, ἔφη.  
 Οὐκοῦν καὶ τῶν περιωδυνία τινὲς ἐχομένων ἀκούεις λεγόντων, ὡς  
 οὐδὲν ἡδίων τοῦ παύσασθαι ὀδυνώμενον; Ἀκούω. Καὶ ἐν ἄλλοις 25  
 γε, οἶμαι, πολλοῖς τοιοῦτοις αἰσθάνει γιγνομένους τοὺς ἀνθρώπους,

ceremonial, half-religious idea of 'pure from taint': see App. III and Rohde *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> II pp. 281 ff. al. But in its deepest signification the truth or purity of Pleasure involves the ontological theory that soul and its sustenance (knowledge etc.) have more part in Being and Truth than Body and its food: the spiritual and not the material is the true. See also on 586 E and especially Nettleship *Lect. and Rem.* II pp. 322—327, where the farther bearings of Plato's theory are admirably traced.

12 πλὴν τῆς τοῦ φρονίμου. Cf. *Phaed.* 69 B, C.

ἐσκιαγραφημένη. See on II 365 C. Bodily pleasure is ἐσκιαγραφημένη in the fullest sense of the word, because it depends on contrast and balance of pleasure with pleasure, and pleasure with pain (584 A), just as perspective produces its effect by the contrast of light and shade (586 B). Similarly in *Phaed.* 69 B Plato hints that the so-called virtue which consists in bartering one bodily pleasure for another is σκιαγραφία τις—καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς οὐδ' ἀληθὲς ἔχουσα, and ib. 81 B the soul is said to be γεγοητευμένη ὑπ' αὐτοῦ (sc. τοῦ σώματος) ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἐπιθυμιῶν καὶ ἡδονῶν. Cf. also *Phil.* 44 C αὐτὸ τοῦτο αὐτῆς (sc. τῆς ἡδονῆς) ἐπαγωγὸν γοήτευμα, ἀλλ' οὐχ ἡδονὴν εἶναι. In each of these passages there is probably a conscious reminiscence of Orphic doctrines: see next note and App. IV.

13 τῶν σοφῶν alludes, I believe, to Orphic or Pythagorean ascetics, who preached the doctrine σῶμα σῆμα and regarded bodily pleasure as essentially false and impure: see especially Rohde *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> II pp. 121—130, and 161—166. Evidence for this view is given in App. IV, where the other interpretations are also discussed.

14 καίτοι is hardly 'et vero' 'and surely' (as Kugler takes it *de part. tol* etc. p. 18, comparing *Gorg.* 452 E, *Theaet.* 187 C al.), but rather 'quamquam' 'and yet' (sc. 'strong as were the other two proofs,' or the like): "und das wäre doch wohl!" Schneider.

583 C 17 τὸ μήτε χαίρειν κτλ. This τρίτη διάθεσις is described in *Phil.* 32 E ff.: cf. ib. 42 E ff. and *Tim.* 64 C ff.

18 μεταξὺ κτλ.: 'something which is intermediate between these two, a sort of repose of the soul so far as these are concerned.' Herwerden is fain to cancel either μεταξὺ or ἐν μέσῳ: but the fulness of expression is characteristic. See *Introd.* § 5.

19 ἡσυχίαν: whereas λύπη and ἡδονή are κινήσεις 583 E.

20 ἀρ' οὐ. Three inferior MSS have ἀρ' οὐν, which is easier; but ἀρ' οὐ is much more lively, and not more abrupt than e.g. πολεμήσομεν τὸ μετὰ τοῦτο, ὦ Γλαυκῶν; II 373 E (quoted by Schneider). The stylistic effect is exactly like Laecretius' 'Nonne vides' etc.: e.g. II 263 al.

ἐν οἷς, ὅταν λυπῶνται, τὸ μὴ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ τὴν ἡσυχίαν τοῦ τοιούτου ἐγκωμιάζουσιν ὡς ἡδιστον, οὐ τὸ χαίρειν. Τοῦτο γάρ, ἔφη, τότε ἡδὺ ἴσως καὶ ἀγαπητὸν γίνεταί, ἡσυχία. Καὶ ὅταν 30 παύσῃται ἄρα, εἶπον, χαίρων τις, ἢ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἡσυχία λυπηρὸν ἔσται. Ἴσως, ἔφη. Ὁ μεταξὺ ἄρα νῦν δὴ ἀμφοτέρων ἔφαμεν εἶναι, τὴν ἡσυχίαν, τοῦτό ποτε ἀμφοτέρα ἔσται, λύπη τε καὶ ἡδονή. Ὁοικεν. Ἡ καὶ δυνατὸν τὸ μηδέτερα ὃν ἀμφοτέρα γίνεσθαι; Οὐ μοι δοκεῖ. Καὶ μὴν τό γε ἡδὺ ἐν ψυχῇ γιγνόμενον καὶ τὸ 35 λυπηρὸν κίνησις τις ἀμφοτέρω ἔστόν. ἢ οὐ; Ναί. | Τὸ δὲ μήτε 584 λυπηρὸν μήτε ἡδὺ οὐχὶ ἡσυχία μέντοι καὶ ἐν μέσῳ τούτοις ἐφάνη ἄρτι; Ἐφάνη γάρ. Πῶς οὖν ὀρθῶς ἔστι τὸ μὴ ἀλγεῖν ἡδὺ ἡγεῖσθαι ἢ τὸ μὴ χαίρειν ἀνιαρόν; Οὐδαμῶς. Οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρα τοῦτο, 5 ἀλλὰ φαίνεται, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, παρὰ τὸ ἀλγεῖν ἡδὺ καὶ παρὰ τὸ ἡδὺ

27. τὸ A<sup>2</sup>Π: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

33. δυνατὸν A<sup>2</sup>Π: fortasse ἀδύνατον A<sup>1</sup>.

**583 D** 28 τοῦτο γάρ κτλ. The argument is as follows. While suffering pain, men are apt to look upon the ἡσυχία from pain as the highest pleasure. Perhaps (suggests Glauco) at such a time the neutral state is in point of fact found positively pleasant and welcome by them. Socrates proceeds to shew (by a *reductio ad absurdum* proof) that Glauco's suggestion is untenable. 'In that case,' he argues, 'ἡσυχία from pleasure will in like manner be positively painful: and thus the neutral state, which we declared to be *between* the two extremes, will upon occasions be both, viz. both pleasure and pain.' Glauco allows that that which is neither cannot become both, and Socrates proceeds: In this instance the 'both' is a κίνησις, and the 'neither' a ἡσυχία, and lies, as we have seen, between the two: so that it is wrong to identify the absence of pain with pleasure or the absence of pleasure with pain. Hence your suggestion is erroneous: οὐκ ἔστιν ἄρα τοῦτο, ἀλλὰ φαίνεται κτλ. See below on 584 A. The argument is really complete when Glauco says οὐ μοι δοκεῖ, but the words καὶ μὴν τό γε ἡδὺ introduce a new reason for refusing to identify ἡσυχία with pleasure or with pain, by explicitly stating for the first time that pleasure and pain are each of them a κίνησις. ἡσυχία and κίνησις are mutually exclusive notions. Cf. *Phil.* 43 D—44 B, where the reasoning follows nearly the same lines. See also next note.

**583 E** 32 ἀμφοτέρα—ἡδονή. Does Plato mean that the neutral state will sometimes be both painful and pleasant at one and the same time,—or only at *one* time painful and at *another* pleasant? According to *Gorg.* 497 C ff., in eating when hungry, drinking when thirsty etc., we cease from pain and pleasure simultaneously, so that in such a case the neutral state will appear to be both pleasant and painful. But the rest of the argument does not support this interpretation; and in the corresponding passage of the *Philebus* (43 D) we have τὸ δὲ μηδέτερα τούτων ἔσθ' ἡμῖν ὅπως θάτερα γένοιτ' ἂν. The simpler view should therefore be adopted.

35 κίνησις. In Pleasure the κίνησις is πλήρωσις, in pain, κένωσις, as is afterwards pointed out (585 A n.).

**584 A** 2 οὐχὶ—μέντοι κτλ. See I 339 B n. It is safer to construe ὀρθῶς with ἡγεῖσθαι than with ἔστι (as D. and V. translate). Cf. *Euthyphr.* 5 E ταῦτα ὀρθῶς ἂν εἴη οὕτω γιγνόμενα, where ὀρθῶς belongs to γιγνόμενα, or to a γιγνόμενα understood.

4 οὐκ ἔστιν κτλ. contradicts Glauco's suggestion τοῦτο γάρ—ἡσυχία 583 D. There is no *reality* about this (as you suggest): it is only a φάντασμα—the neutral state *appearing* pleasant by the side of pain, being, in fact, a sort of σκιαγραφία, as we said in 583 B. On γοητεία see 583 B n.

ἀλγεινὸν τότε, ἢ ἡσυχία, καὶ οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς τούτων τῶν φαντασμάτων  
 πρὸς ἡδονῆς ἀλήθειαν, ἀλλὰ γοητεία τις. Ὡς γοῦν ὁ λόγος, ἔφη,  
 B σημαίνει. Ἴδὲ τοίνυν, ἔφην ἐγώ,<sup>1</sup> ἡδονάς, αἱ οὐκ ἐκ λυπῶν εἰσίν, ἵνα  
 μὴ πολλάκις οἰηθῆς ἐν τῷ παρόντι οὕτω τοῦτο πεφυκέναι, ἡδονὴν  
 μὲν παῦλαν λύπης εἶναι, λύπην δὲ ἡδονῆς. Ποῦ δὴ, ἔφη, καὶ ποίας<sup>10</sup>  
 λέγεις; Πολλαὶ μὲν, εἶπον, καὶ ἄλλαι, μάλιστα δ' εἰ 'θέλεις ἐννοῆσαι  
 τὰς περὶ τὰς ὁσμὰς ἡδονάς. αὗται γὰρ οὐ προλυπηθέντι ἐξαίφνης  
 ἀμήχανοι τὸ μέγεθος γίνονται παυσάμεναί τε λύπην οὐδεμίαν  
 C καταλείπουσιν. Ἀληθέστατα, ἔφη. Μὴ ἄρα πειθώμεθα<sup>1</sup> καθαρὰν  
 ἡδονὴν εἶναι τὴν λύπης ἀπαλλαγὴν, μηδὲ λύπην τὴν ἡδονῆς. Μὴ<sup>15</sup>  
 γάρ. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, εἶπον, αἱ γε διὰ τοῦ σώματος ἐπὶ τὴν ψυχὴν  
 τείνουσαι καὶ λεγόμεναι ἡδοναὶ σχεδὸν αἱ πλείσταί τε καὶ μέγιστα  
 τούτου τοῦ εἵδους εἰσὶ, λυπῶν τινὲς ἀπαλλαγαί. Εἰσὶ γάρ. Οὐκ-

8. ἔφην ἐγώ Θ: ἔφην δ' ἐγώ ΑΠΞ (sed δ puncto notavit A<sup>2</sup>): δ' ἐγὼ q.

584 B 8 αἱ οὐκ ἐκ λυπῶν κτλ. are the so-called 'pure' pleasures of *Phil.* 51 B ff. τὰς περὶ τε τὰ καλὰ λεγόμενα χρώματα καὶ περὶ τὰ σχήματα καὶ τῶν ὁσμῶν τὰς πλείστας καὶ τὰς τῶν φθόγγων καὶ ὅσα τὰς ἐνδείας ἀναισθητοὺς ἔχοντα καὶ ἀλύπους τὰς πληρώσεις αἰσθητὰς καὶ ἡδέας, καθαρὰς λυπῶν, παραδίδωσιν. They are never preceded by pain, but may, according to the *Philebus*, be preceded by κένωσις and ἐνδεία, so long as these are imperceptible; and they are caused by πλήρωσις no less than the pleasures which are called impure, although the πλήρωσις in the case of the pure pleasures is ἀληθεστέρα: cf. 585 B and *Tim.* 65 A.

ἵνα μὴ πολλάκις κτλ.: 'in case, perhaps, you should suppose in the present instance' etc. (sc. as you did in the other 583 D). μὴ πολλάκις is 'ne forte' (IV 422 C n.), and ἐν τῷ παρόντι refers to the example which Socrates is about to give. Glauco's ποῦ δὴ asks for an explanation of ἐν τῷ παρόντι, just as πολὺς invites Socrates to specify the ἡδονάς αἱ οὐκ ἐκ λυπῶν εἰσίν. The English translators are in error.

11 πολλαὶ μὲν κτλ. In spite of this passage and *Phil.* 51 B ff. Aristotle seems actually to insinuate that Plato made all pleasures conditional on release from pain: see Stewart on *Eth. Nic.* x 2. 1173<sup>b</sup> 12 ff.

12 ὁσμὰς. Has Heraclitus' curious fragment (38 Bywater) αἱ ψυχὰς ὁσμῶνται

καθ' ἑδὼν any bearing on this doctrine of the 'purity' of smell? If the soul, after it is 'purified' from the body by death, still retains this sense, presumably ὁσμὴ is (in Orphic language) 'pure.' It is possible enough that Plato's whole theory of 'pure pleasures' was suggested by some such early theological notion, though he afterwards developed it in his own way. See however Rohde *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> II p. 152 n. Aristotle also looks upon smell as a painless pleasure: see *Eth. Nic.* x 2. 1173<sup>b</sup> 18 ff. et al.

584 C 16 αἱ γε—ἡδοναὶ κτλ. The emphasis is on διὰ τοῦ σώματος. All pleasures belong of course to the soul (*Tim.* 64 B); but some come through the body, while others—the pleasures of knowledge, for example, according to Plato—do not (cf. *Theaet.* 184 E—185 E and generally *Phil.* 47 D ff.). Most of the former class—smell is an exception—and the greatest among them (τὰ φροδίσια *Phil.* 65 C) are only λυπῶν ἀπαλλαγαί (cf. *Phaedr.* 258 E, *Phil.* 45 A—47 B and Arist. *Eth. Nic.* VII 13. 1153<sup>a</sup> 33, 15. 1154<sup>a</sup> 26 ff.), and so 'mixed' and unreal: compare the picture of the χαραδριῶν βίος in *Gorg.* 494 B ff. The same is true of the purely spiritual pleasures and pains which come from the anticipation of these 'mixed' pleasures and pains. On the pleasures and pains of anticipation see *Phil.* 32 C ff.



οὖν καὶ αἱ πρὸ μελλόντων τούτων ἐκ προσδοκίας γιγνόμεναι προη-  
20 σθήσεις τε καὶ πολυλήσεις κατὰ ταῦτ' ἔχουσιν; Κατὰ ταῦτά.

X. Οἷσθ' οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οἶαί εἰσιν<sup>1</sup> καὶ ᾧ μάλιστα εἰκόασιν; D  
Τῷ; ἔφη. Νομίζεις τι, εἶπον, ἐν τῇ φύσει εἶναι τὸ μὲν ἄνω, τὸ δὲ  
κάτω, τὸ δὲ μέσον; Ἔγωγε. Οἶει οὖν ἂν τινα ἐκ τοῦ κάτω  
φερόμενον πρὸς μέσον ἄλλο τι οἶεσθαι ἢ ἄνω φέρεσθαι; καὶ ἐν  
25 μέσῳ στάντα, ἀφορῶντα ὅθεν ἐνήνεκται, ἄλλοθί που ἂν ἡγείσθαι  
εἶναι ἢ ἐν τῷ ἄνω, μὴ ἐωρακότα τὸ ἀληθῶς ἄνω; Μὰ Δί' οὐκ  
ἔγωγε, ἔφη, ἄλλως οἶμαι οἰηθῆναι ἂν τὸν τοιοῦτον. Ἄλλ' εἰ πάλιν  
γ', ἔφην, φέροιτο,<sup>1</sup> κάτω τ' ἂν οἶοιτο φέρεσθαι καὶ ἀληθῆ οἶοιτο; E  
Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Οὐκοῦν ταῦτα πάσχοι ἂν πάντα διὰ τὸ μὴ ἔμπειρος  
30 εἶναι τοῦ ἀληθινῶς ἄνω τε ὅντος καὶ ἐν μέσῳ καὶ κάτω; Δῆλον  
δή. Θαυμάζεις ἂν οὖν, εἰ καὶ ἄπειροι ἀληθείας περὶ πολλῶν τε  
ἄλλων μὴ ὑγιεῖς δόξας ἔχουσιν πρὸς τε ἡδονὴν καὶ λύπην καὶ τὸ  
μεταξὺ τούτων οὕτω διάκεινται, ὥστε ὅταν μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ λυπηρὸν  
φέρωνται, ἀληθῆ τε | οἴονται καὶ τῷ ὄντι λυποῦνται, ὅταν δὲ ἀπὸ 585  
λύπης ἐπὶ τὸ μεταξὺ, σφόδρα μὲν οἴονται πρὸς πληρώσει τε καὶ  
ἡδονῇ γίγνεσθαι, ὥσπερ δὲ πρὸς μέλαν φαιδὺν ἀποσκοποῦντες

27. ἄλλως II: ἄλλ' ὡς A.  
om. AΠΞ.

30. κάτω A<sup>2</sup>Π: κάτω (sic) A<sup>1</sup>.

3. δὲ q:

19 προσηθήσεις is a Platonic coinage not found elsewhere. The reading προαισθήσεις (Ξ and Vind. B) held its ground till Bekker; but προσηθήσεις had already been conjectured by Floyer Sydenham (Lupton in *Cl. Rev.* II p. 228).

20 πολυλήσεις: thus for example τὸ πρὸ τῶν λυπηρῶν (sc. ἐλπίζόμενον) is φοβερὸν καὶ ἀλγυνόν (*Phil.* I. c.). If bodily pleasure is 'mixed,' the same must be true of bodily pain: and so the πολυλήσεις as well as the προσηθήσεις of anticipation are 'mixed' (κατὰ ταῦτ' ἔχουσιν). Fear for example (which is προσδοκία κακοῦ) is a 'mixed' pain: see *Phil.* 47 E.

584 D 22 νομίζεις κτλ. This is the popular conception of 'above' and 'below' held also by most of the philosophers, e.g. Heraclitus, the Pythagoreans, Anaxagoras, the Atomists (RP. §§ 29, 68 A, 124 B *nn.*, 149 B *nn.*), and even Aristotle (*Phys.* IV 4. 212<sup>a</sup> 24 ff.), and found also in the *Phaedo* (109 ff.). In the *Timaeus*, on the other hand, Plato takes a different and more scientific view: φύσει γὰρ δὴ τινες τόπους δύο εἶναι διειληφότες διχῇ τὸ πᾶν ἐναντίους τὸν μὲν κάτω, — τὸν δ' ἄνω — οὐκ ὁρθὸν οὐδαμῇ νομίζειν κτλ. (62 C ff.).

It is possible (with Solomon *Cl. Rev.* III p. 418) to construe the divergence as "an incidental proof of the distance separating the *Republic* from the *Timaeus*," especially as the myth in Book X agrees with the view of Above and Below given here: but too much stress should not be laid on the present passage, which is intended only as an illustration and nothing more.

23 οἶει οὖν ἂν τινα κτλ. Cf. *Phaed.* 109 C.

584 E 31 εἰ καὶ κτλ.: 'if men also who are ignorant of truth' etc. καὶ sc. like ὁ μὴ ἔμπειρος τοῦ ἀληθινῶς ἄνω τε ὄντος κτλ. in our simile. Three *deterioris notae* MSS have εἰ καὶ οἱ ἄπειροι, and Hermann conjectures οἱ for καὶ; but cf. the use of εἰ καὶ in X 597 A. The article is not necessary, and ought not to be introduced without better MS authority.

585 A 2 πληρώσει prepares the way for the coming argument, in which Pleasure is viewed as πλήρωσις, Pain as κένωσις (cf. *Phil.* 31 E ff.). So far, we have been told only that they are κινήσεις (583 E).

3 ὥσπερ δὲ κτλ. The equations are of course Black = Pain, Grey = Absence

ἀπειρία λευκοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἄλυπον οὕτω πρὸς λύπην ἀφορῶντες ἀπειρία  
 ἡδονῆς ἀπατῶνται; Μὰ Δία, ἢ δ' ὅς, οὐκ ἂν θαυμάσαιμι, ἀλλὰ 5  
 πολὺ μᾶλλον, εἰ μὴ οὕτως ἔχει. Ὡδέ γ' οὖν, εἶπον, ἐννοεῖ· οὐχὶ  
 B πείνα καὶ δίψα καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κενώσεις τινές εἰσιν τῆς περὶ <sup>1</sup> τὸ  
 σῶμα ἕξεως; Τί μὴν; Ἀγνοια δὲ καὶ ἀφροσύνη ἄρ' οὐ κενότης  
 ἐστὶ τῆς περὶ ψυχὴν αὐ ἕξεως; Μάλα γε. Οὐκοῦν πληροῦτ' ἂν  
 ὁ τε τροφῆς μεταλαμβάνων καὶ ὁ νοῦν ἴσχων; Πῶς δ' οὐ; Πλή- 10  
 ρωσις δὲ ἀληθεστέρα τοῦ ἡττον ἢ τοῦ μᾶλλον ὄντος; Δῆλον, ὅτι  
 τοῦ μᾶλλον. Πότερα οὖν ἡγεῖ τὰ γένη μᾶλλον καθαρὰς οὐσίας  
 μετέχειν, τὰ οἶον σίτου τε καὶ ποτοῦ καὶ ὕψου καὶ ξυμπάσης  
 C τροφῆς, ἢ τὸ δόξης τε ἀληθοῦς εἶδος καὶ ἐπιστήμης καὶ νοῦ <sup>1</sup> καὶ

4. τὸ ἄλυπον οὕτω πρὸς λύπην Schleiermacher: πρὸς τὸ ἄλυπον οὕτω λύπην codd.  
 7. πείνα II et corr. A<sup>1</sup>: πείνη A<sup>1</sup>. 13. τὰ οἶον II: οἶον A<sup>1</sup>: τὰ οἶα A<sup>2</sup>.

of Pain, White= Pleasure. Plato's simile is particularly appropriate, because Grey is a mixture of white and black (*Tim.* 68 c φαῖον δὲ λευκοῦ τε καὶ μέλανος sc. κράσι γίγνεται), just as λυπῆς ἀπαλλαγὴ according to this discussion (584 c al.) may be regarded as a mixture of pleasure and pain (584 c, 586 b), or in other words only a 'mixed' pleasure. With the simile itself cf. *Arist. Phys.* v 1. 224<sup>b</sup> 34 τὸ φαῖον λευκὸν πρὸς τὸ μέλαν καὶ μέλαν πρὸς τὸ λευκόν and ib. 5. 220<sup>b</sup> 16 ff. The best MSS omit δέ after ὥσπερ, and all the MSS have καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄλυπον οὕτω λύπην instead of καὶ τὸ ἄλυπον οὕτω πρὸς λύπην (see *cr. n.*), but it is impossible to believe that they are right. On the text and other views of this passage see App. V.

6 ἔχει. There is slight MS authority for ἔχοι, which Neukirch (*in Pl. Pol. quaest. phil.* i p. 47) and Richter (*Fleck. Jb.* 1867 p. 147) approve. ἔχει is sound enough: cf. *Prot.* 315 E οὐκ ἂν θαυμάζοιμι, εἰ—τυγχάνει ὧν.

585 A—586 C Consider the question also in this way. Hunger, thirst etc. are modes of physical depletion; and Ignorance is a form of spiritual emptiness. He who partakes of food, and he who acquires Knowledge or Reason, are each 'filled'; but which of them is the more truly 'filled'? Knowledge and its kindred have more reality and truth than Food etc., Soul than Body: hence the acquisition of knowledge is a truer form of replenishment than the other. The resulting Pleasure will therefore be more true. Those who are strangers to wisdom and virtue know

nothing of true delights, but fight with one another for delusive and unsatisfying joys.

585 A 6 ὥδέ γ' οὖν. "In his γε vim acuit vocabuli ὥδε, sed οὖν inservit continuandae argumentationi. Ferri non potest γοῦν, quod ad universam sententiam pertineret, habens illud vim asseverandi cum restrictione quadam" (Stallbaum). Contrast I 335 E, VII 527 D *nn.* Here most of the MSS appear to have γε οὖν.

οὐχὶ πείνα καὶ δίψα κτλ. For the sense cf. *Phil.* 31 E and (in general) VII 519 A, B *nn.* The form πείνα (see *cr. n.*) is supported also by IV 437 D; but πείνη is in itself legitimate and occurs tolerably often in Plato, as Schneider shews.

585 B 8 ἄρ' οὐ κενότης κτλ. Ignorance, as well as hunger, is κενότης (cf. 584 B *n.*); but whereas we are conscious of physical depletion and therefore suffer pain, we are not—speaking generally—conscious of intellectual depletion, so that Ignorance is not, as a rule, painful; and thus the pleasures of Learning—the πλήρωσις of that whereof Ignorance is the κενότης—not being preceded by pain, are pure. This conclusion is worked out in *Phil.* 52 A, B, but not here, where the argument takes a different course. On ἴσχω 'acquire' 'get' see VI 511 D *n.*

14 τὸ δόξης τε ἀληθοῦς κτλ. So in *Phil.* 60 D μνήμην καὶ φρόνησιν καὶ ἐπιστήμην καὶ ἀληθῆ δόξαν τῆς αὐτῆς ἰδέας τιθέμενος: cf. also ib. 19 D, 21 A, B, D. These objects are here conceived of as the τροφή of the soul, cf. *Phaed.* 84 B.

15 ξυλλήβδην αὐτὴν πάσης ἀρετῆς; ὧδε δὲ κρίνει· τὸ τοῦ αἰὶ ὁμοίου ἐχόμενον καὶ ἀθανάτου καὶ ἀληθείας καὶ αὐτὸ τοιοῦτον ὃν καὶ ἐν τοιούτῳ γιγνόμενον μᾶλλον εἶναί σοι δοκεῖ, ἢ τὸ μηδέποτε ὁμοίου καὶ θνητοῦ καὶ αὐτὸ τοιοῦτο καὶ ἐν τοιούτῳ γιγνόμενον; Πολύ,

16. αὐτὸ Ξφ: αὐτὸ ΑΠ.

18. αὐτὸ Π: αὐτὸ Α.

**585 c ff.** 15 ὧδε δὲ κρίνει κτλ. The following sentences are among the most perplexing in the whole of the *Republic*, or indeed in the whole of Plato's writings. That the reading of the MSS is corrupt has been admitted by the majority of critics, and will be proved in App. VI, to which I must refer for a full discussion on the text and interpretation of this difficult passage. Here it is possible only to set down what seems to me, after a review of all the conditions of the problem, the least unsatisfactory solution. The emendation in the text, which I printed in my *Text of the Republic*, has been approved by a critic in *Hermathena* xxiv p. 252. We have to discover whether food, drink etc. participate in pure Being more than true opinion, knowledge etc.; and the answer is arrived at by the following steps. (1) Which *is* more—that which is connected with the ever-like, the immortal and Truth, and which is itself of this nature, and found in something of this nature; or that which is connected with the never-like and mortal, and which is itself of this nature (never-like etc.) and found in something of this nature? That which is connected with the ever-like, says Glauco, *is* more. (2) Then does the Being of the never-like (αἰὲ ἀνόμοιον = μηδέποτε ὁμοίου) participate in Being at all more than the Being of Knowledge does? Certainly not (οὐκ is strictly illative: if it is true that what is connected with the ever-like *is* more than what is connected with the never-like, then the Being of the never-like cannot *be* more than Knowledge is—for Knowledge of course ἔχεται τοῦ αἰὲ ὁμοίου. Knowledge is in short taken as a type of that which ἔχεται τοῦ αἰὲ ὁμοίου). (3) Or has the Being of the never-like more part in Truth than Knowledge has? To this also the answer is no: [for that which is connected with the ever-like—and Knowledge is so—is connected also with Truth: see above τὸ τοῦ αἰὲ ὁμοίου ἐχόμενον—καὶ ἀληθείας]. (4) And if it

has *less* part in truth [as it has], it must also have less part in Being. [This deduces from step (3) the conclusion already implied in (2), and also paves the way for οὐκοῦν ὅλως—μετέχει]. (5) Thus—since what is true of Knowledge is true of *all* the spiritual γένη, [and since food etc. are of course only particular examples of the αἰὲ ἀνόμοιον or never-like], universally (ὅλως) those γένη which are concerned with the care of the body have less part in Being and Truth than those which are concerned with the care of the soul. For a further discussion of this passage and other suggested solutions and emendations see App. VI.

τὸ τοῦ αἰὲ ὁμοίου κτλ. The whole of this passage presupposes, as Grimmelt shews (*de rep. Pl. comp. et univ.* pp. 74 ff.), the metaphysical theory of v—vii. With τοῦ αἰὲ ὁμοίου cf. v 479 A and vi 500 c: with ἀθανάτου vi 485 B (ἐκείνης τῆς οὐσίας τῆς αἰὲ οὐσης): and with καὶ ἀληθείας vi 508 D. The last two words are rejected by Madvig and Baier on the grounds that (1) we should expect an adjective, (2) καὶ ἀληθείας has no antithesis expressed, whereas αἰὲ ὁμοίου and ἀθανάτου have: (3) the words unduly anticipate τὴ δ'; ἀληθείας; below. As I understand the passage, the mention of Truth is necessary—see above—just in view of τὴ δ'; ἀληθείας; and there is little weight in Madvig's first two arguments.

16 καὶ αὐτὸ κτλ. Is καὶ here and in καὶ αὐτὸ again below 'and' (Schneider) or 'both'? The first view is perhaps more likely: for it is more in keeping with the somewhat loose structure of the argument throughout this passage, and καὶ in D below (καὶ αὐτὸ) is most probably 'and.'

16, 18 ἐν τοιούτῳ (bis). The soul is of the nature of τὸ αἰὲ ὁμοίου: see vi 490 B, 508 D, and especially *Phaed.* 79 A ff.: the body on the other hand is never constant, for like everything material πανά-ται ὑπὸ γενέσεως καὶ φθορᾶς (vi 485 B).



ἔφη, διαφέρει τὸ τοῦ αἰὲ ὁμοίου. Ἡ οὖν αἰὲ <ἀν>ομοίου οὐσία οὐσίας τι μᾶλλον ἢ <ή> ἐπιστήμης μετέχει; Οὐδαμῶς. Τί δ'; 20 ἀληθείας; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο. Εἰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἦττον, οὐ καὶ οὐσίας; D' Ἀνάγκη. Οὐκοῦν ὅλως τὰ περὶ τὴν τοῦ σώματος θεραπείαν γένη τῶν γενῶν αὐτῶν περὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς θεραπείαν ἦττον ἀληθείας τε καὶ οὐσίας μετέχει; Πολύ γε. Σῶμα δὲ αὐτὸ ψυχῆς οὐκ οἶε οὕτως; Ἐγωγε. Οὐκοῦν τὸ τῶν μᾶλλον ὄντων πληρούμενον καὶ 25 αὐτὸ μᾶλλον ὄν ὄντως μᾶλλον πληροῦται ἢ τὸ τῶν ἦττον ὄντων καὶ αὐτὸ ἦττον ὄν; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Εἰ ἄρα τὸ πληροῦσθαι τῶν φύσει προσηκόντων ἡδὺ ἐστι, τὸ τῷ ὄντι καὶ τῶν ὄντων πληρού- E μενον μᾶλλον μᾶλλον ὄντως τε καὶ ἀληθεστέως χαίρειν ἂν ποιοῖ ἡδονῇ ἀληθεῖ, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἦττον ὄντων μεταλαμβάνον ἡττόν τε ἂν 30 ἀληθῶς καὶ βεβαίως πληροῖτο καὶ ἀπιστοτέρας ἂν ἡδονῆς καὶ ἦττον ἀληθοῦς μεταλαμβάνοι. Ἀναγκαιότατα, ἔφη. Οἱ ἄρα 586 φρονήσεως καὶ ἀρετῆς ἄπειροι, εὐωχίαις δὲ καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις αἰὲ ξυνόντες, κάτω, ὡς ἔοικεν, καὶ μέχρι πάλιν πρὸς τὸ μεταξὺ φέρονται τε καὶ ταύτῃ πλανῶνται διὰ βίου, ὑπερβάντες δὲ τοῦτο πρὸς τὸ ἀληθῶς ἄνω οὔτε ἀνέβλεψαν πώποτε οὔτε ἡέχθησαν, οὐδὲ τοῦ

19. αἰὲ <ἀν>ομοίου nos: αἰὲ ὁμοίου APΞ: ἡ δὲ τοῦ μηδέποτε ὁμοίου pro ἡ οὖν αἰὲ ἀνομοίου g. In v et Flor. R legitur ἡ οὖν μὴ αἰὲ ὁμοίου κτλ. 20. <ή> nos: om. codd. 24. ψυχῆς II: τῆς ψυχῆς A, sed τῆς puncto notavit A<sup>2</sup>.

19 ἡ οὖν αἰὲ ἀνομοίου κτλ. These words have already been discussed: but it should here be remarked that the insertion of τοῦ before the adjective (Ast, Madvig etc., both here and in μηδέποτε ὁμοίου above) is not necessary. On the connexion between ἐπιστήμη, οὐσία and ἀλήθεια see especially *Theaet.* 186 C, D.

585 D 24 σῶμα—οὕτως; 'And don't you think the same is true of the body itself as compared with the soul?' For the sense cf. *Phaed.* 80 B, and with the genitive ψυχῆς 582 C n. On this sentence Bosanquet remarks: "The only way to master this conception in its true light is to consider body and mind not as two things (*body* and *soul*) on a level or side by side, but, as daily experience really teaches us, under some such point of view as that of part and whole" (*Companion* p. 362). This point of view is suggestive, but it is scarcely that of the *Republic*, in spite of 584 C; and the student will best apprehend Plato's meaning both here and especially in x 608 D ff. if he carry his analysis no further than Plato himself does, and regard soul

and body as two distinct and separate entities.

585 E 29 μᾶλλον μᾶλλον. The first μᾶλλον belongs both to τῷ ὄντι (= ὄντως) and to τῶν ὄντων: the second to ὄντως. After the stage of the argument reached in οὐκοῦν—ἦττον ὄν, it would have been enough to write here τὸ τῷ ὄντι πληρούμενον μᾶλλον μᾶλλον ὄντως—ἀληθεῖ, τὸ δὲ ἦττον ὄντως πληρούμενον ἀπιστοτέρας ἂν—μεταλαμβάνοι. Plato characteristically amplifies his conclusion, even at the risk of obscuring the relation between it and the preceding step.

586 A 2 κάτω κτλ. refers to the illustration in 584 D ff. The meaning of μέχρι πάλιν is 'as far as back again' sc. to the intermediate point: cf. μέχρι δεῦρο, μέχρι ἐνταῦθα, and other instances of the same usage in Stephanus-Hase *Thes.* s.v. μέχρι and Kühner-Blass *Gr. Gr.* II 1 p. 539 f.

3 πλανῶνται. They are like 'wanderers' who have lost the way: cf. the common use of πλανᾶσθαι in the New Testament; e.g. *Pet.* II 2. 15.

τὸ ἀληθῶς ἄνω refers to 584 D: but

- 5 ὄντος τῷ ὄντι ἐπληρώθησαν, οὐδὲ βεβαίου τε καὶ καθαρᾶς ἡδονῆς  
ἐγεύσαντο, ἀλλὰ βοσκημάτων δίκην κάτω αἰεὶ βλέποντες καὶ  
κεκυφότες εἰς γῆν καὶ εἰς τραπέζας βόσκονται χορταζόμενοι καὶ  
ὀχεύοντες, καὶ ἔνεκα ἰ τῆς τούτων πλεονεξίας λακτίζοντες καὶ B  
κυρίττοντες ἀλλήλους σιδηροῖς κέρασί τε καὶ ὀπλαῖς ἀποκτινύουσι  
10 δι' ἀπληστίαν, ἅτε οὐχὶ τοῖς οὖσιν οὐδὲ τὸ ὄν οὐδὲ τὸ στέγον ἑαυτῶν  
πιμπλάντες. Παντελῶς, ἔφη ὁ Γλαῦκων, τὸν τῶν πολλῶν, ὃ  
Σώκρατες, χρησμοδεῖς βίον. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐκ ἀνάγκη καὶ ἡδοναῖς  
ξυνεῖναι μεμιγμέναις λύπαις, εἰδώλοισι τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἡδονῆς καὶ  
ἐσκιαγραφημέναις, ὑπὸ τῆς παρ' ἀλλήλας θέσεως ἀποχραινομέναις,  
15 ὥστε σφοδρὸν ἐκατέρας φαίνεσθαι καὶ ἔρωτας ἑαυτῶν λυττῶντας C  
τοῖς ἄφροσιν ἐντίκτειν καὶ περιμαχῆτους εἶναι, ὥσπερ τὸ τῆς  
Ἑλένης εἰδῶλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ Σησίχορος φησι γενέσθαι

the words are intended also to suggest the deeper Platonic use of 'the true Above,' where Truth and Purity dwell: see *Phaed.* 109 B ff., with VII 514 A n.

6 βοσκημάτων δίκην κτλ. Cf. *Tim.* 91 E (the heads etc. of brute beasts are εἰς γῆν ἐλκόμενα in sympathy with their earthly souls) and VII 519 A, B nn. With κεκυφότες εἰς τραπέζας cf. the description of Syracusan gluttony in the seventh Platonic Epistle 326 B ff. χορταζόμενοι (cf. II 372 D) and ὀχεύοντες are properly used of brute beasts, and therefore suitable after βοσκημάτων δίκην. ἔνεκα τῆς τούτων πλεονεξίας is equivalent to ὥστε τούτων πλεόν (sc. than others) ἔχειν.

586 B 9 σιδηροῖς κτλ. The epithet is significant and should be pronounced with emphasis. The horns and hoofs wherewith these human βοσκήματα 'kick and butt' are lethal weapons made of iron. Van Leeuwen's conjecture σκληροῖς for σιδηροῖς (*Mnem.* N. S. xxv Pt 4) only emasculates a fine comparison. J. and C. aptly cite in illustration Aesch. *Ag.* 1115 ff. ὀπλαῖς may be said "with a glance at *ὀπλοῖς*" (J. and C.). War springs from the insatiate desires of the flesh (II 373 E n.): hence δι' ἀπληστίαν.

10 ἅτε οὐχὶ—πιμπλάντες explains ἀπληστίαν. They cannot be 'filled' because that part of themselves which they fill is not the real, not the continent part, and that wherewith they fill it is not the real either. Bosanquet aptly compares "Whoso drinketh of this water shall thirst again." In οὐδὲ τὸ στέγον Plato doubtless has in mind the story of the Danaids, in

which the *πίθος* τετρημένος was interpreted by certain 'wise men'—probably preachers of the Orphic-Pythagorean way of life: cf. App. IV—as the bottomless or incontinent part of soul: see *Gorg.* 493 A ff., especially the words τῶν δ' αἰμνήτων τούτου τῆς ψυχῆς, οὐ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι εἰσὶ, τὸ ἀκόλαστον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ στεγανόν, ὡς τετρημένος εἶη *πίθος*, διὰ τὴν ἀπληστίαν ἀπεικάσας together with Rohde *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> I pp. 326—329. Schneider makes a curious error when he says "τὸ στέγον hic corpus quasi vas animi significare videtur."

12 χρησμοδεῖς refers to the half-oracular style of Socrates' description: compare for instance σιδηροῖς κέρασί τε καὶ ὀπλαῖς with the famous *ξύλινον τεῖχος* in the oracle to the Athenians (*Hdt.* VII 141—144: see also id. I 55 al. for more examples).

14 ἐσκιαγραφημέναις κτλ. See on 583 B. The words ὑπὸ τῆς—ἀποχραινομέναις mean 'taking their colour from juxtaposition.' The word ἀποχραινεῖν had also a more technical sense (τὸ τὰ χρωσθέντα ἐνοποιεῖν *Tim. lex. Pl.* s.v. *χραίνειν*), to which Plato alludes in *Laws* 769 A.

586 C 16 ὥσπερ κτλ. The many σκίμαχοῦσι (VII 520 C) like the Trojans fighting for Helen's shadow in the fields of Troy.

17 Σησίχορος κτλ. See *Phaedr.* 243 A and Bergk *Poet. Lyr. Gr.*<sup>4</sup> III pp. 214 ff. There is no real ground for supposing (with Teichmüller *Lit. Fehd.* I pp. 113 ff.) that Plato intends an allusion to Isocrates' *Helena*, in spite of *περιμάχτος*

περιμάχῃτον ἀγνοία τοῦ ἀληθοῦς; Πολλή ἀνάγκη, ἔφη, τοιοῦτον τι αὐτὸ εἶναι.

XI. Τί δέ; περὶ τὸ θυμοειδὲς οὐχ ἕτερα τοιαῦτα ἀνάγκη 20  
γίγνεσθαι, ὅς ἂν αὐτὸ τοῦτο διαπράττηται, ἢ φθόνῳ διὰ φιλοτιμίαν  
D ἢ βία διὰ φιλονικίαν ἢ θυμῷ διὰ δυσκολίαν, πλησμονὴν τιμῆς | τε  
καὶ νίκης καὶ θυμοῦ διώκων ἄνεν λογισμοῦ τε καὶ νοῦ; Τοιαῦτα, ἢ  
δ' ὅς, ἀνάγκη καὶ περὶ τοῦτο εἶναι. Τί οὖν; ἦν δ' ἐγώ· θαρροῦντες  
λέγωμεν, ὅτι καὶ περὶ τὸ φιλοκερδὲς καὶ τὸ φιλόνικον ὅσαι ἐπιθυμίαι 25  
εἰσὶν, αἱ μὲν ἂν τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ καὶ λόγῳ ἐπόμεναι καὶ μετὰ τούτων

21. ἂν A<sup>2</sup>Π: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

διαπράττηται A<sup>2</sup>Π: διαπράττεται ut videtur A<sup>1</sup>.

25. λέγωμεν A<sup>1</sup>Π: λέγομεν A<sup>2</sup>.

in *Hel.* 40 and the reference to Stesichorus ib. 64. Instead of τοῦ ἀληθοῦς Floyer Sydenham conjectured τῆς ἀληθοῦς (see *Cl. Rev.* II p. 229). It is more like Plato's suggestiveness to say 'the truth' than 'the true Helen,' which would moreover (as Lupton points out l.c.) rather be τῆς ἀληθινῆς.

586 C—588 A *The pleasures of anger, unless pursued in conformity with reason, are similarly unreal. We may even venture to say that it is only when obedient to knowledge that the desires of the two lower parts of soul can attain those pleasures which are in the highest sense their own and true—so far as it is possible for them to have true pleasures at all. Now the tyrannical desires are farthest from reason, so that the tyrant has least pleasure. By an elaborate calculation it is shown that the king lives seven-hundred and twenty-nine times more pleasantly than the tyrant; and if the just man so far surpasses the unjust in respect of pleasure, how much greater will be his transcendence in beauty and virtue!*

586 C 20 ἕτερα τοιαῦτα κτλ. The satisfaction of τὸ θυμοειδὲς is also no true pleasure, but only λύπης ἀπαλλαγὴ. See *Phil.* 47 E. αὐτὸ τοῦτο means τὸ τοῦ θυμοειδὲς. The verb διαπράττηται is used as in IV 440 D οὐ λήγει τῶν γενναίων, πρὶν ἂν ἡ διαπράξῃται ἢ κτλ. φιλοτιμίαν, φιλονικίαν and δυσκολίαν ('ill temper' cf. III 411 C) are particular forms of the principle which Plato calls τὸ θυμοειδὲς. Each of them is a κενότης and painful. The κενότης is filled, as the case may be, by τιμή, νίκη, or θυμός (indulgence in anger): hence πλησμονὴν τιμῆς κτλ. On the spelling φιλονικίαν, which the

present passage, like others in Plato, clearly points to, see 581 B n.

586 D 23 ἄνεν λογισμοῦ τε καὶ νοῦ is emphatic, and prepares us for θαρροῦντες λέγωμεν κτλ., where Plato concedes after all a certain measure of reality and truth to the pleasures of the two lower parts of soul, provided they act in obedience to reason. That the φιλοκερδὲς should in any degree whatsoever participate in true pleasure, has been judged inconsistent with the previous argument (Krohn *Pl. St.* pp. 227 ff.), but is not so, if we fully appreciate the restrictions which Plato makes (cf. Grimmelt *de reip. comp. et unit.* p. 76), and also remember that in the perfect city, which is the counterpart of the perfect soul, the lower orders found their truest pleasure in working for the common welfare under reason as embodied in the Guardians. The gist of the present passage is well expressed by Nettleship, who in his *Lectures and Remains* II p. 331 remarks "that in the most trivial satisfaction there may be a sense of serving something wider and higher than animal appetite: that this gives to the satisfaction of appetite a permanence and a satisfactoriness which by itself it cannot have." Appetite, in short, behaves like a loyal citizen of the πολιτεία ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ. Cf. IV 443 D, E.

26 αἱ μὲν κτλ. The antithesis is supplied in a different form by ὅταν δὲ κτλ. 587 A. Instead of ἐπομένων in line 29 Stephanus read ἐπόμεναι, without MS authority: but cf. (with Schneider) ὡς ἀμεινον ὃν παντὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ φρονίμου ἀρχεσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν οἰκεῖον ἔχοντος ἐν αὐτῷ κτλ. 590 D. See note ad loc.



τὰς ἡδονὰς διώκονται, ὥς ἂν τὸ φρόνιμον ἐξηγήται, λαμβάνωσι,  
 τὰς ἀληθεστάτας τε λήψονται, ὥς οἶόν τε αὐταῖς ἀληθεῖς λαβεῖν,  
 ἅτε ἀληθεία ἐπομένων, καὶ τὰς ἑαυτῶν οἰκείας, <sup>1</sup> εἴπερ τὸ βέλτιστον **E**  
<sup>30</sup> ἐκάστω, τοῦτο καὶ οἰκειότατον; Ἀλλὰ μὲν, ἔφη, οἰκειότατόν γε.  
 Τῷ φιλοσόφῳ ἄρα ἐπομένης ἀπάσης τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ μὴ στασια-  
 ζούσης ἐκάστω τῷ μέρει ὑπάρχει εἷς τε τᾶλλα τὰ ἑαυτοῦ πράττειν  
 καὶ δικαίῳ εἶναι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τὰς ἡδονὰς τὰς ἑαυτοῦ ἕκαστον καὶ  
 τὰς βελτίστας καὶ εἰς τὸ δυνατόν | τὰς ἀληθεστάτας καρποῦσθαι. **587**  
 Κομιδῇ μὲν οὖν. Ὅταν δὲ ἄρα τῶν ἐτέρων τι κρατήσῃ, ὑπάρχει  
 αὐτῷ μήτε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἡδονὴν ἐξευρίσκειν τά τε ἄλλ' ἀναγκάζειν  
 ἀλλοτρίαν καὶ μὴ ἀληθῆ ἡδονὴν διώκειν. Οὕτως, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν ἂ  
<sup>5</sup> πλείστον φιλοσοφίας τε καὶ λόγου ἀφέστηκεν, μάλιστ' ἂν τοιαῦτα  
 ἐξεργάζοιτο; Πολύ γε. Πλείστον δὲ λόγου ἀφίσταται οὐχ ὅπερ  
 νόμου τε καὶ τάξεως; Δήλον δὴ. Ἐφάνησαν δὲ πλείστον <sup>1</sup> ἀφεσ- **B**  
 τῶσαι οὐχ αἱ ἐρωτικά τε καὶ τυραννικαὶ ἐπιθυμίαι; Πολύ γε.  
 Ἐλάχιστον δὲ αἱ βασιλικαὶ τε καὶ κόσμιοι; Ναί. Πλείστον δὴ,  
<sup>10</sup> οἶμαι, ἀληθοῦς ἡδονῆς καὶ οἰκείας ὁ τύραννος ἀφεστήξει, ὁ δὲ  
 ὀλίγιστον. Ἀνάγκη. Καὶ ἀηδέστατα ἄρα, εἶπον, ὁ τύραννος  
 βιώσεται, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἡδιστα. Πολλὴ ἀνάγκη. Οἶσθ' οὖν, ἦν  
 δ' ἐγώ, ὅσῳ ἀηδέστερον ζῇ τύραννος βασιλέως; Ἄν εἴπῃς, ἔφη.

27. ἐξηγήται A<sup>2</sup>Π: ἐξηγείται A<sup>1</sup>.

λαμβάνωσι A<sup>1</sup>Π: λαμβάνουσι A<sup>2</sup>.

**586 E 29 τὸ βέλτιστον—οἰκειότα-**  
**τον.** Cf. Arist. *Eth. Nic.* x chapter 7  
 ad finem ὁδῶει δ' ἂν καὶ εἶναι ἕκαστος  
 τοῦτο (sc. τὸ κράτιστον τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ), εἴπερ  
 τὸ κύριον καὶ ἁμεινον κτλ. The whole of  
 the latter portion of that famous chapter,  
 in which Aristotle comes nearer to the  
 spirit of Plato than anywhere else through-  
 out his writings, might be summed up in  
 the pregnant saying τὸ βέλτιστον ἐκάστω,  
 τοῦτο καὶ οἰκειότατον—a saying which  
 reaches to the very foundations of Plato's  
 philosophy: for if that which is best for  
 each thing, is also most its own—most  
 truly akin to it, part of its very being,—it  
 follows that each thing truly is just in  
 proportion as it is good. In other words  
 the cause of all existence is the Good;  
 see on VI 505 D, 509 B.

**31 τῷ φιλοσόφῳ κτλ.** τῷ φιλοσόφῳ  
 is of course neuter, and not masculine.  
 With μὴ στασιαζούσης κτλ. cf. IV 441 D—  
 444 A. Soul attains its true unity (so far  
 as is possible in this life: see on x 611 B)  
 when the two lower 'parts' obey the

highest; only then does a man become  
 εἷς ἐκ πολλῶν (IV 443 E n.). δικαίῳ εἶναι:  
 i.e. according to the definition of Justice  
 in Book IV l.c.

**587 A 3 μήτε—ἀναγκάζειν κτλ.:** as  
 in the eloquent picture of the λογιστικόν  
 and the θυμοειδές, seeking for pleasures to  
 lay at the feet of the φιλοχρήματον VIII  
 553 C, D. Cf. also infra 590 B. For  
 μήτε—τε see IV 430 B n.

**587 B 10 ὁ δέ:** viz. ὁ βασιλεὺς. It  
 is unnecessary to insert βασιλεὺς in the  
 text, as Baiter wishes to do: cf. I 349 D n.

**13 ὅσῳ ἀηδέστερον κτλ.** Plato loved  
 to play with mathematics, and in the  
 following passage he endeavours to give  
 an arithmetical expression to the plea-  
 sures of justice and injustice. His motive  
 in introducing this "hedonistic calculus,"  
 as Bosanquet calls it, has been much dis-  
 cussed. The following considerations  
 deserve attention. (1) On artistic grounds,  
 now that the argument has been con-  
 cluded, it is not inappropriate that Jus-  
 tice and Injustice, represented by the

Τριῶν ἡδονῶν, ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐσῶν, μιᾶς μὲν γνησίας, δυοῖν δὲ νόθαιν,  
 C τῶν νόθων εἰς τὸ ἐπέκεινα ἵπερβας ὁ τύραννος, φυγῶν νόμον τε 15  
 καὶ λόγον, δούλαις τισὶ δορυφόροις ἡδοναῖς ξυνοικεῖ, καὶ ὁπόσῳ  
 ἐλαττοῦται οὐδὲ πᾶν ῥάδιον εἰπεῖν, πλὴν ἴσως ὧδε. Πῶς; ἔφη.  
 Ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀλιγαρχικοῦ τρίτος πού ὁ τύραννος ἀφειστήκει· ἐν μέσῳ  
 γὰρ αὐτῶν ὁ δημοτικὸς ἦν. Ναί. Οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡδονῆς τρίτῳ εἰδῶλῳ  
 πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ἀπ' ἐκείνου ξυνοικοῖ ἄν, εἰ τὰ πρόσθεν ἀληθῆ; 20  
 D Οὕτω. Ὁ δέ γε ὀλιγαρχικὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ αὖ τρίτος, ἂν  
 εἰς ταῦτόν ἀριστοκρατικὸν καὶ βασιλικὸν τιθῶμεν. Τρίτος γάρ.

14. νόθαιν II: νόθων A<sup>1</sup>: νόθων A<sup>2</sup>.  
 corr. A<sup>2</sup>.

19. δημοτικὸς A<sup>1</sup> II: δημοκρατικὸς

King and the Tyrant, should as it were be weighed in the balance. The importance of ἀριθμεῖν, μετρεῖν, ἰστάναι is constantly present to Plato's mind. See on x 602 D. (2) The Pythagoreans were in the habit of expressing virtues and other immaterial ideas in terms of numbers (see Zeller<sup>6</sup> i pp. 389 ff.), and there is reason to suppose that the number 729 played a part in a Pythagorean calendar (588 A n.). Some of the terms employed by Plato, such as *τρίτῳ αὖξῃ*, are also in all probability of Pythagorean origin. See App. I to Book VIII pp. 279 ff. (3) The arithmetical method of calculation enables Plato to set forth in a very striking and dramatic way his own dissent from the popular estimate of the tyrant's happiness (Schneider). (4) When all is said we must allow that some of the steps are arbitrary, and that Plato's main object is to reach the significant number 729, so as to indicate that the king has more pleasure than the tyrant every day and every night of his life. There is of course an element of playfulness in the episode, and we need not suppose that Plato set any particular store by his calculations: but neither ought we on the other hand to dismiss the whole reckoning as a meaningless and foolish jest. See also on VIII 545 C.

14. *τριῶν ἡδονῶν κτλ.* The three pleasures are those of the king, the timocrat, and the oligarch. The first variety is genuine, the second and third spurious: but the tyrant has 'crossed the line into the region beyond the spurious,' i.e. his pleasures represent a still lower depth (see 571 B ff.), being in fact only *εἰδῶλα* twice removed of the oligarch's

spurious pleasures (587 C). Schleiermacher made τῶν νόθων depend participatively on τὸ ἐπέκεινα ("so ist der Tyrann auf die jenseitige der unächtlichen hinübergestiegen"). This view is linguistically defensible (c. *Phaed.* 112 B), and even attractive at first sight; but τῶν νόθων must be interpreted by δυοῖν νόθαιν, and δυοῖν νόθαιν certainly does not include the tyrant's species of pleasure. The feminine dual ending -ων (instead of the commoner -ου) is "magis elatioris quam vulgaris sermonis" (Roepke *de dual. us.* Pl. p. 6). Cf. IV 422 E n.

587 C 16 *δορυφόροις ἡδοναῖς.* These are described in 573 D ff.

17 *οὐδὲ* should not be taken with *εἰπεῖν*. The hyperbaton is too difficult, and the meaning ("not even to express it" J. and C.) weak. We should translate 'and it isn't very easy, either, to say' etc., taking *οὐδέ* as 'also not,' a usage illustrated by Riddell *Digest* § 141. See on *οὐδὲ θαμίζεις κτλ.* I 328 C.

18 ὁ τύραννος. We might expect ὁ τυραννικός, but throughout the whole of this comparison Plato is content to take the tyrant—who is, we remember, *τυραννικώτατος* 575 D—as the type of the tyrannical, and the king as the type of the kingly or aristocratic man. See above on 587 B and also below 587 E n.

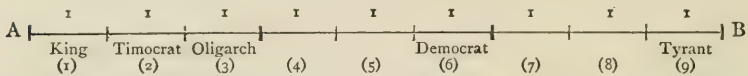
19 *οὐκοῦν καὶ ἡδονῆς κτλ.* If the tyrant is third from the oligarch, his pleasure will also be, in respect of truth, third from the oligarch's, i.e. will be an image of an image (*τρίτῳ εἰδῶλῳ* cf. x 597 E and 599 A, D) of the oligarch's pleasure.

587 D 21 *ἐὰν εἰς ταῦτόν κτλ.* See on IV 445 D.

Τριπλασίον ἄρα, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, τριπλάσιον ἀριθμῷ ἀληθοῦς ἡδονῆς ἀφέστηκεν τύραννος. Φαίνεται. Ἐπίπεδον ἄρ', ἔφην, ὡς ἔοικεν, 25 τὸ εἶδωλον κατὰ τὸν τοῦ μήκους ἀριθμὸν ἡδονῆς τυραννικῆς ἂν εἴη. Κομιδῇ γε. Κατὰ δὲ δύναμιν καὶ τρίτην αὐξήν δῆλον δὴ ἀπόστασιν

23 τριπλασίον ἄρα κτλ. The distance of the tyrant from true pleasure is measured first ἀριθμῷ, i.e. "numero seu secundum longitudinem, numerus enim omnis quatenus monadibus constat, lineae instar habendus" (Schneider III p. LXXXV. See also for ἀριθμῷ VII 526 c n. and cf. the expression γραμμικὸς ἀριθμὸς in

vites us to raise to the second power not 3, but 9—the number which we are presently expected to raise to the *third* power. The inferential ἄρα seems to me in favour of the Scholiast's view, as well as κατὰ τὸν τοῦ μήκους ἀριθμὸν (cf. κατὰ τὸ μήκος in Theo p. 31 al.), an expression which corresponds to ἀριθμῷ in the pre-



Nicom. *Introd. Ar.* p. 117 Ast. Relatively to themselves, we reckoned the oligarch, democrat, and tyrant, as 1, 2, 3; but we have since found that the distance of the oligarch from true pleasure is in reality 3 times 1: hence that of the tyrant must be 3 times 3, as in the line AB. We should doubtless regard the intervening numbers (4, 5, and 7, 8) as indicating different stages in the gradual degeneration of the oligarch into the democrat (559 D ff.) and the democrat into the tyrant or tyrannical man (572 D ff.). It might seem more natural to make the distance of the tyrant from true pleasure 5 and not 9 (King 1, Timocrat 2, Oligarch 3, Democrat 4, Tyrant 5); but (as Schneider reminds us) the pleasures of the Democrat and Tyrant lie *beyond* the two spurious pleasures, so that the modulus of progression may reasonably be increased. Plato's chief object is however to reach the number 729, and he could not do so except by making a fresh departure with the oligarch.

24 ἐπίπεδον ἄρα κτλ. The number 9 is ἐπίπεδος, because  $= 3 \times 3$ : εἰσὶ δὲ τῶν ἀριθμῶν οἱ μὲν ἐπίπεδοι, ὅσοι ἐπὶ δύο ἀριθμῶν πολλαπλασιάζονται, ὅδον μήκους καὶ πλάτους· τούτων δὲ οἱ μὲν τρίγωνοι, οἱ δὲ τετράγωνοι κτλ. (Theo. Smyrn. p. 31 Hiller. Cf. Gow *Gk Math.* p. 69 and Müller in *Hermes* 1870 p. 394 n. 1). This explanation, which so far agrees with that of the Scholiast, is adopted by the English translators and editors; but Schneider (l.c. and on p. 313 of his translation) holds that ἐπίπεδον κτλ. in-

vicious sentence while at the same time preparing us for κατὰ δὲ δύναμιν καὶ τρίτην αὐξήν in the next. The whole sentence is, I believe, only a way of saying that, if the tyrant is  $3 \times 3$  degrees distant from true pleasure, his εἶδωλον of pleasure may be represented by 9. The use of the mathematical term ἐπίπεδον has a playful effect, both in itself and also because it sounds wilful and eccentric to express a number of *ὀπὲ* 'increase' (τὸν τοῦ μήκους ἀριθμὸν) in terms of two. δύναμις = δευτέρα αὐξή: cf. *Tim* 54 B and Cantor *Gesch. d. Mathem.* p. 178. The first increase (viz. of the unit or point) was ὁ τοῦ μήκους ἀριθμὸς, i.e. in this case  $(1 \times 9) = 9$ : by the second-and-third increases (on the same scale) we obtain  $9 \times 9$  (second increase or δύναμις)  $\times 9$  (third increase or τρίτη αὐξή)  $= 729$ . See App. I to Book VIII p. 279. Schneider's erroneous idea that the squaring of 9 has already been alluded to in ἐπίπεδον—*εἴη* leads him to take δύναμιν as merely 'power' and τρίτην αὐξήν as "per exepagesin ad δύναμιν additum." What motive induced Plato to cube the distance? Was it something purely fanciful, e.g. "in order to gauge the *depth* of the tyrant's misery" (J. and C.), or because the king and the tyrant are themselves solid creatures (cf. Arist. Quint. *de Mus.* III p. 89. 35 Jahn)? I think not. He probably intended to suggest that "the degradation proceeds by increasingly wide intervals" (Bosanquet), but the actual calculations are inspired by a desire to reach the total 729. See on 588 A.



ὄσῃν ἀφεστηκὼς γίγνεται. Δῆλον, ἔφη, τῷ γε λογιστικῷ. Οὐκοῦν  
 Ε εἰάν τις μεταστρέψας ἀληθείαν ἡδονῆς τὸν<sup>1</sup> βασιλέα τοῦ τυράννου  
 ἀφεστηκότα λέγῃ ὅσον ἀφέστηκεν, ἐννεακαίκοσικαιεπτακοσιο-  
 πλασιάκις ἡδίων αὐτὸν ζῶντα εὐρήσει τελειωθείσῃ τῇ πολλαπλα- 30  
 σιώσει, τὸν δὲ τύραννον ἀνιαιρότερον τῇ αὐτῇ ταύτῃ ἀποστάσει.  
 Ἀμύχανον, ἔφη, λογισμὸν καταπεφόρηκας τῆς διαφορότητος τοῦν  
 588 ἀνδρῶν, τοῦ τε δικαίου καὶ | τοῦ ἀδίκου, πρὸς ἡδονήν τε καὶ λύπην.  
 Καὶ μέντοι καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ προσήκοντά γε, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, βίοις ἀριθμὸν,  
 εἵπερ αὐτοῖς προσήκουσιν ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες καὶ μῆνες καὶ ἐνιαυτοί.  
 Ἀλλὰ μὴν, ἔφη, προσήκουσιν. Οὐκοῦν εἰ τοσοῦτον ἡδονῇ νικᾷ  
 ὁ ἀγαθὸς τε καὶ δίκαιος τὸν κακὸν τε καὶ ἄδικον, ἀμύχάνῳ δὲ 5

28 μεταστρέψας: 'conversely' ("umgekehrt" Schneider).

587 Ε 32 ἀμύχανον κτλ. I do not think there can be any doubt that Schneider is right in retaining καταπεφόρηκας, which is found in all the best and also in a majority of the inferior MSS. The word has reference to the gigantic and tempestuous numeral ἐννεακαίκοσικαιεπτακοσιοπλασιάκις, which Socrates has by a mighty effort of expiration—γῆγενεῖ φυνήματι—hurled down upon his hearers' heads. Cf. generally *Theaet.* 180 A and *Ar. Frogs* 822—825. καταφορεῖν "contentionem vocis ad praelongum vocabulum numeri a Socrate prolati adhibendam significare potest; nec multum ab hoc abludit illa καταφορά, quam oratoribus esse inter accusandum longiorem spiritus productionem ex Hermogene refert vetus lexicon apud Stephanum *Thes.* T. 1111 p. 109 c" (Schneider). See Stephanus-Hase *Thes.* s.v., and also on καταφορικός, where the words ἀδιόριστον τέθεικε τὸν ἀντιλέγοντα, ἵνα μετὰ ἀδικίας καταφορικῶ χρώμενος λόγῳ σφόδρα πλήξῃ τοὺς ἀκούοντας are quoted from Chrysost. x p. 386 C. The reading καταπεφόρηκας is much less dramatic and appropriate, and has very little MS authority (Σ<sup>2</sup>, v and two other MSS, in one of which it is only a correction).

33 τοῦ τε δικαίου—ἀδίκου. These words might have been dispensed with, and accordingly Herwerden brackets them. But the point at issue, as originally raised in Book II, was the relation between Justice and Injustice, not the relation between the King and the Tyrant: and before giving his final answer, Plato does well to remind us that

the King and the Tyrant are only types of Justice and Injustice. Cf. ὁ ἀγαθὸς—ἄδικον just below.

588 A 2 προσήκοντά γε κτλ. 729 is twice 364½, and Philolaus counted 364½ days, and presumably therefore 364½ nights in the year (*Censor. de die nat.* 19). This explains ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες. It is not so obvious in what way the number 729 is related to months. On this subject J. and C. remark "12 months in a year: 30 + ½ days in a month: 12 × (30 + ½) = 364: 2 × 364½ = 729." I can see no point in such a calculation. Susemihl on the other hand reminds us that Philolaus believed in a so-called great year of 729 months, and as Plato is following Philolaus in ἡμέραι καὶ νύκτες, we may reasonably suppose that he does so in the rest of the passage, so that καὶ μῆνες will be a reference to Philolaus' great year. See *Sus. Gen. Entw.* II p. 244 n. 3, and on the subject of Philolaus' year of 729 months Zeller<sup>6</sup> I p. 428 n. 3. I have as yet found no evidence for supposing that Philolaus went a step farther and postulated a yet greater year of 729 ordinary years, but the words καὶ ἐνιαυτοί in Plato make it probable that he did so. On this supposition the full explanation of προσήκοντα—ἐνιαυτοί will be

729 days and nights = 1 year.

729 months = 1 great year.

729 years = 1 greatest year.

The general upshot is that the king is happier than the tyrant every day and every night of his life, rather than (as Bosanquet suggests) that "one day of the good life is worth a year of the bad"; "a day in thy courts is better than a thousand."

ὅσω πλέον νικήσει εὐσχημοσύνη τε βίου καὶ κάλλει καὶ ἀρετῇ;  
'Αμυχάνω μέντοι νῆ Δία, ἔφη.

XII. Εἶεν δὴ, εἶπον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐνταῦθα λόγου<sup>1</sup> γεγόναμεν, ἀνα- B  
λάβωμεν τὰ πρῶτα λεχθέντα, δι' ἃ δεῦρ' ἤκομεν. ἦν δέ που  
10 λεγόμενον λυσιτελεῖν ἀδικεῖν τῷ τελέως μὲν ἀδίκῳ, δοξαζομένῳ  
δὲ δίκαιῳ. ἥ οὐχ οὕτως ἐλέχθη; Οὕτω μὲν οὖν. Νῦν δὴ, ἔφη,  
αὐτῇ διαλεγώμεθα, ἐπεὶ δὲ διωμολογησάμεθα τό τε ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὸ  
δίκαια πράττειν ἢν ἐκάτερον ἔχει δύναμιν. Πῶς; ἔφη. Εἰκόνα  
πλάσαντες τῆς ψυχῆς λόγῳ, ἵνα εἰδῇ ὁ ἐκεῖνα λέγων, οἷα ἔλεγεν.

6. πλέον nos (cf. Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> p. 152): πλείονι A<sup>1</sup>: πλέονι q: πλείον A<sup>2</sup>ΠΞ.  
12. τό τε A<sup>2</sup>Π: τε A<sup>1</sup>.

6 πλέον. See *cr. n.* πλέον and not πλείον is the classical form, though both πλείονι and πλείονι were admissible (Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> p. 152). The diphthong ει (in A<sup>2</sup> Π etc.) may therefore be held to favour the reading πλείονι, which I formerly adopted; but the dative is undeniably awkward, and it is better to acquiesce in πλέον: cf. τοσοῦτον ἥδονῃ νικᾷ above.

588 A—589 B We are now in a position to refute the thesis that Injustice combined with a reputation for Justice is profitable for him who is unjust. The soul may be likened to a composite creature—part bestial, part leonine, part human,—wearing the outward semblance of humanity. He who maintains that Injustice profits a man, holds that it is profitable to starve the human element and make strong the rest, and encourage strife and sedition within the soul. The advocate of Justice on the other hand asserts that the human element should have the mastery and bring the others into harmony with one another and itself.

588 B 9 ἦν δέ που λεγόμενον. The reference is to II 361 A ff. For αὐτῷ C. Schmidt conjectured αὐ οὕτω, which I too hastily adopted in my edition of the text. Glauco and Adimantus are careful in Book II to disclaim the views which they expound; and after ἦν δέ που λεγόμενον it is easy to refer αὐτῷ to the hypothetical person (not necessarily Thrasy-machus in particular: see II 358 C and 367 A) for whom they speak: cf. ὁ ἐκεῖνα λέγων presently and ὁ περὶ τοῦ τοιοῦτου λόγου λέγων (II 360 D), as well as φήσκει λογιζόμενος (ib. 366 A). See also on 590 A.

13 εἰκόνα πλάσαντες κτλ. Cf. *Tim.* 69 D—70 E and the picture of the soul

in *Phaedr.* 246 A, 253 D ff. We are told by Clement (*Strom.* II 20. 1058 C Migne) that Basilides compared man to a wooden horse, peopled by a host of different spirits. The underlying idea of Plato's similitude is that man is a compound of the mortal and the immortal, standing midway between corruptibility and incorruptibility: θνητῆς καὶ ἀθανάτου φύσεως μεθόριον (*Philo de mund. opif.* 46). In the noble lines of George Herbert:

"To this life things of sense  
Make their pretence:  
In th' other Angels have a right by birth:  
Man ties them both alone,  
And makes them one,  
With th' one hand touching heav'n, with  
th' other earth.  
In soul he mounts and flies,  
In flesh he dies.  
He wears a stuffe whose thread is coarse  
and round,  
But trimm'd with curious lace,  
And should take place  
After the trimming, not the stuffe and  
ground."

Nettleship (*Lect. and Rem.* II p. 333) justly observes "that it was no mere figure of speech with Plato to represent these psychical tendencies in man as animals, for he clearly believed that there was continuity between the different forms in which life appears; that somehow or other souls rose and fell in the scale of being according as they behaved in each form in which they were embodied; and that there was a real identity between certain elements in man's soul and certain elements in other organic creatures." See x 618 B ff., *Phaed.* 81 E ff.

- C Ποίαν τινά; ἢ δ' ἴδς. Τῶν τοιούτων τινά, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οἶαι μυθο- 15  
 λογοῦνται παλαιαὶ γενέσθαι φύσεις, ἢ τε Χιμαίρας καὶ ἡ Σκύλλης  
 καὶ Κερβέρου, καὶ ἄλλαι τινὲς συχραὶ λέγονται ξυμπεφυκυῖαι  
 ἰδέαι πολλαὶ εἰς ἓν γενέσθαι. Λέγονται γάρ, ἔφη. Πλάττε  
 τοῖνυν μίαν μὲν ἰδίαν θηρίου ποικίλου καὶ πολυκεφάλου, ἡμέρων  
 δὲ θηρίων ἔχοντος κεφαλὰς κύκλῳ καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ δυνατοῦ μετα- 20  
 βάλλειν καὶ φύειν ἐξ αὐτοῦ πάντα ταῦτα. Δεινοῦ πλάστου, ἔφη,  
 D τὸ ἔργον· ὅμως εἰ, ἐπειδὴ εὐπλαστότερον κηροῦ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων  
 λόγους, πεπλάσθω. Μίαν δὴ τοῖνυν ἄλλην ἰδίαν λέοντος, μίαν δὲ  
 ἀνθρώπου· πολὺν δὲ μέγιστον ἔστω τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δεύτερον τὸ  
 δεύτερον. Ταῦτα, ἔφη, ῥά· καὶ πέπλασται. Σύναπτε τοῖνυν 25  
 αὐτὰ εἰς ἓν τρία ὄντα, ὥστε πῃ ξυμπεφυκῆναι ἀλλήλοις. Συνῆπται,  
 ἔφη. Περίπλασον δὴ αὐτοῖς ἔξωθεν ἐνὸς εἰκόνα, τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώ-  
 E που, ὥστε τῷ μὴ δυναμένῳ τὰ ἐντὸς ὁρᾶν, ἀλλὰ ἰ τὸ ἔξω μόνον  
 ἔλντρον ὁρῶντι ἐν ζῶον φαίνεσθαι, ἀνθρώπου. Περιπέπλασται,  
 ἔφη. Λέγωμεν δὴ τῷ λέγοντι, ὡς λυσιτελεῖ τοῖτῳ ἀδικεῖν τῷ 30  
 ἀνθρώπῳ, δίκαια δὲ πράττειν οὐ ξυμφέρει, ὅτι οὐδὲν ἄλλο φησὶν  
 ἢ λυσιτελεῖν αὐτῷ τὸ παντοδαπὸν θηρίον εὐωχοῦντι ποιεῖν ἰσχυρὸν  
 καὶ τὸν λέοντα καὶ τὰ περὶ τὸν λέοντα, τὸν δὲ ἀνθρώπου λιμο-  
 589 κτονεῖν | καὶ ποιεῖν ἀσθενῆ, ὥστε ἔλκεσθαι ὅπῃ ἂν ἐκείνων ὀπότερον  
 ἄγῃ, καὶ μηδὲν ἕτερον ἐτέρῳ ξυνεθίζειν μηδὲ φίλον ποιεῖν, ἀλλ'  
 εἶαν αὐτὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς δάκνεσθαι τε καὶ μαχόμενα ἐσθίειν ἀλλήλα.  
 Παντάπασι γάρ, ἔφη, ταῦτ' ἂν λέγοι ὁ τὸ ἀδικεῖν ἐπαινῶν. Οὐκοῦν

1. ἐκείνων A<sup>2</sup>II: ἐκείνων A<sup>1</sup>.

588 C 16 Χιμαίρας κτλ. The Scholiast thus explains: ἡ Χιμαῖρα τὸ εἶδος ἐστὶ 'πρόσθε λέων, ὀπίθεν δὲ δράκων, μέσση δὲ Χιμαῖρα'—Σκύλλα δὲ—πρόσωπον ἔχουσα καὶ στέρνα γυναικὸς, ἐκ λαγόνων δὲ κυνῶν κεφαλὰς ἔχει καὶ πρόσθε ὀδόνδεκα—εἶχε δὲ οὗτος (Κέρβερος) τρεῖς μὲν κυνῶν κεφαλὰς, οὐρὰν δὲ δράκοντος, κατὰ νώτου δὲ παντοίων ὄψεων εἶχε κεφαλὰς.

17 καὶ ἄλλαι τινὲς κτλ.: e.g. Hippocentaurs, Gorgons, Pegasus (*Phaedr.* 229 D). The relatival is succeeded by an independent sentence, as often (II 357 B n.).

19 θηρίου—πολυκεφάλου. Cf. *Phaedr.* 230 A θηρίον—Τεφῶνος πολυπλοκώτερον καὶ μᾶλλον ἐπιτεθυμμένον, *Tim.* 70 E (the ἐπιθυμητικόν as a ὑρέμμα ἀγρίου) and *Arist. Pol.* I<sup>o</sup> 16. 1287<sup>a</sup> 30 ἥ τε γὰρ ἐπιθυμία τοιοῦτον (viz. θηρίον). For the ἐπι-

θητ ποικίλου see VIII 557 C, 561 E and πολυειδίαν in 580 D.

ἡμέρων δέ. Madvig would write ἡμέρων τε: but ἡμέρων—ἀγρίων is loosely treated as a new point in the description, although it only elaborates and explains πολυκεφάλου, and δέ does not balance the preceding μὲν. So also J. and C.

588 D 24 μέγιστον—τὸ πρῶτον. The ἐπιθυμητικόν is the largest part of soul: see IV 442 A and II 379 C n.

25 σύναπτε τοῖνυν κτλ. Krohn finds fault with Plato for failing to preserve the essential unity of the individual throughout this comparison (*Pl. St.* p. 229). But, according to Plato, the true unity of the individual is realised only through the subjection of the two lower 'parts' of soul to the highest (586 E n.); and this subjection is described in 589 A, B.



5 αὐτὸ δὲ τὰ δίκαια λέγων λυσιτελεῖν φαίη ἂν δεῖν ταῦτα πράττειν καὶ  
 ταῦτα λέγειν, ὅθεν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος ἔσται ἐγκρατέ-  
 στατος <sup>1</sup> καὶ τοῦ πολυκεφάλου θρέμματος ἐπιμελήσεται, ὥσπερ B  
 γεωργὸς τὰ μὲν ἡμέρα τρέφων καὶ τιθασεύων, τὰ δὲ ἄγρια ἀπο-  
 κωλύων φύεσθαι, ξύμμαχον ποιησάμενος τὴν τοῦ λέοντος φύσιν,  
 10 καὶ κοινῇ πάντων κηδόμενος, φίλα ποιησάμενος ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ  
 αὐτῷ, οὕτω θρέψει; Κομιδῇ γὰρ αὐτὸ λέγει ταῦτα ὁ τὸ δίκαιον  
 ἐπαινῶν. Κατὰ πάντα τρόπον δὴ ὁ μὲν τὰ δίκαια ἐγκωμιάζων  
 ἀληθῆ ἂν λέγοι, <sup>1</sup> ὁ δὲ τὰ ἄδικα ψεύδοιτο. πρὸς τε γὰρ ἡδονὴν C  
 καὶ πρὸς εὐδοξίαν καὶ ὠφελίαν σκοπουμένῳ ὁ μὲν ἐπαινέτης τοῦ  
 15 δικαίου ἀληθεύει, ὁ δὲ ψέκτης οὐδὲν ὑγιὲς οὐδ' εἰδὼς ψέγει ὁ τι  
 ψέγει. Οὐ μοι δοκεῖ, ἡ δ' ὅς, οὐδαμῇ γε. Πείθωμεν τοίνυν αὐτὸν  
 πρῶως, οὐ γὰρ ἐκὼν ἁμαρτάνει, ἐρωτῶντες· ὦ μακάριε, οὐ καὶ τὰ  
 καλὰ καὶ αἰσχροὶ νόμιμα διὰ τὰ τοιαῦτ' ἂν φαίμεν γεγονέναι; τὰ  
 μὲν καλὰ <sup>1</sup> τὰ ὑπὸ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, μᾶλλον δὲ ἴσως τὰ ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ D

13. ἀληθῆ ἂν II: ἀλήθειαν A.

589 A 6 τοῦ ἀνθρώπου. "The genitive," say the Oxford editors, "may be governed by ἐγκρατέστατος or may be taken partitively with ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος." The former is the correct view. Stephanus suggested ἐγκρατέστερος: but "quum tria sint quae de imperio contendunt, superlativus recte habet" (Schneider). ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος has been compared with Paul's ὁ ἔσω ἄνθρωπος in *Rom.* 7. 22: cf. also *Eph.* 3. 16.

589 B 7 ἐπιμελήσεται. The subject is of course still ὁ ἐντὸς ἄνθρωπος, and therefore no comma should be placed after ἐγκρατέστατος. Jowett's translation "He should watch over" etc. is very misleading.

ὥσπερ γεωργός clearly belongs to the following clause, not, as supposed by Stallbaum and the other editors except Schneider, to that which goes before. Cf. IV 419 A n. For the illustration cf. *Euthyphr.* 2 D.

9 ξύμμαχον κτλ. The θυμοειδὲς is the natural ally of the λογιστικόν: see IV 440 E ff.

589 B—591 A The panegyrist of Justice is thus victorious on every count. His opponent will surrender when he understands that Virtue subjects the bestial to the human, nay rather to the element of God within us, while of Vice the opposite

is true. Shall it profit a man to take gold unjustly and make his soul a slave? We may also define intemperance, self-will, discontent, cowardice, servility and meanness, and the vulgarity which we associate with mechanical pursuits, in terms of our comparison. The better must rule the worse—such is our principle, and it is in harmony with the aims both of law and of the government of children.

589 C 15 οὐδὲν ὑγιές. We ought not to supply λέγει: for οὐδὲν ὑγιές ψέγει is itself idiomatic for οὐδὲν ὑγιές ψέγων λέγει (Schneider).

17 οὐ γὰρ ἐκὼν ἁμαρτάνει: according to the usual Socratic view: see II 382 A n.

589 D 19 μᾶλλον δὲ—θεῷ. "Both Plato and Aristotle thought that there was in human nature a certain imperfect presence of God, and that it was this divine presence, however small, which made it specifically human nature" (Nettleship *Lect. and Remains* II p 334). Cf. VI 501 B n. with *Tim.* 90 A ff. (man is a φύττον οὐκ ἐργεῖον, ἀλλ' οὐράνιον) and Arist. *Eth. Nic.* x 7. 1177<sup>b</sup> 30 ff. The doctrine of a θεῖον τι ἐν ἡμῖν was by no means new to Greek philosophical and religious thought (see Rohde *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> II pp. 121, 184 ff., 207 ff.), but Plato gave it a far deeper meaning than it ever had before.

τὰ θηριώδη ποιῶντα τῆς φύσεως, αἰσχροὶ δὲ τὰ ὑπὸ τῷ ἀγρίῳ 20  
 τὸ ἡμερον δουλούμενα; ξυμφήσει ἢ πῶς; Ἐάν μοι, ἔφη, πείθεται.  
 Ἔστιν οὖν, εἶπον, ὅτῳ λυσιτελεῖ ἐκ τούτου τοῦ λόγου χρυσίον  
 λαμβάνειν ἀδίκως, εἴπερ τοιόνδε τι γίγνεται, λαμβάνων τὸ χρυσίον  
 ἅμα καταδουλοῦται τὸ βέλτιστον ἑαυτοῦ τῷ μοχθηροτάτῳ; ἢ εἰ  
 E μὲν ἱ λαβὼν χρυσίον ὑδὼν ἢ θυγατέρα ἐδουλοῦτο, καὶ ταύτ' εἰς 25  
 ἀγρίων τε καὶ κακῶν ἀνδρῶν, οὐκ ἂν αὐτῷ ἐλυσίτελεῖ οὐδ' ἂν  
 πάμπλου ἐπὶ τούτῳ λαμβάνειν, εἰ δὲ τὸ ἑαυτοῦ θεϊότατον ὑπὸ τῷ  
 ἀθεωτάτῳ τε καὶ μιαιωτάτῳ δουλοῦται καὶ μηδὲν ἐλεεῖ, οὐκ ἔρα  
 590 ἄθλιός ἐστι καὶ | πολὺ ἐπὶ δεινότερῳ ὀλέθρῳ χρυσὸν δωροδοκεῖ ἢ  
 Ἐριφύλῃ ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ψυχῇ τὸν ὄρμον δεξαμένη; Πολὺ  
 μέντοι, ἢ δ' ὅς ὁ Γλαῦκων· ἐγὼ γάρ σοι ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἀποκρι-  
 νοῦμαι.

XIII. Οὐκοῦν καὶ τὸ ἀκολασταίνειν οἷε διὰ τοιαῦτα πάλαι 5  
 ψέγεσθαι, ὅτι ἀνίεται ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ τὸ δεινόν, τὸ μέγα ἐκεῖνο καὶ  
 πολυειδὲς θρέμμα πέρα τοῦ δέοντος; Δῆλον, ἔφη. Ἡ δ' αὐθαδία  
 B καὶ δυσκολία ψέγεται οὐχ ὅταν τὸ ἱ λεοντώδες τε καὶ ὀφειῶδες

1. ἢ A<sup>2</sup>Π: ἢ A<sup>1</sup>.

21 δουλούμενα is bracketed by Herwerden, who suggests as an alternative the omission of ὑπὸ before τῷ ἀγρίῳ. Neither change should be adopted: cf. ὑπὸ τῷ ἀθεωτάτῳ—δουλοῦται 589 E.

ἐάν μοι—πείθεται. 'If he takes my advice, he will.' ἐμοί, which I once read (with Stobaeus *Flor.* 9. 65, W. H. Thompson, Baiter)—'if he takes my advice'—is certainly more pointed; but there is no real ground for deserting the mss. and the unemphatic pronoun is quieter and, as it seems to me, more in keeping with the general spirit of this 'gentle exhortation' (πέιθωμεν τοίνυν αὐτὸν *πρῶτος* 589 c).

23 λαμβάνων τὸ χρυσίον κτλ. On the construction see I 351 B n. For the structure of the sentence beginning εἰ μὲν λαβὼν κτλ. cf. I 336 E n.

589 E 25 εἰς ἀγρίων—ἀνδρῶν: sc. δουλείαν or the like (supplied from ἐδουλοῦτο) rather than οἰκίαν, which J. and C. supply. Cf. IV 425 A n. and for the genitive VIII 569 c.

590 A 2 Ἐριφύλῃ. Hom. *Od.* XI 326 f. Μαῖράν τε Κλυμένην τε Ἴδον στυγερὴν τ' Ἐριφύλην, | ἢ χρυσὸν φίλου ἀνδρὸς ἐδέξατο τιμήντα.

3 ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου. See 588 B n. Glauco

will speak for the champions of Injustice in their surrender as well as in their attack.

6 τὸ δεινόν, τὸ μέγα κτλ. "Socrates quasi monstrum conspicatus, quod τὸ δεινὸν θρέμμα appellaturus erat, denuo descriptionem eius incipit et per asyndeton horridulam orationem facit" (Schneider). The asyndeton has a highly rhetorical effect: see the remarks of Longinus on rhetorical asyndeton combined with ἀναφορά and διατύπωσις ('vivid description') in his *περὶ ὕψους* 20. Jowett and Campbell understand τὸ δεινὸν substantively ('the dangerous thing, viz. that great beast')—a most improbable view, as it appears to me. On the other hand, Stallbaum, writing τὸ δεινὸν τὸ μέγα κτλ. without any comma, compares *Crat.* 398 B ἐν γε τῇ ἀρχαίᾳ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φωνῇ and other passages, none of which is parallel except (in some respects) Soph. *O. R.* 806 κἀγὼ τὸν ἐκτρέποντα, τὸν τροχλάτην | παῖω δι' ὀργῆς, and there a comma is required. We certainly should not (with Stephanus and Ast) read τὸ δεινὸν καὶ τὸ μέγα κτλ.

590 B 8 ὀφειῶδες. The serpentine element has not hitherto been mentioned, but (as Schleiermacher points out, *Platons*

αὔξηται καὶ συντείνεται ἀναρμόστως; Πάνν μὲν οὖν. Τρυφή δὲ  
 10 καὶ μαλθακία οὐκ ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ τούτου χαλάσει τε καὶ ἀνέσει  
 ψέγεται, ὅταν ἐν αὐτῷ δειλίαν ἐμποιῇ; Τί μὴν; Κολακεία δὲ  
 καὶ ἀνελευθερία οὐχ ὅταν τις τὸ αὐτὸ τούτο, τὸ θυμοειδές, ὑπὸ τῷ  
 ὀχλῶδει θηρίῳ ποιῇ καὶ ἔνεκα χρημάτων καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου ἀπλη-  
 15 γίγνεσθαι; <sup>1</sup> Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. Βαναυσία δὲ καὶ χειροτεχνία διὰ C  
 τί, οἶε, ὄνειδος φέρει; ἢ δι' ἄλλο τι φήσομεν ἢ ὅταν τις ἀσθενὲς  
 φύσει ἔχῃ τὸ τοῦ βελτίστου εἶδος, ὥστε μὴ ἂν δύνασθαι ἄρχειν  
 τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ θρεμμάτων, ἀλλὰ θεραπεύειν ἐκεῖνα, καὶ τὰ θωπεύ-  
 20 ματα αὐτῶν μόνον δύνηται μανθάνειν; <sup>2</sup> Εἰκεν, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν ἵνα  
 καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος ὑπὸ ὁμοίου ἄρχηται οἷονπερ ὁ βέλτιστος, δούλον  
 αὐτόν φαμεν δεῖν εἶναι ἐκείνου <sup>1</sup> τοῦ βελτίστου, ἔχοντος ἐν αὐτῷ D  
 τὸ θεῖον ἄρχον, οὐκ ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τῇ τοῦ δούλου οἴομενοι δεῖν ἄρχε-  
 σθαι αὐτόν, ὥσπερ Θρασύμαχος ᾤετο τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἀλλ' ὡς  
 ἄμεινον ὂν παντὶ ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ φρονίμου ἄρχεσθαι, μάλιστα μὲν

*Staat* p. 609) may well be included in τὰ περὶ τὸν λέοντα 588 E. It symbolizes some meaner forms of the θυμοειδές which cannot well be attributed to the king of beasts, e.g. δυσκολία (III 411 C), perfidiousness etc. Cf. Theogn. 601 f. ἔρρε, θεοῖσιν τ' ἐχθρὲ καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἄπιστε | ψυχρὸν δς ἐν κόλπῳ ποικίλον εἶχες ὄφιν. Clement (*Strom.* IV 3. 1225 B Migne) is thinking of the Old Testament when he says ὄφιν ὁ ἀπατεῶν, but the idea is also Greek. It should also be remarked that expansions and amplifications like the addition of ὀφειῶδες in this passage are characteristic of the style of Plato: cf. for example *Theat.* 147 A, B and 161 C. The emendation ὀχλῶδες, which Nettleship appears to favour (*Lect. and Remains* II p. 335), is excessively weak, and would moreover refer not to the θυμοειδές, but to the ἐπιθυμητικόν (cf. τῷ ὀχλῶδει θηρίῳ below). It seems to me clear both from λεοντῶδες and from αὐτοῦ τούτου below that at present Plato is thinking only of the θυμοειδές and its degenerate kinds. We must therefore beware of referring ὀφειῶδες to τοὺς φιληδόνους, τοὺς γαστρὶ καὶ αἰδοῖσι δουλεύοντας (Clement's interpretation of *Matt.* 3. 7: see *Strom.* IV 16. 1308 A).

9 τρυφή δὲ καὶ μαλθακία κτλ. Cf. III 411 A, B. On πίθηκον see X 620 C n.

590 C 15 βαναυσία. See on. VI

495 D.

19 δύνηται has been suspected by Stephanus, Ast, and Herwerden. The word could well be spared, but, as it is in all the MSS, was read by Stobaeus (*Flor.* 9. 67) and is not in itself an error, we are hardly justified in resorting to excision. The subjunctive depends of course on ὅταν, and καὶ connects δύνηται with ἔχῃ. By reading τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ (not αὐτῷ) θρεμμάτων, and making τὸ τοῦ βελτίστου εἶδος the subject to δύνασθαι and θεραπεύειν, Schneider makes it rather easier to refer δύνηται to ὅταν τις: but on the whole it is more natural to retain αὐτῷ and make the subject of δύνασθαι the same as that of δύνηται, viz. the individual himself. Even at the cost of a little awkwardness, Plato prefers to make the sentiment expressed by καὶ τὰ θωπεύματα —μανθάνειν co-ordinate with, rather than a consequence of, ὅταν τις ἀσθενὲς κτλ. For the imagery of the sentence cf. (with J. and C.) VI 493 A ff.

ἵνα καὶ κτλ. is Plato's justification for assigning the farmers and artisans to a dependent position in his city. For the syntax of ὑπὸ ὁμοίου—οἷονπερ see III 402 A n.

590 D 23 ὥσπερ Θρασύμαχος ᾤετο. See I 343 A ff.

24 μάλιστα μὲν κτλ. A profounder and truly Platonic form of Hesiod's famous



οἰκεῖον ἔχοντος ἐν αὐτῷ, εἰ δὲ μή, ἔξωθεν ἐφεστῶτος, ἵνα εἰς 25  
 δύναμιν πάντες ὅμοιοι ὦμεν καὶ φίλοι, τῷ αὐτῷ κυβερνώμενοι;  
 E Καὶ ὀρθῶς γ', ἔφη. Δηλοῖ δέ γε, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ ὁ νόμος, <sup>1</sup> ὅτι  
 τοιοῦτον βούλεται, πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ξύμμαχος ὢν, καὶ ἡ τῶν  
 παίδων ἀρχή, τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἐλευθέρους εἶναι, ἕως ἂν ἐν αὐτοῖς ὥσπερ  
 591 ἐν πόλει πολιτείαν καταστήσωμεν καὶ τὸ βέλτιστον θεραπεύ|σαντες 30  
 τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν τοιούτῳ ἀντικαταστήσωμεν φύλακα ὅμοιον καὶ ἄρ-  
 χοντα ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τότε δὴ ἐλεύθερον ἀφίεμεν. Δηλοῖ γάρ, ἣ δ' ὅς.  
 Πῇ δὴ οὖν φήσομεν, ὦ Γλαύκων, καὶ κατὰ τίνα λόγον λυσιτελεῖν  
 ἀδικεῖν ἢ ἀκολασταίνειν ἢ τι αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν, ἐξ ὧν πονηρότερος 5

28. βούλεται Ξ<sup>2</sup> cum Stobaeo (*Flor.* 9. 67): βουλεύεται AΠΞ<sup>1</sup> q.

saying οὗτος μὲν πανάριστος δὲ αὐτὸς πάντα νοήσῃ, | ἐσθλὸς δ' αὖ κακείνος δὲ εὖ εἰπόντι πύθεται (*OD.* 293 f., as quoted by Arist. *Eth. Nic.* I 2. 1095<sup>b</sup> 10). Instead of οἰκεῖον ἔχοντος ἐν αὐτῷ Madvig proposes to read οἰκεῖον ἐνόντος ἐν αὐτῷ. The emendation is neat and gets rid of the difficulty both in ἔχοντος and in ἐφεστῶτος: but ἔχοντος ἐν αὐτῷ appropriately recalls ἔχοντος ἐν αὐτῷ above, and the genitive absolute may be compared with ἀποκριναμένον VII 538 D, ἐπομένων 586 D and δοκιμασθέντων *Law* 755 D. (Badham's δοκιμασθέντας is of course only a conjecture.) Cf. Riddell *Digest* § 274.

25 ἐφεστῶτος is another independent genitive absolute. The double peculiarity is certainly unusual. Stephanus obliterates first one, and then both by suggesting (1) ἐφεστῶτα, and (2) ἔχοντι—ἐφεστῶς (intended, I suppose, as neuter, but the neuter should be ἐφεστῶς: see Schanz Vol. II p. XII). I believe the text is sound: there is hardly any limit—except that required by intelligibility—to Plato's rapid changes of construction, and they are especially common with participles. See VI 488 D n. with Engelhardt *Anac. Pl. Spec.* III p. 45.

590 E 28 βούλεται κτλ. See *cr. n.* The reading βούλεται is found also in v, *Flor. R.*, *Flor. T.*, Stobaeus (*Flor.* 9. 67) and Iamblichus (*Protrept.* 88 p. 33 Pistelli). βουλεύεται, which Schneider and Hermann, following the best mss, still retain, is much less suitable, and the corruption is easy and tolerably frequent: cf. (with Schneider) *Phil.* 35 D and 50 E, "ubi βουλεύεσθαι et βουλεύομαι pro βούλεσθαι et βούλομαι in quibusdam scriptum est." Plato means that the purpose, intention or meaning of

Law is that the better should rule the worse, and we may fairly appeal to the witness of Law on such a subject, for Law does not, as Thrasyarchus argued (I 343 C), hold a brief for ὁ κρείττων, but is the ally of every class and individual in the city without exception, πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ πόλει ξύμμαχος. Law is "the ally of everybody in the community without distinction, because the ally of that which is best in him" (Nettleship *Lect. and Rem.* II p. 336).

591 A 2 ἀντικαταστήσωμεν κτλ.: sc. as a counterpart or substitute for our own βέλτιστον (τῷ παρ' ἡμῖν τοιούτῳ), by which he has hitherto been guided. Madvig's conjecture ὄντι καταστήσωμεν is both unnecessary and inelegant. On the singular αὐτῷ in spite of the plural παίδων see I 347 A n.

591 A—592 B *It is also better for him who is guilty of injustice to be detected and punished than to escape. The wise man will honour those studies which promote the welfare of his soul, and the same great object will be his guiding principle in all that appertains to the body and its state, as well as to the acquisition of riches and honours. Will he take part in political life? Perhaps not in the land of his birth, but in his own true city assuredly he will. It may be that the perfect city is an ensample laid up in Heaven for him who would plant a city in his soul.*

5 ἀδικεῖν—ποιεῖν. It is more natural and better in point of literary effect to make the infinitives coordinate (with the English translators) than to suppose (with Schneider) that ἢ—ἢ is 'either—or' and ἀκολασταίνειν and τι αἰσχρὸν ποιεῖν intended as different species of the genus ἀδικία.

μὲν ἔσται, πλείω δὲ χρήματα ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ δύναμιν κεκτήσεται;  
 Οὐδαμῇ, ἢ δ' ὅς. Πῇ δ' ἀδικοῦντα λανθάνειν καὶ μὴ δίδόναι δίκην  
 λυσιτελεῖν; ἢ οὐχὶ ὁ μὲν λανθάνων <sup>1</sup> ἔτι πονηρότερος γίγνεται, **B**  
 τοῦ δὲ μὴ λανθάνοντος καὶ κολαζομένου τὸ μὲν θηριῶδες κοιμίζεται  
 10 καὶ ἡμεροῦται, τὸ δὲ ἡμερον ἐλευθεροῦται, καὶ ὅλη ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς  
 τὴν βελτίστην φύσιν καθισταμένη τιμιωτέραν ἔξιν λαμβάνει,  
 σωφροσύνην τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην μετὰ φρονήσεως κτωμένη, ἢ σῶμα  
 ἰσχύν τε καὶ κάλλος μετὰ ὑγείας λαμβάνον, τοσούτῳ ὅσῳ περ  
 ψυχὴ σώματος τιμιωτέρα; Παντάπασιν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν  
 15 ὁ γε νοῦν ἔχων πάντα <sup>1</sup> τὰ αὐτοῦ εἰς τοῦτο ξυντείνας βιώσεται, **C**  
 πρῶτον μὲν τὰ μαθήματα τιμῶν, ἃ τοιαύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν  
 ἀπεργάσεται, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα ἀτιμάζων; Δῆλον, ἔφη. Ἐπειτά γ',  
 εἶπον, τὴν τοῦ σώματος ἔξιν καὶ τροφήν οὐχ ὅπως τῇ θηριῶδει καὶ  
 ἀλόγῳ ἡδονῇ ἐπιτρέψας ἐνταῦθα τετραμμένος ζήσει, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ  
 20 πρὸς ὑγίειαν βλέπων οὐδὲ τοῦτο πρεσβέων, ὅπως ἰσχυρὸς ἢ ὑγιής  
 ἢ καλὸς ἔσται, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ σωφρονήσῃν μέλλῃ ἀπ' αὐτῶν, <sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' **D**  
 αἰετὴν τὴν ἐν τῷ σώματι ἀρμονίαν τῆς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἕνεκα ξυμφωνίας

8. ἔτι πονηρότερος A<sup>2</sup>Ξg: ἐπιπονηρότερος A<sup>1</sup>Π.

17. ἀπεργάσεται Π: ἀπερ-  
γάζεται A.

19. ζήσει Ξ: ζώσει A<sup>1</sup>: ζώση (sic) Π: ζῶη A<sup>2</sup>g.

7 πῇ δ' ἀδικοῦντα κτλ. It was  
 maintained in Π 361 A ff., 365 C ff. that  
 Injustice could evade detection and  
 punishment. So much the worse, says  
 Socrates, for the sinner, who thereby  
 forfeits his only chance of reformation,  
 since Punishment is the appointed cure  
 for Vice. It may be doubted whether so  
 humane a view altogether corresponded  
 to the actual administration of the Athe-  
 nian or any other State; but to an ideal-  
 ist like Plato 'is' means 'should be,' and  
 in so far as human laws fulfil their true  
 function by reflecting the divine ordi-  
 nances, we may truly say that punishment  
 is remedial. See on the whole subject  
 Π 380 B n.

591 C 17 ἀπεργάσεται κτλ. Edi-  
 tors rightly abandon the present ἀπεργά-  
 ζεται (see *cr. n.*) as indefensible. ζήσει is  
 condemned by Cobet (*V. L.*<sup>2</sup> p. 610)  
 as an interpolation, but some verb is  
 needed, and Cobet himself allows that  
 "ζήσω apud Atticos semel et iterum com-  
 paret" (e.g. V 465 D, Ar. *Plut.* 263 and  
*Fr.* 498 Dindorf). ζώσει (see *cr. n.*) can  
 hardly be maintained in Plato, though  
 not, apparently, unknown in Ionic: see  
 Kühner-Blass *Gr. Gr.* I 2, p. 436. The

erroneous ζῶη is clearly due to a misun-  
 derstanding of οὐχ ὅπως (non modo non).

591 D 21 ἀλλ' αἰετὴν κτλ. With the  
 sentiments cf. III 410 A ff., VI 498 B n. On  
*φανέται* see *cr. n.* If we retain *φαίνεται*, as  
 I formerly did, with J. and C., Schneider  
 and the early editions, the conjunctive is  
 parallel to the future *ἔσται*, both depend-  
 ing on ὅπως: cf. (with Schneider) *Tim.*  
 18 Ε μηχανᾶσθαι κλήροισι τισίν, ὅπως—  
 ξυλλήξονται, καὶ μὴ τις αὐτοῖς ἐχθρὰ—  
 γίγνηται. A few additional examples are  
 cited by Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 893 n. 5.  
 In this instance, however, *φαίνεται* is  
 particularly awkward, and may easily be  
 a corruption of *φανέται*, under the influ-  
 ence of the preceding *ἔάν*. *g* has *φαίνοντο*,  
 which doubtless springs from the same  
 misunderstanding which produced the  
 corruption *ζῶη* for *ζήσει* in C. *φανέται* is  
 adopted also by Ast, Stallbaum, and a  
 reviewer of my *Text of the Republic* in  
*Hermathena* XXIV p. 256. We must  
 understand the clause as still under the  
 government of ὅπως, and not as independ-  
 ent; otherwise the verb becomes otiose,  
 as it is in fact regarded by Hermann,  
 Stallbaum and Baiter, all of whom  
 bracket it.

ἀρμοττόμενος φανείται. Παντάπασι μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, εἴνπερ μέλλῃ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ μουσικὸς εἶναι. Οὐκοῦν, εἶπον, καὶ τὴν ἐν τῇ τῶν χρημάτων κτήσει ξύνταξιν τε καὶ ξυμφωνίαν; καὶ τὸν ὄγκον τοῦ 25 πλήθους οὐκ ἐκπληττόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν πολλῶν μακαρισμοῦ ἄπειρον αὐξήσει, ἀπέραντα κακὰ ἔχων; Οὐκ οἶομαι, ἔφη. Ἄλλ' Ε ἀποβλέπων γε, εἶπον, <sup>1</sup> πρὸς τὴν ἐν αὐτῷ πολιτείαν καὶ φυλάττων, μή τι παρακινῇ αὐτοῦ τῶν ἐκεῖ διὰ πλήθος οὐσίας ἢ δι' ὀλιγότητα, οὕτως κυβερνῶν προσθήσει καὶ ἀναλώσει τῆς οὐσίας καθ' ὅσον ἂν 30 οἴος τ' ᾖ. Κομιδῇ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Ἄλλὰ μὴν καὶ τιμὰς γε, εἰς 592 ταῦτόν ἀποβλέπων, τῶν μὲν μεθέξει καὶ γεύσεται ἐκῶν, ἃς ἂν ἡγῇται ἀμείνω αὐτὸν ποιήσειν, ἃς δ' ἂν λύσειν τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ἔξιν, φεύξεται ἰδία καὶ δημοσία. Οὐκ ἄρα, ἔφη, τά γε πολιτικὰ ἐβελήσει πράττειν, εἴνπερ τούτου κήδηται. Νῆ τὸν κύνα, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐν γε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πόλει καὶ μάλα, οὐ μέντοι ἴσως ἐν γε τῇ 5 πατρίδι, ἐὰν μὴ θεία τις ξυμβῇ τύχη. Μανθάνω, ἔφη. ἐν ᾗ νῦν διήλθομεν οἰκίζοντες πόλει λέγεις, τῇ ἐν λόγοις κειμένη· ἐπεὶ γῆς Β γε <sup>1</sup> οὐδαμοῦ οἶμαι αὐτὴν εἶναι. Ἄλλ', ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐν οὐρανῷ ἴσως

23. φανείται Iamblichus (*Protrept.* 90): φαίνεται ΑΠΞ: φαίνοιτο γ. 29. πλήθος Α<sup>2</sup>Ξ γ: πλήθους Α<sup>1</sup>Π.

23 εἴνπερ—μουσικὸς εἶναι. Cf. IV 432 A, 443 D, E.

24 οὐκοῦν—ξυμφωνίαν; sc. τῆς ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἔνεκα ξυμφωνίας ἀρμόσεται.

25 τοῦ πλήθους κτλ.: i.e. τοῦ πλήθους τῶν χρημάτων κτλ.: cf. VIII 563 B n. οὐκ before ἐκπληττόμενος is not interrogative, but negatives ἐκπληττόμενος—αὐξήσει. The interrogative force of οὐκοῦν is carried on from the last sentence.

591 E 31 ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τιμὰς γε κτλ. See on VIII 566 E. The idiom has more in common with 'partitive apposition' than with such an ἀνακλόουθον accusative as in *Tim.* 37 D (quoted by Schneider) ἡμέρας γὰρ καὶ νύκτας καὶ μῆνας καὶ ἐνιαυτούς, οὐκ ὄντας πρὶν οὐρανὸν γενέσθαι, τότε ἅμα ἐκείνῳ ἐνισταμένῳ τὴν γενέσιν αὐτῶν μηχανάται.

592 A 4 νῆ τὸν κύνα. See III 399 E n.

5 ἐν γε τῇ ἑαυτοῦ πόλει: i.e. in the πολιτεία προσήκουσα of VI 497 A.

οὐ μέντοι—πατρίδι. We may compare the story about Anaxagoras in D. L. II 7: τέλος ἀπέστη καὶ περὶ τὴν τῶν φυσικῶν θεωρίαν ἣν, οὐ φροντίζων τῶν πολιτικῶν, ὅτε καὶ πρὸς τὸν εἰπόντα, Οὐδέν σοι μέλει τῆς πατρίδος; Εὐφήμει,

ἔφη· ἐμοὶ γὰρ καὶ σφόδρα μέλει τῆς πατρίδος, δείξας τὸν οὐρανόν. See also Antisthenes ap. D. L. VI 11. The question whether the wise man will take part in politics is raised by Aristotle in a somewhat different form (*Pol.* I 3. 1276<sup>b</sup> 16 ff. al.), and afterwards became one of the stock questions of post-Aristotelian philosophy: see RP<sup>7</sup> § 384 C n. c.

6 θεία—τύχη: such as is contemplated in VI 499 B, where see note.

νῦν. The reading νῦν δὴ has very little authority, and it is certain that νῦν sometimes refers to the immediate past: see on VIII 563 C.

7 τῇ ἐν λόγοις κειμένη: 'the city which is founded in words.' It is truer and more perfect, aye and more lasting too, just because it κείται ἐν λόγοις: for φύσιν ἔχει πρᾶξιν λέξεως ἥττον ἀληθείας ἐφάπτεσθαι (V 473 A) and ῥῆμα ἐργμάτων χρονιώτερον βιοτενεῖ (Pind. *Nem.* 4. 6).

592 B 8 ἀλλ'—ἐν οὐρανῷ κτλ. 'But perhaps it is laid up in heaven as an ensample for him who desires to behold it and beholding found a city in himself.' If the philosopher is prevented from founding a city after the pattern in the Heavens, he can at all events 'found



παράδειγμα ἀνάκειται τῷ βουλομένῳ ὁρᾶν καὶ ὁρῶντι ἑαυτὸν  
 10 κατοικίσειν. διαφέρει δὲ οὐδέν, εἴτε που ἔστιν εἴτε ἔσται· τὰ

himself' ("sich selbst begründen" Schneider, and so also Bosanquet): cf. VI 496 C—497 A. ἑαυτὸν κατοικίσειν is a pregnant and powerful phrase, which involves not only the idea of the πόλις s. πολιτεία ἐν ἡμῖν (cf. 590 E, 591 E, X 605 B, 608 B), but also perhaps a hint that the παράδειγμα ἐν οὐρανῷ is as it were the μητρό-πολις from which our souls should be colonised. Jowett and Campbell understand ἐκεῖ after ἑαυτὸν κατοικίσειν, while Richards thinks Plato may have written ἑαυτὸν <αὐτόσε> or <εἰς αὐτήν> κατοικίσειν: but the word παράδειγμα, as well as τῷ βουλομένῳ ὁρᾶν καὶ ὁρῶντι, shews that the heavenly city is regarded as a model for the soul rather than as the place in which the soul should be planted. The conjectures αὐτὸ (sc. τὸ παράδειγμα) κατοικίσειν and ὁρῶντι πρὸς (s. εἰς) αὐτὸ κατοικίσειν (Herwerden) do not merit refutation. What does Plato mean by ἐν οὐρανῷ? It is surely something more than "harmlose populär-theologische Redeweise" (Pfeiderer zur Lösung etc. p. 33). The poet Gray (who aptly reminds us of Diogenes Laertius' epitaph on Plato πόλιν ἤλυθεν ἣν ποθ' ἑαυτῷ | ἔκτισε, καὶ δαπέδῳ Ζηρὸς ἐνιδρύσατο III 45) remarks "ἐν οὐρανῷ, that is, in the idea of the divinity: see the beginning of the following book." Apparently he understood the words of the Heaven of Ideas, a view which has, with various modifications and qualifications, found favour also with other critics (see Steinhart Einleitung p. 254 and cf. Susemihl Gen. Entw. II p. 248 ff. Proclus in Tim. 269 E seems to interpret the παράδειγμα as τὴν ἐν οὐρανῷ πολιτείαν τῆς ψυχῆς, but Plato is manifestly speaking of the πολιτεία τῆς πόλεως). Others have taken ἐν οὐρανῷ of the 'Weltall' or Macrocosm, as if the Universe itself were one great ideal city, after whose pattern we should regulate the City of the Soul (see Steinhart l. c. and p. 270 with Tim. 47 B, 90 D); but, as Schneider points out, we can hardly reconcile such an interpretation with VII 529 C—530 C, and ἀνάκειται is also against it. The sentence may be compared with Pol. 297 C, Laws 713 B ff. and especially 739 D, E, where the polity of the Republic is thus described: ἡ μὲν δὴ τοιαύτη πόλις, εἴτε που θεοὶ ἢ παῖδες θεῶν αὐτήν οἰκοῦσι

πλεῖους ἐνός, οὕτω διαζῶντες εὐφραίν-  
 μενοι κατοικοῦσι· διὸ δὴ παράδειγμά γε  
 πολιτείας οὐκ ἄλλη χρη σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ'  
 ἐχομένους ταύτης τὴν ὅτι μάλιστα τοιαύτην  
 ζητεῖν κατὰ δύναμιν. We might employ  
 this passage to explain ἐν οὐρανῷ ὡς  
 παράδειγμα, but its tone is less elevated  
 and impressive, and in particular it does  
 not help us to understand τῷ βουλομένῳ  
 ὁρᾶν καὶ ὁρῶντι. Plato's language is ex-  
 traordinarily suggestive, and I confess  
 that to me, as apparently to Susemihl (l. c.  
 p. 249), these words suggest, not indeed  
 the doctrine of Anamnesis in all its bear-  
 ings, but something of the half-religious,  
 half-poetical atmosphere with which  
 Plato invests that doctrine in the Phae-  
 drus. The mysterious and haunting  
 phrase ἐν οὐρανῷ παράδειγμα recalls the  
 'imperial palace whence we came,' and  
 the whole sentence reminds us once  
 again of that profound and inspiring  
 doctrine ἄνθρωπος οὐράνιον φυτόν, οὐκ  
 ἔγγειον, which, as I have often pointed  
 out, underlies so much of Platonism.  
 The sister-doctrine of Immortality seems  
 also to be implied, and from this point  
 of view the Christian parallels are highly  
 remarkable and significant: see for ex-  
 ample Philippi. 3. 30 ἡμῶν γὰρ τὸ πολί-  
 τευμα ἐν οὐρανοῖς ὑπάρχει, and many other  
 passages in the New Testament, e.g.  
 Hebr. II. 16, 12, 23, 13. 14: I Pet. I. 4,  
 2. iii. 13. I do not venture to assert that  
 Plato consciously and deliberately thought  
 of Anamnesis and Immortality when he  
 wrote ἐν οὐρανῷ etc., but the words  
 are steeped in the fragrance of these  
 beliefs; and to regard the reference to  
 heaven "as a mere passing figure of  
 speech" (Bosanquet) seems to me to do  
 less than justice to the wonderful depth  
 and fervour of this passage.

10 τὰ γὰρ ταύτης κτλ. See Nettleship Lect. and Rem. II p. 338 and Theaet. 173 C ff., quoted by him. Interpreted strictly and by themselves, the words of Plato would mean only that the philosopher will abstain from public and political life except when some 'divine chance' enables him to exercise his true vocation. But taken in connexion with ἑαυτὸν κατοικίσειν they mean more. In founding the city *within himself* after the likeness of the heavenly city the philosopher is in

γὰρ ταύτης μόνης ἂν πράξειεν, ἄλλης δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς. Εἰκός γ', ἔφη.

τέλος πολιτείας θ'.

reality a true πολιτικός, because he is thereby faithful to the principles of the true and perfect State: even while he lives, he is already in a sense a citizen of Heaven, for the Kingdom of Heaven is reproduced within him. In existing cities the truest politicians are sometimes those who abstain from politics altogether, according to *Gorg.* 521 D ff. I agree with Steinhart (*Einleitung* p. 254) and Christ (*Gr. Literaturgesch.* p. 348 n. 6) that Plato now speaks much less hopefully than before of the prospects of realising his ideal city upon earth: see on V 470 E, VI 499 C and 502 C. It is possible to force some of the earlier allu-

sions into a sort of harmony with the words of this passage (see for example Hirmer *Entst. u. Komp. d. Pl. Pol.* pp. 637 ff.); but we cannot help feeling that the tone and atmosphere are very different. Steinhart (l.c. p. 703 n. 264) traces the difference to Plato's disappointed hopes of the younger Dionysius. The conjecture is interesting, but even without this stimulus Plato may well have come to feel that his καλλίπολις is hardly of this world (cf. *Laws* 713 B), and that its true value lies in the religious, political, and moral ideals which it holds before mankind.

## APPENDICES TO BOOK IX.

### I.

IX 576 D, E. ἀλλ' εὐδαιμονίας τε αὖ καὶ ἀθλιότητος ὡσαύτως ἢ ἄλλως κρίνεις; καὶ μὴ ἐκπληττώμεθα πρὸς τὸν τύραννον ἕνα ὄντα βλέποντες, μηδ' εἴ τινες ὀλέγοι περὶ ἐκείνον, ἀλλ' ὥς χρὴ ὅλην τὴν πόλιν εἰσελθόντας θεάσασθαι, καταδύντες εἰς ἅπασαν καὶ ἰδόντες, οὕτω δόξαν ἀποφαινώμεθα.

The difficult clause ὥς χρὴ—θεάσασθαι has hardly received sufficient attention at the hands of editors. There is no variant of any consequence in the MSS.

The chief trouble lies in determining the precise force of ὥς χρὴ.

Is ὥς (1) 'sicut,' introducing an analogy, or (2) simply 'ut,' i.e. 'as,' or (3) a causal particle?

The first of these views is apparently held by Schleiermacher and Schneider. The former translates "sondern wie man sich eine Stadt ganz beschauen muss, wenn man hineinkommt, so lass uns überall herumsteigen und zusehn und dann unsere Meinung abgehen." Schneider's version is "sondern so wie man den gesammten Staat zu sehen in ihn hineingehen muss, in das innere des ganzen eindringen, und wenn wir ihn gesehen haben, unsere Meinung aussprechen." Schleiermacher seems to suppose that there is a comparison between what is necessary in order to see the sights of a town, and what is necessary in order to pronounce judgment on the τυραννουμένη πόλις: in either case we must get 'inside' the city. This explanation is attractive, and can be made very plausible; but (a) we should expect ὥσπερ in place of ὥς: (b) the present χρὴ suggests something which is our duty *here* and *now*, rather than what would be necessary in a hypothetical case: (c) the antithesis between seeing with the eye, and seeing with the mind, is not sufficiently brought out by merely setting θεάσασθαι over against ἰδόντες: and (d) it is not natural that the illustration should be confined to the tyrant's city, as it manifestly is by the words ὅλην τὴν πόλιν. For these reasons I cannot bring myself to agree with Schleiermacher, alluring as his view is.

The second explanation gives a thoroughly natural and easy meaning to ὥς χρὴ. But how are we to explain the remainder of the clause, ὅλην—θεάσασθαι? We cannot, surely, supply θεασάμενοι (with J. and C.) before ὥς, nor would the resulting sense be satisfactory if we could. Two explanations may be suggested. We may suppose, on the one hand, that ὅλην—θεάσασθαι is merely explanatory of ὥς χρὴ ('as is right,'



viz. that we should go into and see the whole city, 'let us' etc.). It is however, an objection to this theory that it makes ὅλην—θεάσασθαι almost entirely otiose, and Jowett, in point of fact, practically omits the words from his translation ("let us go as we ought into every corner of the city and look all about"). On the other hand, it may be argued that ὡς χρή, though in itself, strictly speaking, parenthetical, is allowed to affect the construction in much the same way as ὡς οἶμαι, ὡς ἔοικεν sometimes are (see for example Soph. *Trach.* 1238 ἀνὴρ ὅδ', ὡς ἔοικεν, οὐ νεμεῖν ἐμοὶ κτλ. with note on 1 347 A). But there is apparently no other example of this kind of attraction on so extensive a scale, and ὅλην—θεάσασθαι is still nearly, if not quite, superfluous.

The view that ὡς is causal presents the fewest difficulties, and for that reason I have adopted it in the notes. It is held also by Ast and Davies and Vaughan. The text *may* be corrupt, but it has not, so far as I know, been hitherto suspected. If ἀλλά were read before καταδύντες and not before ὡς, all difficulty would disappear. 'Do not let us be dazzled by looking at the tyrant, who is but one man among many, or at a few persons in his retinue, for it is the entire city which we must go in and view; but let us' etc. The corruption, however, is not easy to explain, and it is safer and wiser to follow the mss.

## II.

IX 580 A, B. ἴθι δὴ μοι, ἔφην ἐγώ, νῦν ἤδη ὥσπερ ὁ διὰ πάντων κριτῆς ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ σὺ οὕτω, τίς πρῶτος κατὰ τὴν σὴν δόξαν εὐδαιμονία καὶ τίς δεύτερος, καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐξῆς πέντε ὄντας κρίνε, βασιλικόν, τιμοκρατικόν, ὀλιγαρχικόν, δημοκρατικόν, τυραννικόν.

The general meaning of this passage is clear, but it is difficult to determine the exact force of ὁ διὰ πάντων κριτῆς. There is no reason to suspect the text, although the phrase is apparently not found elsewhere; nor would Orelli's conjecture διασάντων deserve to be accepted, even if διὰ πάντων were corrupt.

In the program cited in the notes, Petersen has collected and discussed most of the available literary evidence on the Athenian method of judging in dramatic and musical contests. None of the passages quoted by him throw any direct light upon the words διὰ πάντων: but it is possible to construct from these passages a reasonable theory of the whole subject, in which ὁ διὰ πάντων κριτῆς receives what is at least a plausible explanation. I have adopted the substance of Petersen's theory in the notes, but not his view of the particular phrase ὁ διὰ πάντων κριτῆς.

The other *prima facie* evidence, which Petersen does not discuss, is as follows:

Antiatticists in Bekk. *Anecd.* p. 91. 10: διὰ πάντων ἀγῶν λέγεται ὁ ἔσχατος. Κρατίνος Πανόπταις (*Crat. Fr.* 157 Koch).

Hesychius: διὰ πάντων κριτῆς. Βοηθός φησι ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πλάτωνος, ὅτι ὁ νομοθέτης ἐκέλευσε τοῖς κρίνουσι γράφειν τὰ κεφάλαια ἑκαστον.

CIG 1585, 1586, 1719, 1720.

An inscription found at Nysa and published in *Bull. Hell.* ix 126 l. 55 τετειμησθαι τε αὐτὸν ἀναγορε[ύσει] χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ ἐν ταῖς τοῦ διὰ πάντων ἀγῶ[νος] ἱερουργίαις τε καὶ σπονδαῖς, and other inscriptions cited in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Encyclopädie* etc. s.v. ἀγών.

The remark of Boethus preserved by Hesychius merely alludes to the regulation that the judges were to make use of a γραμματεῖον. This is abundantly attested from other sources (see Müller *Griech. Bühnenalt.* p. 371 n. 2), and does not, so far as I can see, help us to interpret διὰ πάντων. Cratinus' fragment, on the other hand, is important; for it shews that there was a διὰ πάντων ἀγών before the time of Plato.

The first of the inscriptions, CIG 1585, gives a list of victors in a musical contest at Thespieae, ending with διὰ πάντων (sc. ἐνίκα) Εὐμάρων Ἀλεξάνδρου Θεσπιεύς, who is also mentioned at the beginning as the author of the successful προσόδιον. The second inscription, found on Mt Helicon, is similar; and in CIG 1719 and 1720, both of which were discovered at Delphi, we meet with διὰ πάντων—though in 1719 πάντων has to be supplied by Boeckh—and ὁ διὰ πάντων, in the sense of ὁ διὰ πάντων ἀγών (as in the inscription from Nysa). According to Boeckh on CIG 1585, ὁ διὰ πάντων (νικῶν) is "victor inter virores," the winner of the prize given for the one best production of all the successful pieces in the different kinds, like the prize for 'the best animal in the yard' at an agricultural show: and this interpretation is supported by the fact that the winner of the διὰ πάντων in that inscription has already secured the prize for the προσόδιον. A less probable theory understands τῶν ἀγωνισμάτων rather than τῶν ἀγωνιστῶν after διὰ πάντων, and takes ὁ διὰ πάντων νικῶν as "wer in mehreren Productionen zwar nicht den Sieg errungen hatte, aber doch ihm am nächsten gekommen war": such a person "verdiente seiner Vielseitigkeit wegen schon einen Preis" (Kayser quoted in Grasberger *Erziehung u. Unterricht* III p. 15). It will be observed that neither explanation makes the διὰ πάντων ἀγών a competition involving distinct and separate performances of its own.

As the διὰ πάντων ἀγών must necessarily have been decided last, and always, I think, comes at the end of the list of victories, the usage of the inscriptions is not inconsistent with the explanation of διὰ πάντων ἀγών as ὁ ἔσχατος, given in Bekker's *Anecdota* l.c. And, since it is obvious that if the Greeks could use the expressions ὁ διὰ πάντων νικῶν and ὁ διὰ πάντων ἀγών, they may well have spoken of the judge in the διὰ πάντων as ὁ διὰ πάντων κριτής, it may seem that a satisfactory explanation of the Platonic phrase is possible by the aid of the Inscriptions.

But neither Kayser's nor Boeckh's interpretation of the inscriptional use of διὰ πάντων is in the least degree suited to the situation in the *Republic*. Glauco is invited to arrange the competitors in order of merit, and not merely to decide which is first; nor are the βασιλικός, τιμοκρατικός, ὀλιγαρχικός etc. in any sense competitors in different departments, like the πυθαύλης, ῥαψωδός etc. of the Inscriptions; they are all from beginning to end candidates in one and the same contest for one

and the same prize. The hypothesis proposed by Kayser is still less apposite: for Plato's βασιλικός is anything but 'many-sided,' and has never been beaten in any contest at all.

For these reasons I cannot see that the Inscriptions hitherto discovered give us any real assistance in attempting to elucidate the sentence of Plato, and it should be further remarked that they are all of them as late as the days of the Empire. There is nothing relevant to our purpose in the large collection of inscriptions contained in Reisch *de musicis Graecorum certaminibus* (1885).

It may be well to mention some of the different views which have been held by Platonic scholars on this difficult phrase. Ficinus translates "quemadmodum iudex omnia circumspectiens de singulis iudicat"; Schleiermacher "wie, wer in irgend einer Sache über alle durchweg richten soll, sein Urtheil abgiebt," confessing however (*Platons Staat* p. 603) that he finds the sentence obscure; Schneider "der Richter, der über alle entscheidet," i.e. "der welcher das Urtheil fällt, wenn Alle die in einem musikalischen Wettstreit um den Preis kämpfen, ihre Leistungen vollendet haben" (p. 312 of his Translation); Prantl "der Alles umfassende Richter"; Müller "der Richter, der das Ganze zusammenfassend sein Urtheil abgibt," i.e. "der vollständige Richtende, der bei Abgabe seiner Stimme nicht einzelnes, sondern den ganzen Thatsbestand ins Auge fasst"; Jowett "as the general umpire in theatrical contests"; and Davies and Vaughan "the judge who passes sentence after going through the whole case." In most of these versions διὰ πάντων is construed as if it were not a technical expression at all, but merely equivalent to διὰ πάντων διεξελθών or the like (cf. vii 534 c). To me, on the other hand, it seems certain that ὁ διὰ πάντων κριτής is an essential part of Plato's comparison, and would at once suggest to Plato's readers some particular judge or judges in musical or dramatic competitions. Jowett and Campbell think the words may mean: (1) the judge who decides the prizes of all the different kinds of contests; (2) or all the prizes, e.g. first, second, third in the same contest; (3) the judge who gave the final decision in some musical pentathlon. I have already given my grounds for rejecting the first suggestion; the second makes διὰ πάντων practically otiose, for it is obvious that all the prizes in the same contest must be awarded by the same authority; the third is more reasonable, although I cannot agree that "πέντε ὄντας" conveys an allusion to the pentathlon." The words πέντε ὄντας refer of course to the competitors, βασιλικόν etc., and not to five different subjects of competition.

Sir Richard Jebb suggests another view, which appears to me deserving of consideration. He writes as follows:—

"A clue to the sense of διὰ πάντων here is given by those phrases in which διά with the genitive denotes the range of a comparison or a competition: e.g., *Iliad* xii 104 ἔπρεπε καὶ διὰ πάντων ('among all'): Herod. i 25 θέης ἄξιον διὰ πάντων τῶν ἀναθημάτων: id. vi 63 εὐδοκίμεοντι διὰ πάντων. The phrase ὁ διὰ πάντων ἀγών may be a terse expression ('the contest from among all,' = 'the contest of those selected from among all' or 'distinguished among all') for that contest in which the



competitors were οἱ διὰ πάντων εὐδοκμήσαντες, those who had done best among all the competitors,—having vanquished their respective opponents in the preliminary contests. ὁ διὰ πάντων ἀγών would thus be what the old interpreter calls it, ὁ ἔσχατος, the final contest. For example, in the dithyrambic ἀγών at Athens there were ten choruses, one for each tribe. We will suppose that these ten competed, to begin with, in pairs. Then ὁ διὰ πάντων ἀγών would be the final contest between the five choruses left in after the preliminary contests. ὁ διὰ πάντων κριτής would be any one of the (five) judges in ὁ διὰ πάντων ἀγών. It seems possible that the illustration from the final decision in the contest of dithyrambic choruses may have struck Plato as having a special fitness because *five* competitors are in question here."

### III.

IX 581 D, E. τὸν δὲ φιλόσοφον, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, τί οἰώμεθα τὰς ἄλλας ἡδονὰς νομίζειν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ εἰδέναι τάληθες ὅπῃ ἔχει καὶ ἐν τοιοῦτῳ τινὶ αἰεὶ εἶναι μανθάνοντα τῆς ἡδονῆς; οὐ πάνν πόρρω, καὶ καλεῖν τῷ ὄντι ἀναγκαίης, ὡς οὐδὲν τῶν ἄλλων δεόμενον, εἰ μὴ ἀνάγκη ἦν;

In this difficult passage all the MSS have ποιῶμεθα instead of τί οἰώμεθα. In other respects the text which I have printed agrees with A and Π; nor is there any important variant in the inferior MSS, except νομίζειν οὐδέν (for νομίζειν) in Ξ and a few of its congeners.

ποιῶμεθα was read by Schneider, whose translation is as follows:—"Von dem Wissenschaftliebenden aber, sagte ich, sollen wir nicht glauben dass er die andern Annehmlichkeiten in Vergleich mit der das Wahre wie es ist, zu erkennen und immer lernend auf solche Weise beschäftigt zu sein für sehr entfernt vom angenehmen hält und sie in der That nothwendige nennt, als der der andern nicht begehren würde, wenn es nicht nothwendig wäre?" Schleiermacher had already taken the passage in this way, except that he fell into error over οὐ πάνν πόρρω. The objections to Schneider's view have been pointed out by Stallbaum and others. They are briefly these: (1) ποιεῖσθαι by itself cannot mean 'existimare,' 'statuere'; (2) ποιῶμεθα τὰς ἄλλας νομίζειν—τῆς ἡδονῆς οὐ πάνν πόρρω is not equivalent to ἄρ' οὐ ποιῶμεθα—τὰς ἄλλας νομίζειν—τῆς ἡδονῆς πάνν πόρρω, which is that which Schneider translates. See also Graser *Spec. advers. in serm. Pl.* pp. 19—23. Jowett attempts to evade the second of these objections by translating "may we suppose that the philosopher regards the other pleasures in regard to the pleasure of knowing the truth, and in that pursuit abiding always, not so very far from the Heaven of pleasure, and that he calls" etc., and making τῆς ἡδονῆς οὐ πάνν πόρρω slightly ironical, as if "intended to express that the philosopher has in knowledge the true pleasure." This explanation is, to say the least, obscure; if I understand it rightly, 'regards' means 'values,' and ποιεῖσθαι τι πρὸς τι surely cannot mean 'to value one thing in regard to another.'

In his published translation Jowett had acquiesced in Graser's τί

οἰώμεθα, which a large majority of critics have approved (Müller, Prantl, Hermann, Baiter, Madvig, Campbell). This emendation, which is easy enough, τί and π being nearly identical in uncials, removes all difficulty in the earlier part of the sentence, and is much neater than Stallbaum's μὴ οἰώμεθα. It is also an argument against μὴ οἰώμεθα that it requires us to read νομίζειν οὐδέν for νομίζειν: while, on the other hand, as soon as τί οἰώμεθα was corrupted into ποιώμεθα, the οὐδέν which we find in Ξ etc. may have been introduced into the text to go with πρὸς in the sense of 'nothing' (i.e. 'of no account') 'in comparison with' etc., exactly as in τί οἰώμεθα τὰς ἄλλας ἡδονὰς νομίζειν πρὸς of the original uncorrupted text.

Critics have also differed widely about the words μαθάνοντα—πόρρω. Does the sentence contain two questions or only one? Of those who accept the conjecture τί οἰώμεθα, Graser and Müller suppose that there is only a single question. The former (l.c.) bids us construe τῆς ἡδονῆς κτλ. as "quo in studio a voluptate tam prope abest, ut illas etiam revera necessarias appellet" etc., taking καὶ καλεῖν for ὥστε καὶ καλεῖν. The latter invites us to carry on the τοῦ of τοῦ εἰδέναι not only to εἶναι (to which of course it also belongs), but even to καλεῖν. Each of these explanations is equally unsatisfactory in point of meaning and of grammar.

Those who hold that there are two questions have hitherto made the first end with μαθάνοντα (Prantl, Hermann, Baiter, Campbell). According to their view, the meaning is 'And what, are we to suppose, is the philosopher's estimate of the other pleasures in comparison with that of knowing the truth as it is, and being evermore engaged in such an intellectual pursuit? Must we not think that he accounts them far removed from true pleasure?' etc. (Campbell). To this there are two objections. τῆς ἡδονῆς is not by itself commensurate with 'true pleasure,' either here, or (as Shorey seems to hold *A. J. Ph.* xvi p. 230) in *Phil.* 44 c (γοίτηνμα, οὐχ ἡδονήν): and in any case (though this consideration is less weighty) it should follow rather than precede οὐ πᾶν πόρρω. The first objection is met by Campbell's conjecture τῆς ἀληθινῆς, or by τῆς <ἀληθινῆς> ἡδονῆς. There is, however, no sign of corruption, except the three dots placed over τῆς ἡδονῆς by a later hand in A, and that is insufficient, although Baiter brackets the offending words. Madvig (*Adv. Crit.* i p. 431) would emend to τὸν δὲ φιλόσοφον—τί οἰώμεθα—πρὸς τὴν—μαθάνοντα ἡδονήν, observing quite truly that "reliquae ἡδοναὶ non videntur philosopho τῆς ἡδονῆς (universae) πᾶν πόρρω, sed longe ab ea, quam ipse percipiat." The solution which I propose in the notes has some affinity in point of meaning with that of Madvig, but requires no alteration of the text. It seems to me to be free from all the difficulties which are inherent in the above explanations.

[In 1918, Mr E. Meyrick suggested the following interpretation: "An ordinary κριτής has to award, say, three prizes to ten competitors; he therefore selects the first, second, and third prizewinners, and leaves the rest indiscriminated. The διὰ πάντων κριτής goes right through all the competitors, placing all in order, down to the last, as in a school class, from first to tenth. This is exactly the meaning required by the context. In reading... I was struck by the felicitous expression of the Greek, and the absence of a correspondingly convenient phrase in English." A. M. Adam.]

## IV.

IX 583 B. ἄθρει ὅτι οὐδὲ παναληθής ἐστιν ἡ τῶν ἄλλων ἡδονὴ πλὴν τῆς τοῦ φρονίμου οὐδὲ καθαρά, ἀλλ' ἐσκιαγραφημένη τις, ὡς ἐγὼ δοκῶ μοι τῶν σοφῶν τινὸς ἀκκοείναι.

Who are τῶν σοφῶν? Stallbaum's answer is "Verba ὡς ἐγὼ δοκῶ—ἀκκοείναι, nisi fallor, ad *Philebum* ipsius Platonis referenda sunt." Apart altogether from the disputed question as to the priority of the *Philebus*, it is very unlikely that Plato should refer to himself as τις τῶν σοφῶν, and none of the other passages where such a phrase occurs lends any support to this explanation. Schleiermacher (*Platons Staat* p. 604), Susemihl (*Gen. Entw.* II p. 242), and Zeller<sup>4</sup> (II p. 548 n. 2), hold that the entire argument presupposes the *Philebus*, but do not discuss the words τῶν σοφῶν τινός. It is tolerably clear, as Schneider points out on p. 312 of his translation, that τῶν σοφῶν τινός is one of those who in *Phil.* 44 B ff. are said to consider the so-called pleasures of the body merely λυπῶν ἀποφυγαί. The passage in question is as follows:

Σω. "Οὕτως γὰρ τοὺς πολέμιους Φιλίβου τοῦδε, ὦ Πρώταρχε, οὐ μανθάνεις. Πρω. Λέγεις δὲ αὐτοὺς τίνας; Σω. Καὶ μάλα δεινοὺς λεγόμενους τὰ περὶ φύσιν, οἳ τὸ παράπαν ἡδονὰς οὐ φασιν εἶναι. Πρω. Τί μὲν; Σω. Λυπῶν ταύτας εἶναι πάσας ἀποφυγὰς, αἷς νῦν οἱ περὶ Φίληβου ἡδονὰς ἐπονυμάζουσιν. Πρω. Τούτοις οἷν ἡμᾶς πότερα πείθεσθαι ξυμβουλευείς, ἢ πῶς, ὦ Σώκρατες; Σω. Οὐκ, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ μάντεσι προσχρησθῆαι τισι, μαντευομένοις οὐ τέχνῃ ἀλλὰ τινι δυσχερεῖα φύσεως οὐκ ἀγεννοῦς, λίαν μεμισσηκότων τὴν τῆς ἡδονῆς δύναμιν καὶ νομομικότων οὐδὲν ὑγιές, ὥστε καὶ αὐτὸ τοῦτο αὐτῆς τὸ ἐπαγωγὸν γοήτευμα, οὐχ ἡδονὴν εἶναι κτλ.

Schneider's identification, so far as it goes, has been generally accepted by recent critics; and the parallels are too close to admit of doubt: note in particular γοήτευμα as compared with ἐσκιαγραφημένη. But there is little agreement on the question who these haters of pleasure are, and they have been variously explained as: (1) Antisthenes and the Cynics (Urban *ib. die Erwähnungen d. Phil. d. Antisthenes in d. Pl. Schriften* p. 28 and Zeller<sup>4</sup> II p. 306 n. 6); (2) "probably Pythagorising friends" of Plato's, "who, adopting a ritual of extreme rigour, distinguished themselves by the violence of their antipathies towards τὰς ἡδονὰς τῶν ἀσχημόνων" (Grote *Plato* II p. 610 n., and to somewhat the same effect also Prantl in his Translation of the *Republic* p. 422 n. 311); (3) Democritus and his adherents (Hirzel *Unters. zu Cicero's philos. Schrift.* I pp. 141—152, and Natorp in *Arch. f. Gesch. d. Phil.* III pp. 522—528, and in *Die Ethika d. Demokritos* pp. 164—179). The respectful tone in which Plato, both in the *Philebus* and in the *Republic*, mentions the authors of these anti-hedonistic theories does not permit us to suppose that Antisthenes is intended. It is moreover inconsistent with the grossness which pervaded the Cynic philosophy to suppose that they looked upon the unseemly pleasures as delusive and false; nor was Antisthenes in any sense of the term δεινὸς λεγόμενος τὰ περὶ φύσιν.



These reasons, which are to my mind conclusive, are urged by Grote, and supplemented with great ability by Natorp.

I agree with von Arnim, who in his review of Natorp (*Gött. gel. Anz.* for 1894 p. 889) emphatically rejects the attempted identification of these pleasure-haters with Democritus and his followers. The founder of Hedonism could surely never have totally denied the existence of pleasure (τὸ παράπαν ἡδονὰς οὐ φασιν εἶναι *Phil.* l.c.); and Plato (in spite of Hirzel l.c. pp. 146 ff.) was not likely to treat the Arch-materialist with so much consideration and respect. Natorp's elaborate comparison of Democritus' ethical fragments with the writings of Plato involves many highly speculative combinations, and the two writers seldom if ever touch one another except in moral and political common-places and maxims for which parallels can readily be quoted from the other remains of pre-Socratic literature.

There are, I think, strong positive reasons for holding, in virtual agreement with Grote, that Plato has in view preachers of the Orphic-Pythagorean moral and religious school.

In the first place, we find other passages in which Plato alludes to this class of moralists as σοφοί. They were Plato's precursors in asserting the doctrine of individual immortality and transmigration; and in the *Meno* (81 A ff.) Plato refers to them in this connexion by the words ἀκήκοα γὰρ ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν σοφῶν περὶ τὰ θεῖα πράγματα κτλ. The famous passage of the *Gorgias* (492 E ff.) where the Orphic-Pythagorean view of the body as a tomb—σῶμα σῆμα—is expounded, begins ὅπερ ἡδὴ τοῦ ἐγωγε καὶ ἤκουσα τῶν σοφῶν, ὡς νῦν ἡμεῖς τέθναμεν, καὶ τὸ μὲν σῶμά ἐστιν ἡμῖν σῆμα κτλ. It is even possible that οἱ σοφοί was a recognised way of describing—sometimes not without irony—the representatives of the Orphic brotherhood. Dieterich in his *Nekyia* (pp. 124, 133) cites in support of this contention Sophocles *El.* 62 ἡδὴ γὰρ εἶδον πολλάκις καὶ τοὺς σοφοὺς | λόγῳ μάτην θνήσκοντας, and Euripides *Hel.* 513 f. λόγος γὰρ ἐστὶν οὐκ ἐμός, σοφῶν δ' ἔπος, | δεινῆς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἰσχύειν πλέον. The sages who reappeared after they were supposed to have died—Pythagoras, Zalmoxis, Aristaeas etc.—are generally connected with the Orphic cult (Rohde *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> II pp. 28 ff. 90 ff.), and the power of Ἀνάγκη was a characteristic feature in the same creed (Dieterich l.c.). Another place in which σοφοί has the same reference, according to Dieterich, is Aesch. *P. V.* 936 οἱ προσκυνουῦντες τὴν Ἀδράστειαν σοφοί. The goddess Adrasteia plays a large part in the Orphic theology (cf. Thompson on Pl. *Phaedr.* 248 c), and Aeschylus' line certainly gains additional point if we agree with Dieterich, although in this particular instance I cannot regard the reference as proved. Miss Harrison has supplied me with two other passages to the same effect, one in Eur. *Ion* 1139 ὡς λέγουσιν οἱ σοφοί, where the allusion is to some numerical measurements according to which a ritual tent has to be built, and another in Eur. *Fr.* 938 Dindorf καὶ γαῖα μήτερ, Ἔστίαν δέ σ' οἱ σοφοί βροτῶν καλοῦσιν. In the last of these instances οἱ σοφοί undoubtedly means the Pythagoreans; see Pl. *Phaedr.* 247 A and Thompson ad loc.

Secondly, the conception of the unreality and 'impurity' of bodily

pleasure has the closest affinity with the doctrine of the *Phaedo*. It is implied in the *Phaedo*, as it is here (οὐδὲ παραληθής), that the pleasures of sense are not, strictly speaking, pleasures at all (τοῦτο δ' καλοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι ἡδὴ, 60 B τὰς ἡδονὰς καλουμένας τὰς τοιάσδε, οἷον σιτίων καὶ ποτῶν κτλ. 64 D: cf. also 69 B and 81 B quoted in the notes); and just as sensual pleasure is here declared to be 'impure' (οὐδὲ καθάρᾳ), so also the *Phaedo* constantly insists on the need of purification (κάθαρσις) from the body and its lusts (66 A—68 B, 69 B, C, 80 E ff., 82 D, 108 B, 114 C). Now it is precisely these and such-like views on sin, the relation of body and soul, etc., which formed the kernel of the Orphic-Pythagorean morality (Rohde l.c. II pp. 121—136, 160—170), and Plato himself does not desire to conceal the source from which he derived his inspiration (see *Crat.* 400 C and other evidence in Stallbaum-Wohlrab on *Phaed.* 62 B and Rohde l.c. II pp. 265—295). See also on IX 586 B.

The words δεινούς λεγομένους τὰ περὶ φύσιν in the *Philebus* seem to shew that Plato is there thinking in particular of certain *pythagorising* Orphics. The Pythagoreans "might well be termed δεινοὶ περὶ φύσιν. They paid much attention to the interpretation of nature, though they did so according to a numerical and geometrical symbolism" (Grote l.c.). The expression 'symbolism' is however incorrect, if—as I think with Burnet *Early Greek Phil.* pp. 312 ff.—the Pythagorean numbers, at all events in the original form of the theory, were spatial, in which case δεινοὶ τὰ περὶ φύσιν is even more appropriate as a description of the Pythagoreans). In the present passage there is nothing (beyond the parallel with the *Philebus*) to indicate any special reference to Pythagoreans, although, as Rohde has shewn, the moral and religious teaching of Orphics and Pythagoreans was for all practical purposes the same.

## V.

IX 584 E—585 A. In this difficult passage the reading of Paris A and all the best MSS is ὥσπερ πρὸς μέλαν φαιὸν ἀποσκοποῦντες ἀπειρία λευκοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄλμπον οὕτω λύπην ἀφορῶντες ἀπειρία ἡδονῆς ἀπατῶνται;

In the text I have followed Schneider in reading, with *q* and Flor. U, ὥσπερ <δὲ> instead of ὥσπερ, and Schleiermacher in printing τὸ ἄλμπον οὕτω πρὸς λύπην for πρὸς τὸ ἄλμπον οὕτω λύπην, which is in all the MSS.

I will deal first with ὥσπερ—ἀπειρία λευκοῦ. The structure of the clause proves that it is mainly intended to balance and illustrate καὶ—ἀπειρία ἡδονῆς. That being the case, is it possible to dispense with δέ after ὥσπερ, for which the authority is very slight?

In his *In Plat. Pol. quaest. philol.* I pp. 46 ff. Neukirch remarks "verba ὥσπερ πρὸς—λευκοῦ, describentia eos, quibuscum illi, de quibus in antecedentibus sermo est, comparantur, ita accedunt, quasi absolvant comparisonem; quam ut magis perspicuam et perfectam exhibeat, addit praeterea scriptor καὶ πρὸς—ἀπατῶνται, nullam iam habens rationem eorum, quae ante ὥσπερ posita sunt," comparing (for the use

of ὥσπερ) III 413 D, IV 432 D, E, VIII 557 C, X 625 B, 611 C, D and *Phaed.* 60 E—61 A. Hermann also agrees with Neukirch in excluding δέ. It is certainly true that ὥσπερ *cum asyndeto* may be thus used (see on VI 497 B), but inasmuch as ἀπατώνται furnishes the antithesis to σφόδρα μὲν οἶονται, we cannot here dispense with δέ. With Schneider and the other editors, I am therefore reluctantly obliged to desert the best mss in this passage.

There is less unanimity among critics about καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἄλυπον οὕτω λύπην. As the words stand in the mss, Painlessness is equated with Black, Pain with Grey, and Pleasure with White. In point of fact, however, Black should correspond to Pain, and Grey to Painlessness. The second hand in *γ* tried to avoid the difficulty by advising the transposition of μέλαν and φαῖόν, and so Jowett translates, "they, not knowing pleasure, err in contrasting pain with the absence of pain, which is like contrasting black with grey instead of white" etc. But ἀπειρία λευκοῦ is not 'instead of white'; and, as Schneider observed, *γ*<sup>2</sup> is certainly wrong, for however ignorant you are of white, you do not mistake black when contrasted with grey. Schneider himself, followed by Stallbaum and the other editors, is content to obey the mss "quia per codices mutare non licet." His explanation, like that of Stallbaum ("res eodem redit, sive dolor iuxta doloris vacuitatem, sive doloris vacuitas iuxta dolorem spectari dicatur"), is fatal to the balance of the two clauses ὥσπερ—λευκοῦ and καὶ—ἡδονῆς: nor is it permissible, with the Oxford editors, to defend the ms reading by calling that a *chiasmus* which in reality involves an erroneous identification.

For these reasons, the mss are, I believe, wrong. There is little to choose between Schleiermacher's two conjectures τὸ ἄλυπον οὕτω πρὸς λύπην and πρὸς λύπην οὕτω τὸ ἄλυπον, the second of which was afterwards repeated by W. H. Thompson (*J. of Ph.* v p. 218). With Richards (*Cl. Rev.* VIII p. 294), I rather prefer the first, chiefly on account of the *chiasmus*.

## VI.

IX 585 C. Ἡ οὖν ἀεὶ ὁμοίου οὐσία οὐσίας τι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιστήμης μετέχει; Οὐδαμῶς. Τί δ'; ἀληθείας; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο. Εἰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἦττον, οὐ καὶ οὐσίας; Ἀνάγκη κτλ.

Such is the text of all the best mss. There is nothing in any of the others to indicate the presence of corruption, for the variants μὴ αὐεὶ ὁμοίου (*v* Flor. R) and τοῦ μηδέποτε ὁμοίου (*γ* and a Florentine ms) are obviously only attempts at emendation.

The traditional reading is maintained by Schneider and the Oxford editors. On grammatical grounds it is clear (1) that Τί δ'; ἀληθείας; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο stands for Τί δ'; <ἡ αὐεὶ ὁμοίου οὐσία> ἀληθείας <τι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιστήμης μετέχει>; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο: also (2) that Εἰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἦττον stands for Εἰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἦττον <μετέχει ἡ αὐεὶ ὁμοίου οὐσία>. We have no right (with Schneider) to explain Τί δ' ἀληθείας as Τί δ', <ἡ> ἀληθείας, or to understand only <μετέχει τι> after εἰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἦττον.



Jowett and Campbell do not explain the construction, but apparently regard the introduction of *ἐπιστήμη* as otiose and irrelevant. "For the sake of his" (Plato's) "argument it would have been sufficient to obtain the admission that truth and essence go together: that the pleasures of the body, being less true, are also less real." It appears to me quite clear that the mention of *ἐπιστήμη* plays an important part in the argument. Surely it must refer to, and be interpreted by, *ἐπιστήμης* already mentioned in *τὸ δόξης τε ἀληθοῦς εἶδος καὶ ἐπιστήμης κτλ.*

Is it possible to reconcile the grammatical construction of the MS text with such an interpretation of *ἐπιστήμης*? Let us try.

The Being of the ever-like, as appears from Glauco's *πολὺ διαφέρει τὸ τοῦ αἰὲ ὁμοίου* taken in connexion with the previous sentence, has more Being and more Truth, than the Being of the never-like has. If therefore the Being of the ever-like has as much part in Knowledge as it has in Being and in Truth (*ἡ οὖν—Οὐδὲ τοῦτο*), we may infer (since *μετοχή* is reciprocal) that Knowledge also has more part in Being and in Truth than has the Being of the never-like. (The inference is just, but Plato does not draw it, and his way of expressing himself certainly does not invite us to do so. If we could make *ἡ ἐπιστήμης* = *ἡ ἐπιστήμης οὐσία*, which is barely possible, or if we read *ἡ <ἡ> ἐπιστήμης* sc. *οὐσία*, or *ἐπιστήμη* instead of *ἐπιστήμης*, this explanation becomes easier in itself, and the inference is also easier to draw.) But the words *εἰ δὲ ἀληθείας ἦττον, οὐ καὶ οὐσίας*; present an insuperable difficulty. They cannot be made to suit with this interpretation unless we make the subject of *ἦττον* <*μετέχει*> either (*a*) *ἐπιστήμη* (or *ἡ ἐπιστήμης οὐσία*), or else (*b*) *τὸ μηδέποτε ὅμοιον* (or *τὰ οἷον σίτου κτλ.*); and the only possible grammatical subject, so far as I can see, is *ἡ αἰὲ ὁμοίου οὐσία*.

For these and other reasons, some of which are urged by Vermehren *Plat. Stud.* pp. 114 ff., the text must, I fear, be pronounced corrupt.

The emendation which I have ventured to print supposes that the error lies in the subject of *μετέχει*. By reading *αἰὲ ἀνομοίου* (= *μηδέποτε ὁμοίου*) instead of *αἰὲ ὁμοίου*, and *ἡ ἐπιστήμης* sc. *οὐσία* instead of *ἐπιστήμης*, it is possible to introduce the necessary contrast in respect of Being and Truth between the never-like (to which such *γένη* as food etc. belong), and Knowledge, which belongs to the ever-like. R. G. Bury's emendation proceeds upon essentially the same principle. After an acute analysis of this passage (*Cl. Rev.* XIII pp. 289 ff.) he proposes to write: *ἡ οὖν αἰὲ ἰοίου σιτία μᾶλλον ἢ ἐπιστήμη μετέχει*; This suggestion regarded in itself is more attractive than that which I have adopted: for it contrasts the particular, instead of the general, with the particular, and thus makes *ὅλως* doubly appropriate. But on the one hand, throughout the whole of this argument Plato uses the word *μετέχειν* only in connexion with Being and Truth: whereas Bury connects it with the 'ever-like'; and on the other hand it is extremely unlikely that *ἡ οὖν αἰὲ ὁμοίου σιτία—ἐπιστήμη* should ever have been corrupted into *ἡ οὖν αἰὲ ὁμοίου οὐσία οὐσίας τι—ἐπιστήμης*. Bury's explanation of the error involves one dittography and four subsequent adaptations or 'corrections.' If we were dealing only with an emended MS like *g*, such a restoration might

be possible—probable it could not even then be called: but I doubt if there is a single instance in which it can be shewn that Paris A has suffered to this extent in this particular way. I should however be only too glad to accept a convincing emendation on the lines indicated by Bury, and I have spent no small amount of time in trying to devise one, without attaining any more satisfactory result than that which he has reached. Possibly αἰὲ ὁμοίου has replaced a word denoting some particular kind of food.

Meantime the reading given in the text, though less pointed, appears to me less improbable. αἰὲ ἀνομοίου, which gives the same sense as *q's* τοῦ μηδέποτε ὁμοίου, might readily pass into αἰὲ ὁμοίου under the influence of αἰὲ ὁμοίου just before; and the addition of <ῆ> after ῆ is scarcely a change.

The other conjectures are these: (1) ῆ οὖν ἀνομοίου οὐσία οὐσίας τι μᾶλλον ῆ ἐπιστήμης μετέχει; (Hermann, followed by Müller): (2) ῆ δὲ τοῦ ἀνομοίου κτλ.; (Stallbaum, who adds “nolumus tamen in re incerta quidquam in oratione Platonis, qualem codd. plurimi optimique exhibent, immutare”): (3) ῆ γοῦν ἀνόμοιος οὐσία ὁμοίας τι μᾶλλον ἐπιστήμης μετέχει; “Hat denn zum Wenigsten das ungleiche Wesen einen grösseren Antheil am Wissen als das gleiche? Keineswegs. Und wie, an der Wahrheit? Auch das nicht. Wenn aber einen minderen an der Wahrheit, weil am Wissen, dann nicht auch am Sein? Nothwendig” (Vermehren l.c.). (4) Madvig (and after him Baiter) postulates an extensive lacuna. He first ejects καὶ ἀληθείας just before, and after writing with Ast τὸ <τοῦ> μηδέποτε ὁμοίου, continues as follows: Ἡ οὖν <τοῦ> αἰὲ ὁμοίου οὐσία οὐσίας τι μᾶλλον ῆ ἐπιστήμης μετέχει; Οὐδαμῶς. Τί δ', ἀληθείας; Οὐδὲ τοῦτο. <Ἡ δὲ τοῦ ἀνομοίου οὐκ ἐπιστήμης ἦττον μετέχει ῆ ἢ τοῦ ὁμοίου; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Εἰ δ' ἐπιστήμης, καὶ ἀληθείας; Καὶ τοῦτο.> The possibility of a lacuna must be allowed, as well as the counter-possibility that ῆ οὖν—ἀνάγκη is a clumsy attempt (modelled perhaps on *Theat.* 186 c, d) on the part of some scribe to shew that Being and Truth go together, so that where there is less of the one, there is also less of the other; but neither solution is probable. It will be observed that all these attempts at correction agree in working in ἀνόμοιον (in some form or other) as the subject to μετέχει, although they are, I think, wrong in leaving ἐπιστήμης as it stands. It may be added that the brief account of Plato's third argument in Proclus *Comment.* 11 p. 82 ed. Kroll is of no use in trying to interpret or emend this difficult sentence.

# I.

I. Καὶ μὲν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα περὶ αὐτῆς ἐννοῶ, 595  
ὥς παντὸς ἄρα μᾶλλον ὀρθῶς φκίζομεν τὴν πόλιν, οὐχ ἥκιστα δὲ

**595 A—597 E** *On a retrospect of our city, says Socrates, we can now see even more clearly than before that we did right in excluding imitative Poetry. What is Imitation? Examine it in the light of the Ideas, and you will find that it is the production of images or appearances which are third in order from Reality and Truth. There are, for example, three beds: (1) that which is in Nature, made, as we may say, by God: (2) that which the carpenter manufactures: (3) that which is the product of the painter's art. The first is, and must be, one: for there cannot be two Ideas of bed. We have thus two makers in connexion with the notion of bed: (1) a Nature-maker (φύσιουργός), who is God; (2) a manufacturer (δημιουργός), viz. the carpenter. There is also (3) an imitator, i.e. the painter. Imitation is therefore concerned with a product third in sequence from Nature, and the tragic poet, among other imitators, is third from Royalty and Truth.*

**595 A ff.** Book X falls into two divisions, the first (595 A—608 B) dealing with Poetry, the second (608 C—621 D) with Immortality and the rewards of Justice both here and hereafter. The second half of the Book forms a welcome supplement to Plato's treatment of the main thesis of the *Republic* (see on 608 C); but the first division is of the nature of an episode, and might have been omitted without injury to the artistic unity of the dialogue (cf. Hirmer *Entst. u. Komp. d. pl. Pol.* p. 623). It is in no sense, as supposed by Schleiermacher (*Einleitung* p. 55) and apparently also by Hirzel (*der Dialog* I p. 237 n.), a fulfilment of the promise held out in III 392 C; nor ought we to construe ὥς δὲ καὶ πάλιν ἐν τοῦτων III 394 D as a hint that the subject of Poetry is to be resumed: see note ad

loc. Why then is the episode introduced at all? The chorizontists (such as Siebeck *Unters. zur Phil. d. Griech.* pp. 142 ff., Pfeleiderer *zur Lösung* etc. p. 34 and Brandt *zur Entwickl. d. Pl. Lehre d. Seelenteilen* p. 27), relying partly on the tone of the exordium, partly on ἀπολελογήσθω 607 B, assert that Plato is replying to certain comic poets (Pfeleiderer), or to Antisthenes (Brandt), who had presumably fallen foul of Plato's treatment of Poetry in Books II and III. Cf. also Zeller<sup>4</sup> II p. 556 n. 2. But apart altogether from the question whether the *Republic* was issued *en bloc* or piecemeal, there is no actual evidence to support the presumption on which this theory rests (cf. 598 D, 607 B nn.). The Platonic dialogue, like actual conversation, is at liberty to recall, modify, and expand the results of a discussion apparently finished (cf. Hirzel l.c. pp. 228—230, 236); and we have already had an incidental recurrence to the subject of Poetry in VIII 568 A—D. Granted that Plato wished to justify his exclusion of the Muses by metaphysical and psychological as well as moral and paedagogic arguments, the beginning of Book X is his best, and indeed, as Hirmer shews (l.c. p. 625), his only opportunity: see on 595 B. He may well have wished to do so: for his dethronement of the great educator of Greece (606 E) would be sure to arouse wide-spread hostility, and Plato almost seems to feel that it needs further justification even to himself (595 B n.). Cf. Hirmer l.c. pp. 624—628 and see also on 598 D, 607 B.

The student will find an excellent and exhaustive account of Plato's theory of Aesthetics in Walter *Gesch. d. Aesthetik im Altertum* (1893) pp. 168—476. His attitude towards Poetry and Poets is



ἐνθυμηθεῖς περὶ ποιήσεως λέγω. Τὸ ποῖον; ἔφη. Τὸ μηδαμῇ παραδέχεσθαι αὐτῆς ὅση μιμητική. παντὸς γὰρ μᾶλλον οὐ 5  
 Β παραδεκτέα νῦν καὶ ἐναργέστερον, ὡς ἐμοὶ <sup>1</sup> δοκεῖ, φαίνεται, ἐπειδὴ 5  
 χωρὶς ἕκαστα διήρηται τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς εἶδη. Πῶς λέγεις; Ὡς  
 μὲν πρὸς ὑμᾶς εἰρῆσθαι—οὐ γὰρ μου κατερεῖτε πρὸς τοὺς τῆς  
 τραγωδίας ποιητὰς καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἅπαντας τοὺς μιμητικούς—  
 λῶβη ἔοικεν εἶναι πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τῆς τῶν ἀκουόντων διανοίας,  
 ὅσοι μὴ ἔχουσι φάρμακον τὸ εἰδέναι αὐτὰ οἷα τυγχάνει ὄντα. Πῇ 10  
 δῆ, ἔφη, διανοούμενος λέγεις; Ῥητέον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ· καίτοι φιλία γέ

5. παραδεκτέα ΑΠ: παραδεκτέον COT. Α<sup>2</sup>.

very fully discussed by Reber *Platon u. die Poesie* (1864), Heine *de rat. quae Platon cum poet. Gr. intercedit*, etc. (1880), and more recently by Finsler *Platon u. die Arist. Poetik* (1900) and Stählin *die Stellung d. Poesie in d. plat. Phil.* (1901). Following on the path marked out by Belger in his dissertation *de Arist. etiam in arte poetica Platonis discip.* (1872), Finsler has succeeded in shewing that Aristotle's debt to Plato in his Theory of Poetry is far greater than is commonly supposed: and although the treatment of Poetry in Book x of the *Republic* must be confessed to be inadequate and unjust, Plato himself, as Walter and Stählin have recognised, furnishes us elsewhere with the materials for constructing a truer and more generous theory. See also on 598 E. It may be added that a study of the *Poetics* of Aristotle side by side with 595 A—608 B will enable the student to understand both Plato and Aristotle better than if he confines himself to either alone. See also Butcher *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry and Fine Art*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 115 ff.

595 A 3 ἐνθυμηθεῖς περὶ ποιήσεως. II 377 B—III 403 C.

τὸ μηδαμῇ—μιμητική. See III 394 B—398 B. Plato speaks as if he had tabooed all mimetic poetry, but it is clear from III 396 E compared with 397 D, 398 B and 401 B—402 C that he did not condemn poetic and artistic imitation *as such*, but would have admitted it where the model imitated was good. See also on 595 C, 607 A, 608 A infra.

595 B 5 ἐπειδὴ—εἶδη: viz. in Book IV and also throughout VIII and IX. The psychological theory of these books is laid under contribution in 602 C ff.: see note ad loc. It may seem strange

that Plato makes no reference to the metaphysical doctrine of V—VII, since he derives his first argument (596 A—601 B) from the theory of Ideas: but it was unnecessary for him to refer to it in this connexion, because the theory is itself expressly re-enunciated (εἶδος γὰρ που κτλ. 596 A) before the argument begins.

6 ὥς—εἰρῆσθαι: 'between ourselves.' Cf. IV 430 E n.

10 αὐτά: viz. πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα, tragedy and other forms of μιμητικὴ ποίησις: not (as Schleiermacher) "wie sich die Dinge in der Wirklichkeit verhalten." A knowledge of the real character of dramatic Poetry is the only antidote against its evil influence. On τυγχάνει ὄντα see I 337 B n.

11 καίτοι φιλία γε—λέγειν. Plato speaks with real feeling: no one who had so much of the poet in himself could be insensible to Homer's charm, and nearly every dialogue of Plato bears evidence of the affectionate admiration in which he held the 'first of tragic poets.' See Heine *de rat. quae Platon cum poetis Graec. intercedit* pp. 8—15. The ancients classed Plato and Homer together: δύο γὰρ αὐταὶ ψυχαὶ λέγονται γενέσθαι παναρμόνιοι, says Olympiodorus (*viz.* Pl. 6): and Longinus remarks that of all Greek writers Plato was Ὀμηρικώτατος—ἀπὸ τοῦ Ὀμηρικοῦ κείνου νάματος εἰς αὐτὸν μυρίας ὅσας παρατροπὰς ἀποχτενυσάμενος (περὶ ὕψους 13. 3). See also the admirable remarks on Plato's imitation of Homer in James Geddes's essay *On the Composition and Manner of Writing of the Ancients* pp. 180—200, and Proclus' much less sound and instructive article ὅτι διὰ πάσης τῆς ἑαυτοῦ συγγραφῆς Ὀμήρου ζηλωτῆς ἐστίν ὁ Πλάτων ταῖς τε λεκτικαῖς ἀρεταῖς καὶ ταῖς πραγματικαῖς in his *in*

τίς με καὶ αἰδῶς ἐκ παιδὸς ἔχουσα περὶ Ὀμήρου ἀποκαλλύει λέγειν.  
 ἔοικε <sup>1</sup> μὲν γὰρ τῶν καλῶν ἀπάντων τούτων τῶν τραγικῶν πρῶτος C  
 διδάσκαλός τε καὶ ἡγεμὼν γενέσθαι. ἀλλ' οὐ γὰρ πρό γε τῆς  
 15 ἀληθείας τιμητέος ἀνὴρ, ἀλλ', ὃ λέγω, ῥητέον. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.  
 "Ἀκουε δὴ, μάλλον δὲ ἀποκρίνου. Ἐρώτα. Μίμησιν ὅλως ἔχοις  
 ἂν μοι εἰπεῖν ὅ τί ποτ' ἐστίν; οὐδὲ γάρ τοι αὐτὸς πάνυ τι ξυννοῶ,  
 τί βούλεται εἶναι. Ἡ που ἄρ', ἔφη, ἐγὼ συννοήσω. Οὐδέν γε,  
 ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἄτοπον, ἐπεὶ πολλά τοι ὀξύτερον βλεπόντων ἀμβλύ- 596

15. ἀλλ' ὁ A<sup>2</sup>Π: fortasse ἀλλὰ A<sup>1</sup>.

rempr. Kroll 1 pp. 163—177. There is a touch of something like filial love and piety in what Plato says of Homer in this passage, and we may well believe that he did not part company with the friend of his childhood without pain. From the way in which Plato here speaks, it looks as if he feared that his heart might after all get the better of his head (cf. infra 605 C, D, 606 B, 607 C ff.), and consequently tried by new and deeper arguments to provide an 'antidote' (φάρμακον, or ἐπωδή 608 A) for himself as well as others (so also Hirmer l.c. p. 626).

595 C 13 τῶν καλῶν κτλ. καλῶν is of course ironical. For the sense cf. 598 D, 602 B, 607 A, *Theat.* 152 E οἱ ἄκροι τῆς ποιήσεως ἑκατέρας, κωμωδίας μὲν Ἐπίχαρμος, τραγωδίας δὲ Ὅμηρος and ib. 153 A, with Arist. *Poet.* 4. 1448<sup>b</sup> 35 ff., 5. 1449<sup>b</sup> 16 ff. It will be remembered that Aeschylus called his dramas τεμάχη τῶν Ὀμήρου μεγάλων δελπνῶν (*Athen.* VIII 347 E). Herwerden, quite without reason, so far as I can see, brackets τῶν τραγικῶν. It is unkind of Aristotle to purloin this sentiment in order to introduce his attack on Plato's theory of Ideas in *Eth. Nic.* I 4. 1096<sup>a</sup> 11 ff., and Plato might well complain, in the words of Aeschylus, τὰδ' οὐχ ὑπ' ἄλλων, ἀλλὰ τοῖς αὐτῶν πεποιῖς. To read ἀνὴρ for ἀνήρ, as has been proposed, would make a general statement particular, and spoil the antithesis between ἀνήρ and ἀληθείας. The reference in ὁ λέγω is to ῥητέον in line 11 above: cf. VII 541 B.

16 μίμησιν κτλ. In III 392 C ff., μίμησις, in its application to Poetry, was regarded *primarily* as a form of style or λέξις, viz. the imitative or dramatic) (the narrative, and in this sense it included

tragedy, comedy, and the strictly dramatic parts of epic and other poetry (394 C). But even in Book III μίμησις and its cognate notions have sometimes a wider application (e.g. 401 B—402 C). The following discussion tries to define the essential meaning of μίμησις in general by its relation to the Theory of Ideas. It should be noted that Poetry and Art were admitted to be μίμησις in Plato's day: cf. *Laws* 668 B τοῦτό γε πᾶς ἂν ὁμολογοῖ περὶ τῆς μουσικῆς, ὅτι πάντα τὰ περὶ αὐτῆν ἐστὶ ποιήματα μίμησις τε καὶ ἀπεικασία, with Xen. *Mem.* III 10. 1—8, Plato *Crat.* 424 D, 430 B (τὰ ζωγραφήματα—μίμηματα—πραγμάτων τινῶν, 434 A, *Soph.* 266 D), *Prot.* 312 D, *Critias* 107 B et al. See also on III 392 C and cf. Stählin *Poesie in d. plat. Phil.* p. 25. On the contrast between Plato's view of Imitation in Book X and that of Aristotle in his *Poetics*, see Butcher *Theory of Poetry*<sup>2</sup> etc. pp. 115—152. Walter has justly remarked (*Gesch. d. Aesthetik im Altertum* p. 442) that μίμησις, with its question-begging connotation, was in many ways an unfortunate word by which to describe the essence of Art, though in view of what Aristotle made of it, I should not go so far as to say that 'Imitation is an unproductive principle, and dries up aesthetic life' (ib.). If Poetry, and not Painting and Statuary, had determined the Greek view of Art, we should probably hear more of Creation (ποίησις), and less of Imitation, in ancient discussions on aesthetics; and it is difficult not to regret that Plato did not select a new and more fruitful point of view. See also on 598 A, B.

19 ἐπεὶ πολλά κτλ. is neither arrogant nor rude, if we realise the situation: see on VII 532 E f.

τερον ὁρῶντες πρότεροι εἶδον. Ἔστιν, ἔφη, οὕτως· ἀλλὰ σοῦ παρόντος οὐδ' ἂν προθυμηθῆναι οἶός τε εἶην εἰπεῖν, εἰ τί μοι καταφαίνεται, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ὄρα. Βούλει οὖν ἐνθένδε ἀρξώμεθα ἐπισκοποῦντες, ἐκ τῆς εἰωθυίας μεθόδου; εἶδος γάρ πού τι ἐν 5 ἑκάστου εἰώθαμεν τίθεσθαι περὶ ἑκαστα τὰ πολλά, οἷς ταῦτον ὄνομα ἐπιφέρομεν. ἢ οὐ μανθάνεις; Μανθάνω. Θῶμεν δὴ καὶ νῦν ὃ τι βούλει τῶν πολλῶν. οἶον, εἰ θέλεις, πολλαὶ πού εἰσι

4. ἀρξώμεθα Α²Π: ἀρξόμεθα Α¹.

596 A 5 ἐκ τῆς εἰωθυίας μεθόδου κτλ. As in V 476 A (see note ad loc.), so here, Plato does not try to prove the Ideal Theory, but treats Glauco as already a loyal Platonist. The account which Plato here gives of his Ideas has been widely canvassed from many different points of view. Bosanquet (*Companion* pp. 381 ff.) appears to me to err by interpreting it throughout only in terms of modern life and thought. Others refuse to regard it as serious, in view of the inherent difficulties, and because of Aristotle's remark διὸ δὴ οὐ κακῶς ὁ Πλάτων ἔφη ὅτι εἶδη ἔστιν ὅποσα φύσει *Met. A 4. 1070<sup>a</sup> 18*: cf. also A 991<sup>b</sup> 3 ff. with Bonitz's note. Others, again, like Krohn (*Pl. St.* pp. 242 ff.), hold that the Ideal Theory in Bk X is inconsistent with the theory expounded in V—VII, where we do not hear of Ideas corresponding to concrete and artificial objects, but only of Ideas of qualities (such as Justice) and the like. In reply to the last school of critics, we may point out that Plato is not bound to give an exhaustive account of the Ideal theory whenever he has occasion to make use of it. On the previous occasion he confined himself to Ideas of the virtues etc., because they only were relevant to his immediate purpose (see on V 476 A and cf. Grimmelt *de reip. Pl. comp. et univ.* pp. 81 ff., Hirmer *l.c.* pp. 646 ff. and Dümmler *zur Comp. d. Pl. St.* p. 14), and it is exactly the same reason which makes him cite Ideas of concrete and artificial objects in Book X. The view that Plato should not be taken seriously is as old as Proclus, who (*in Tim.* 104 F) observes οὐ γὰρ κατὰ τινὰς ἰδέας ὁ τεχνίτης ποιεῖ ἃ ποιεῖ, εἰ καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο λέγειν ὁ ἐν Πολιτεῖα Σωκράτης, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖ μὲν τὰ εἰρημένα παραδοχματός εἰρηνά· χάριν καὶ οὐ περὶ αὐτῶν τῶν ἰδεῶν, but, apart from other considerations, the recurrence of the same form of the theory

in other dialogues (see on 596 B, C) justifies us in taking Plato here also at his word. The history of the controversy is ably reviewed by Dr Beckmann (*Vom Plato artefactorum ideas statuerit*, Bonn 1889), with whom and with Zeller<sup>1</sup> II pp. 666, 701 al. I agree in believing this passage to be an authoritative exposition of the Ideal theory on one of its many sides.

εἶδος γάρ που κτλ.: 'for we are, as you know, in the habit of assuming a certain idea—always *one* idea—in connexion with each group of particulars to which we apply the same name': lit. 'an Idea, one each' i.e. each being one. There cannot be two or more Ideas of Bed for example: cf. 597 C. Unnecessary trouble has been raised about the translation of this sentence by Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 240), whose version "in Bezug auf jedes der vielen Dinge nehmen wir je eine Einheit als *eidos* τι an" is both strained and inaccurate. For the statement itself cf. V 476 A, 479 A, B, E, 480 A, VI 493 E and VII 507 B n. Plato *might* have written any of the foregoing passages without believing in Ideas of anything beyond qualities and attributes: but that he *did* believe in other Ideas also is evident not only from Book X, but also from *Phil.* 15 A, 16 C, D and many other places quoted by Zeller<sup>1</sup> II p. 701 n. 1.

8 πολλαὶ πού εἰσι κλίνας κτλ. Why does Plato select examples of artificial objects, when the Painter can equally well paint the features of Nature, as is virtually allowed in C? One reason is that otherwise he could not have constructed the descending scale *θεῖς, κλινοποιός, ξυγγράφος* 597 B ff. Had he selected e.g. mountains, it would be difficult to specify the middle term. Moreover in *Soph.* 266 B ff. we have a distinction drawn between *θεῖα* and *ἀνθρωπίνην εἰδωλοποικῇ*, the first producing likenesses of natural objects by natural agencies, the



κλῖναι<sup>1</sup> καὶ τράπεζαι. Πῶς δ' οὐ; Ἀλλὰ ἰδέαι γέ που περὶ B  
 10 ταῦτα τὰ σκεύη δύο, μία μὲν κλίνης, μία δὲ τραπέζης. Ναί.  
 Οὐκοῦν καὶ εἰώθαμεν λέγειν, ὅτι ὁ δημιουργὸς ἑκατέρου τοῦ σκεύους  
 πρὸς τὴν ἰδέαν βλέπων οὕτω ποιεῖ ὁ μὲν τὰς κλῖνας, ὁ δὲ τὰς  
 τραπέζας, αἷς ἡμεῖς χρώμεθα, καὶ τᾶλλα κατὰ ταῦτά; οὐ γάρ που  
 τὴν γε ἰδέαν αὐτὴν δημιουργεῖ οὐδεὶς τῶν δημιουργῶν.<sup>1</sup> πῶς γάρ; C  
 15 Οὐδαμῶς. Ἀλλ' ὅρα δὴ καὶ τόνδε τίνα καλεῖς τὸν δημιουργόν.  
 Τὸν ποῖον; Ὃς πάντα ποιεῖ, ὅσα περ εἰς ἕκαστος τῶν χειροτεχνῶν.  
 Δεινόν τινα λέγεις καὶ θαυμαστὸν ἄνδρα. Οὐπω γε, ἀλλὰ τάχα

15. τόνδε τίνα Π: τὸν δέ τινα (sic) A.  
 16. τάχα A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: ταῦτα Π q et for-  
 tasse A<sup>1</sup>.

second likenesses of artificial objects by artificial means, and Painting is there also classed under the second head: τί δὲ τὴν ἡμετέραν τέχνην; ἀρ' οὐκ αὐτὴν μὲν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομικῇ φήσομεν ποιεῖν, γραφικῇ δὲ τιν' ἐτέραν, ὅλον ὅναρ ἀνθρώπινον ἐργηγορῶσιν ἀπειργασμένην; (266 C). Inasmuch as σκευαστά are elsewhere credited with less reality than φυτευτά (see on VII 532 B, C *iii.*), the choice of these examples is also specially appropriate to Plato's main object, that is to say, the depreciation of imitative art.

596 B 9 ἀλλὰ ἰδέαι κτλ. For ideas of σκευαστά cf. especially *Crat.* 389 A—390 A, a passage which forms an admirable commentary on this. The anecdote about Plato and Diogenes in D. L. VI 53 (Πλάτωνος περὶ ἰδεῶν διαλεγόμενον, καὶ ὀνομάζοντος τραπέζοις καὶ κλῖναις κτλ.) is pointless unless Plato believed in εἶδη τῶν σκευαστῶν.

II οὐκοῦν—κατὰ ταῦτά. Cf. *Crat.* 389 A ff. ποῖ βλέπων ὁ τέκτων τὴν κερκίδα ποιεῖ; ἀρ' οὐ πρὸς τοιούτων τι ὁ πέφυκε κερκίζειν; Πάνν γε. Τί δέ; ἂν καταγῇ αὐτῷ ἢ κερκὶς ποιοῦντι, πότερον πάλιν ποιήσει ἄλλην πρὸς τὴν κατεαγμένην βλέπων, ἢ πρὸς ἐκεῖνο τὸ εἶδος, πρὸς ὅπερ καὶ ἡν κατέαξεν ἐποίησεν; Πρὸς ἐκεῖνο, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. Οὐκοῦν ἐκεῖνο δικαίον ἐστ' ἂν αὐτὸ δέ ἐστι κερκὶς καλεῖσθαι; ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ. The Idea is conceived as a παράδειγμα: cf. VI 500 E—501 C and see on V 476 D. Borrowing the ontology of the *Philebus*, we might say that the carpenter has an ἔπειρον of wood, into which he introduces πέρας after the model of the Idea of Bed or αἰτία, thereby manufacturing a μικτόν or material bed (Schmitt *die Verschiedenheit d. Ideenlehre in Pl. Rep. u. Phil.* p. 25 n. 68). We are not en-

titled (in view of 597 B and the phraseology of the present passage) to take ἰδέαν merely as the plan or form of bed in the mind of the carpenter: the Ideas of σκευαστά must be credited with the same attributes—transcendence, self-existence, etc.—as appertain to those of abstract qualities and φυτευτά (see on V 476 A), although the difficulties which such a view involves are undeniably greater in the one case than in the other. If we put ourselves in Plato's position—and Socrates is here speaking as one Platonist to another (εἰώθαμεν λέγειν)—it becomes correct to say that the carpenter is looking at the Idea rather than at his own νόημα, for the νόημα is nought apart from its object, the νοητόν (cf. V 476 E n.), i.e. the self-existent Idea of Bed, without which all the νοήματα in the world would be powerless to generate a bed because it is the αὐτὸ δέ ἐστι κλίνη, and no mere νόημα, which is the true and essential cause of all material κλῖναι. See also on 597 B.

596 C 15 καὶ τόνδε—δημιουργόν: i.e. καὶ τόνδε τὸν δημιουργὸν τίνα καλεῖς, sc. as well as the δημιουργὸς ἑκατέρου τοῦ σκεύους. Baiter ought not to have printed Vermehren's pointless conjecture καὶ τόνδε τίνα καλεῖς τῶν δημιουργῶν (*Pl. Stud.* p. 118): for Plato is leading up to 597 B ζωγράφος δὴ, κλινοποιός, θεός, τρεῖς οὗτοι ἐπιστάται τρισὶν εἰδεῖσι κλινῶν, and he again calls the painter a δημιουργός in D and E: so also χειροτέχνης just below.

16 δς—χειροτεχνῶν. Cf. *Soph.* 233 E—234 C, where the same conception is worked out in almost exactly the same way.

17 τάχα here means 'soon,' and not 'perhaps': cf. with Schneider *Crat.* 410 E.

μᾶλλον φήσεις. ὁ αὐτὸς γὰρ οὗτος χειροτέχνης οὐ μόνον πάντα οἷός τε σκεῖν ποιῆσαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυόμενα ἅπαντα ποιεῖ καὶ ζῶα πάντα ἐργάζεται, τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ ἑαυτόν, καὶ πρὸς 20 τούτοις γῆν καὶ οὐρανὸν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ τὰ ἐν Ἅιδου ὑπὸ γῆς ἅπαντα ἐργάζεται. Πάνυ θαυμαστόν, ἔφη, λέγεις σοφιστήν. Ἀπιστεῖς; ἦν δ' ἐγώ. καὶ μοι εἰπέ, τὸ παράπαν οὐκ ἂν σοι δοκεῖ εἶναι τοιοῦτος δημιουργός, ἢ τινὶ μὲν τρόπῳ γενέσθαι ἂν τούτων ἀπάντων ποιητής, τινὶ δὲ οὐκ ἂν; ἢ οὐκ 25 αἰσθάνει, ὅτι κὰν αὐτὸς οἷός τ' εἴης πάντα ταῦτα ποιῆσαι τρόπῳ γέ τινι; Καὶ τίς, ἔφη, ὁ τρόπος οὗτος; Οὐ χαλεπός, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀλλὰ πολλαχῇ καὶ ταχὺ δημιουργούμενος· τάχιστα δέ που, εἰ θέλεις λαβὼν κάτοπτρον περιφέρειν πανταχῇ· ταχὺ μὲν ἥλιον 30 ποιῆσεις καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ, ταχὺ δὲ γῆν, ταχὺ δὲ σαντόν τε καὶ τᾶλλα ζῶα καὶ σκεύη καὶ φυτὰ καὶ πάντα ὅσα νῦν δὴ ἐλέγετο. Naί, ἔφη, φαινόμενα, οὐ μέντοι ὄντα γέ που τῇ ἀληθείᾳ. Καλῶς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, καὶ εἰς δέον ἔρχει τῷ λόγῳ. τῶν τοιούτων γάρ, οἶμαι, δημιουργῶν καὶ ὁ ζωγράφος ἐστίν. ἢ γάρ; Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Ἀλλὰ

21. πάντα A<sup>1</sup>Π: punctis notavit A<sup>2</sup>.

20 καὶ ἑαυτόν presents no difficulty: cf. ταχὺ δὲ σαντόν in E below. It is difficult to imagine why Liebhold proposed τὰ κατ' ἑνιαυτόν (*Philolog.* for 1880 p. 168). Perhaps he thought the δημιουργός was ὁ θεός, an extraordinary error, which Peipers and others (see Zeller<sup>4</sup> II p. 711 n. 4) perpetrated, making God his own creator, and drawing some profound and far-reaching metaphysical lessons from their mistake.

καὶ πρὸς τούτοις κτλ. *Soph.* l.c. καὶ πρὸς γε θαλάττης [καὶ γῆς] καὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ θεῶν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ξυμπάντων. The words in brackets occur only in Ξ, and were possibly introduced from this passage.

21 πάντα has two (not, as Baiter asserts, five) dots over it in A, but is in all the MSS and should not (with Baiter) be bracketed. It is important, in view of 598 C ff., to insist that there is *nothing* which the Painter and Poet cannot 'make': hence the emphasis.

22 ἐν Ἅιδου should also of course be kept, though cancelled by Herwerden. Polygnotus' famous picture of τὰ ἐν Ἅιδου at Delphi may serve as an illustration (Paus. x 28—31).

596 D 23 σοφιστήν: used as in *Symp.*

203 D δεινὸς γόης καὶ φαρμακεὺς καὶ σοφιστής. Plato may also mean to hint that the Painter and Sophist are birds of a feather: for in *Soph.* 233 E ff. a definition of the Sophist in the ordinary sense of the term is evolved out of just such an account of painting as we find here.

25 ποιητής. The Greek idea of the Poet as a 'maker' lends additional flavour to ποιεῖν and ποιητής throughout this argument.

28 δημιουργούμενος is suggested of course by δημιουργός just before: cf. III 395 B. The combination of this verb with τρόπος has a playful mock-heroic air.

29 κάτοπτρον κτλ. On the view of Painting here involved see 598 A n. It is usual to compare Shakespeare's "hold the mirror up to nature," but (as Bosanquet points out) there is more in Shakespeare's saying than in Plato's.

596 E 33 τῶν τοιούτων—ζωγράφος ἐστίν. The Painter will copy with less accuracy than a mirror, so that according to Plato's way of reasoning in this passage Photography is superior in point of truth to Painting (Reber *Plato u. die Poesie* p. 23). See however on 598 A.

35 φήσεις οὐκ ἀληθῆ, οἶμαι, αὐτὸν ποιεῖν ἢ ποιεῖ. καίτοι τρόπῳ γέ  
τινι καὶ ὁ ζωγράφος κλίνην ποιεῖ. ἢ οὐ; Ναί, ἔφη, φαινομένην  
γε καὶ οὗτος.

II. Τί δὲ ὁ κλινοποιός· οὐκ ἄρτι | μέντοι ἔλεγες, ὅτι οὐ τὸ 597  
εἶδος ποιεῖ, ὃ δὴ φαμεν εἶναι ὃ ἔστι κλίνη, ἀλλὰ κλίνην τινά;  
Ἔλεγον γάρ. Οὐκοῦν εἰ μὴ ὃ ἔστιν ποιεῖ, οὐκ ἂν τὸ ὄν ποιοῖ,  
ἀλλὰ τι τοιοῦτον, οἷον τὸ ὄν, ὃν δὲ οὐ; τελέως δὲ εἶναι ὄν τὸ τοῦ  
5 κλινουργοῦ ἔργον ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς χειροτέχνου εἴ τις φαίη, κινδυνεύει  
οὐκ ἂν ἀληθῆ λέγειν; Οὐκοῦν, ἔφη, ὥς γ' ἂν δόξειεν τοῖς περὶ  
τοὺς τοιούσδε λόγους διατρίβουσιν. Μηδὲν ἄρα θαυμάζωμεν, εἰ  
καὶ τοῦτο ἀμυδρόν τι τυγχάνει· ὃν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν. <sup>1</sup> Μὴ γάρ. B  
Βούλει οὖν, ἔφη, ἐπ' αὐτῶν τούτων ζητήσωμεν τὸν μιμητὴν τούτου,  
10 τίς ποτ' ἐστίν; Εἰ βούλει, ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν τριτταὶ τινες κλίνειαι  
αὐταὶ γίγνονται· μία μὲν ἢ ἐν τῇ φύσει οὔσα, ἣν φαῖμεν ἄν, ὥς  
ἐγὼμαι, θεὸν ἐργάσασθαι. ἢ τίν' ἄλλον; Οὐδένα, οἶμαι. Μία

37. γε A<sup>2</sup>Π: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

3. ποιεῖ A<sup>2</sup>Ξq: ποιῇ A<sup>1</sup>Π.

II. ἐν Π: om. A.

38 οὐ—μέντοι. I 339 B n. ἄρτι refers to 596 B.

597 A γ εἰ καὶ τοῦτο κτλ.: sc. as well as the κλίνη made by the painter.

597 B γ ἐπ' αὐτῶν τούτων κτλ. For ἐπὶ see on V 475 A. τοῦτον in τὸν μιμητὴν τούτου ("hunc, quem quaerimus" Schneider) was found by Dübner to be the reading of A as well as the rest of Bekker's MSS, and Schneider restores it in his *Addit.* p. 77.

10 οὐκοῦν κτλ. For γίγνονται see on VIII 562 A. With ἐν τῇ φύσει cf. infra 597 C, 598 A, *Phaed.* 103 B and *Parm.* 132 D τὰ μὲν εἶδη ταῦτα ὥσπερ παραδείγματα ἐστάναι ἐν τῇ φύσει. Each of these passages brings ἡ φύσις into connexion with the Ideas; cf. also V 476 B, VI 501 B, *Crat.* 389 B ff. and infra 597 D, E. In the phrase ἐν τῇ φύσει, the expression ἡ φύσις means 'Nature' i.e. *rerum natura* (cf. R. G. Bury in *Cl. Rev.* VIII p. 299), but for Plato *rerum natura*, strictly interpreted, is the Ideal World. Plato's nomenclature is in harmony with the traditional usage of Greek philosophy, for "in Greek philosophical language, φύσις always means that which is primary, fundamental, and persistent, as opposed to that which is secondary, derivative, and transient" (Burnet *Early Greek Phil.* p. 11). Now in Platonism the primary, fundamental,

persistent, is the εἶδος: and hence the φύσις or 'nature' of anything means its Idea (e.g. *Phaedr.* 254 B ἡ μνήμη πρὸς τὴν τοῦ κάλλους φύσιν ἠνέχθη), and the φύσις or nature of *all* things (*rerum natura*) becomes an expression for the World of Ideas ("regio idearum, ὁ νοητὸς τόπος" Schneider). Bosanquet would like to render φύσις by 'evolution,' "without understanding any definite theory of origins." Such a translation would be, in my judgment, not only gravely misleading, but linguistically wrong; for ἐν τῇ φύσει οὔσα cannot mean 'which evolution has produced': the force of ἐν must be local—figuratively so, of course—exactly as in ὥσπερ παραδείγματα ἐστάναι ἐν τῇ φύσει referred to above. So also J. B. Mayor in *Cl. Rev.* x p. 121. To Krohn, φύσις appears to be "die allgemeine Gesetzlichkeit des Universums, die dem δημιουργός die Musterbilder liefert" (*Pl. St.* p. 249). This is nearer the truth, but we must not surrender the self-existence of the Ideas. See also on 597 D.

11 ἣν—θεὸν ἐργάσασθαι. "Occurrit, ut videtur, quasi ex improviso Platoni, Deum Idearum auctorem appellare" says Pansch (*de deo Platonis* p. 45), truly enough, in the restricted sense that we ought to lay no stress on this passage ὅτι



δέ γε ἦν ὁ τέκτων. Ναί, ἔφη. Μία δὲ ἦν ὁ ζωγράφος. ἡ γάρ;  
 "Εστω. Ζωγράφος δὴ, κλινοποῖός, θεός, τρεῖς οὗτοι ἐπιστάται  
 C τρισὶν εἶδεσι κλινῶν. Ναὶ τρεῖς. 'Ο μὲν δὴ θεός, εἴτε <sup>1</sup> οὐκ <sup>15</sup>  
 ἐβούλετο, εἴτε τις ἀνάγκη ἐπὴν μὴ πλέον ἢ μίαν ἐν τῇ φύσει  
 ἀπεργάσασθαι αὐτὸν κλίνην, οὕτως ἐποίησεν μίαν μόνον αὐτὴν  
 ἐκείνην ὃ ἔστιν κλίνη· δύο δὲ τοιαῦται ἢ πλείους οὔτε ἐφυτεύθησαν  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ οὔτε μὴ φυῶσιν. Πῶς δὴ; ἔφη. "Οτι, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, εἰ  
 δύο μόνας ποιήσειεν, πάλιν ἂν μία ἀναφανείη, ἥς ἐκεῖναι ἂν αὐ <sup>20</sup>  
 ἀμφοτέραι τὸ εἶδος ἔχοιεν, καὶ εἴη ἂν ὃ ἔστιν κλίνη ἐκείνη, ἀλλ'  
 οὐχ αἱ δύο. 'Ορθῶς, ἔφη. Ταῦτα δὴ, οἶμαι, εἰδὼς ὁ θεός, βουλό-  
 D μενος <sup>1</sup> εἶναι ὄντως κλίνης ποιητῆς ὄντως οὐσης, ἀλλὰ μὴ κλίνης  
 τινός, μηδὲ κλινοποιός τις, μίαν φύσει αὐτὴν ἐφύσεν. "Εοικεν.

19. δὴ A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: δὲ vel δ' A<sup>1</sup>Πq.

itself as evidence for the origin of the Ideas. But, if God and the Idea of Good are the same (see on VI 505 A ff.), Plato is merely saying in theological language what he formerly said in philosophical, when he derived the οὐσία of all other Ideas from the Idea of Good (VI 509 B). See Krohn *Pl. St.* p. 242, where the same explanation is given, and Zeller<sup>4</sup> II p. 666. It is not, I think, quite correct to dismiss θεός as merely "eine mythische Ausdrucksweise" (Hirmer *Entstehung u. Komp.* etc. p. 647), and Susenmühl (*Einleitung* p. 262) is certainly wrong when he takes it to mean 'a god.' The sentence has been much discussed in connexion with the theory that Plato's Ideas are 'thoughts of God': see for example Hermann *de loco Plat. de rep.* VI 505 sq. p. 5 with Bonitz's reply *Disput. Pl. diae* p. 33 and Hermann's rejoinder *Vindic. disp. de idea boni* pp. 39 ff., and cf. Zeller l. c. pp. 664—670. I have already said in App. III to Book VII that Plato himself says nothing to shew that he viewed his Ideas in this light; and it is only by reading into his words much more than they are naturally fitted to convey, that the present passage can be made to support the identification.

597 C 19 εἰ δύο κτλ.: not of course 'if God *had* made' etc. (D. and V.), but 'if he *should* make' etc., referring to the future, in harmony with οὕτε μὴ φυῶσιν. The words δύο μόνας mean 'no more than two,' "auch nur zwei" (Schneider). Even two (not to speak of more) would

involve a fresh *idéa*. Cf. *Tim.* 31 A τὸ γὰρ περιέχον πάντα ὁπόσα νοητὰ ζῶα, μεθ' ἐτέρου δευτέρου οὐκ ἂν ποτ' εἴη· πάλιν γὰρ ἂν ἕτερον εἶναι τὸ περὶ ἐκείνω δέοι ζῶον, οὐ μέρος ἂν εἶην ἐκείνω, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἐκείνουν ἀλλ' ἐκείνω τῷ περιέχοντι τόδ' ἂν ἀφωμοιωμένον λέγοιτο ὀρθότερον. The τρίτος ἀνθρώπος argument against the theory of Ideas rests on the same basis: see *Parm.* 132 E ff. with Arist. *Met.* A 9. 990<sup>b</sup> 17 and Bonitz ad loc.

597 D 24 μίαν φύσει κτλ.: 'created it, in its essential nature, one. So it appears. Shall we then call him the *Nature-maker* of bed, or something of the sort? It would at all events be fair to do so, since he has made both this and all besides in their essential nature.' Connected with the notion 'bed' (observe the neuter τοῦτου), there are *two* makers: (1) its *φυτουργός*, who makes ἡ φύσει κλίνη, (2) its *δημιουργός*, who makes κλίνη τις, a particular material bed. The first is God—the *φυτουργός* not only of 'bed' but of all else: the second a carpenter. *φυτουργός* is used by Plato in the peculiar sense of ὁ φύσει-τι ποιῶν, the maker of e.g. the bed-by-nature, the table-by-nature, etc.; and the peculiar form of Glauco's answer (δίκαιον γοῦν κτλ.) shews that he was sensible of the linguistic experiment. Plato's meaning would have been easier for us to catch if (using substantives instead of pronouns), he had said μίαν φύσει κλίνην ἐφύσεν (created one bed-by-nature, cf. VI 501 B τὸ φύσει δίκαιον) and ἐπειδήπερ καὶ φύσει-κλίνην καὶ φύσει-τάλλα πάντα πεποίηκεν, but what he does write is much

- 25 Βούλει οὖν τοῦτον μὲν φυτουργὸν τοῦτου προσαγορεύωμεν ἢ τι τοιοῦτον; Δίκαιον γοῦν, ἔφη, ἐπειδήπερ φύσει γε καὶ τοῦτο καὶ ἄλλα πάντα πεποίηκεν. Τί δὲ τὸν τέκτονα; ἄρ' οὐ δημιουργὸν κλίνης; Ναί. Ἡ καὶ τὸν ζωγράφον δημιουργὸν καὶ ποιητὴν τοῦ τοιοῦτου; Οὐδαμῶς. Ἀλλὰ τί αὐτὸν κλίνης φήσεις εἶναι; Τοῦτο, 30 ἢ δ' ὅς, ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ μετριώτατ' ἂν προσαγορεύεσθαι, μιμητῆς οὐ ἐκεῖνοι δημιουργοί. Εἶεν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ· τὸν τοῦ τρίτου ἄρα γεννήματος ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως μιμητὴν καλεῖς; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Τοῦτ' ἄρα ἔσται καὶ ὁ τραγωδοποιός, εἴπερ μιμητῆς ἐστί, τρίτος τις ἀπὸ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πεφυκώς, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι

more elegant. It seems to me certain that φύσις in this passage refers to the essential nature (i.e. the Idea) of the thing in question. Schleiermacher, Schneider, and Müller, to judge from their translations, held the same view. The English translators render the second φύσει 'by creation' (D. and V.) or 'by the natural process of creation' (Jowett), but apart from other objections, φύσει surely cannot bear a sense so very different from that which it has at the beginning of the argument: see 597 B n., where reference is made also to Bosanquet's ingenious, but, as I believe, wholly mistaken view.

29 τί αὐτὸν κλίνης κτλ.; For the genitive cf. IX 582 C, 585 D, infra 597 E and (with J. and C.) *Sympr.* 204 D τί τῶν καλῶν ἐστὶν ὁ Ἔρως;

597 E 30 μιμητῆς οὐ ἐκεῖνοι δημιουργοί. There is (1) the φυτουργός, (2) the δημιουργός, (3) the imitator of 'bed.' The two former are each of them (in the wider sense) δημιουργοί of 'bed.' It will be noticed that 'bed' is treated *pro temphore* (from βούλει οὖν τοῦτο ὁμολογήκαμεν) as a single undifferentiated notion, because the contrast is shifted from the three beds to those who are concerned in their production. At 598 A εἰπέ δέ μοι κτλ. Plato again differentiates the notion, in order to make it clear that the Painter imitates only the material, and not the Ideal, bed.

31 τὸν τοῦ τρίτου κτλ. The genitive is like τί αὐτὸν κλίνης κτλ. above. I do not think we ought (with J. and C.) to supply δημιουργόν.

33 τοῦτ' ἄρα—μιμηταί. Since the tragic poet is an imitator, he too will be τοῦ τρίτου γεννήματος ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως, or in other words, τρίτος τις ἀπὸ βασιλέως κτλ. Baiter's text is misleading because he

prints no comma after μιμητῆς ἐστί. That Tragedy is a branch of μίμησις, was universally allowed: see above on 595 C. Plato's procedure in reasoning from Painting to Poetry (cf. infra 598 C, 601 A, 603 B and 605 A) may be illustrated by Simonides' remark that 'Poetry is vocal Painting,' as 'Painting is silent Poetry' (ὁ Σιμωνίδης τὴν μὲν ζωγραφίαν ποίησιν σιωπῶσαν προσαγορεύει, τὴν δὲ ποίησιν ζωγραφίαν λαλοῦσαν Plut. *de gloria Ath.* 346 F)—a saying which Lessing appropriately cites in the preface to his *Laocoon*.

τρίτος τις κτλ.: 'as it were third from King and Truth.' The metaphor is a genealogical one (cf. III 391 C Πηλέως, σωφρονεστάτου τε καὶ τρίτου ἀπὸ Διός), and the King corresponds of course to the φυτουργός or God. On the one hand we have (1) God, (2) the τέκτων, (3) the μιμητῆς: on the other (1) the αὐτὸς ὁ ἐστὶ κλίνη, (2) a material κλίνη, (3) a picture of a material κλίνη: and just as the picture is τὸ τρίτον γέννημα ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως, so the imitator is 'third in descent' (τρίτος—πεφυκώς) and consequently two degrees removed from ὁ θεός. The propriety of the term βασιλέως will be seen if we translate Plato's theological phraseology into its philosophical equivalent. When he tells us that God constructs the Idea of Bed, he means that the Idea of Good is the source of that Idea (597 B n.), and the Idea of Good is *King* of the Ideal World: see VI 509 D. This is the application of the phrase: but it is possible enough that the expression itself was half-proverbial in Plato's time, and referred originally to the person who stood next but one in order of succession to the Persian throne. See App. I. The general sense is well illustrated by J. and C. from Dante *In-*

μιμηταί. Κινδυνεύει. Τὸν μὲν δὴ μιμητὴν ὁμολογήκαμεν· εἰπὲ 35  
 598 δέ μοι | περὶ τοῦ ζωγράφου τόδε· πότερα ἐκείνο αὐτὸ τὸ ἐν τῇ  
 φύσει ἑκαστον δοκεῖ σοι ἐπιχειρεῖν μιμείσθαι ἢ τὰ τῶν δημιουργῶν  
 ἔργα; Τὰ τῶν δημιουργῶν, ἔφη. Ἄρα οἷα ἔστιν ἢ οἷα φαίνεται;

*ferno* II. 105 Si che vostr' arte a Dio quasi è nipote, i.e. Art is Nature's daughter, as Nature is God's: 'so that your art is as it were the grandchild of God.' It should be noticed that the drift of Plato's meaning can be expressed in terms of the simile of the line. The αὐτὸ δ' ἔστι κλίνη, for example, belongs to *EB* (see Fig. I on p. 65), the material κλίνη to *DC*, and the picture of a Bed to the realm of εἰκόνες, that is to say *AD*. Similarly we may suppose that the state of mind of the carpenter is *πλοῦσις*, and that of the Painter *εἰκασία*. See below on 601 E and cf. App. I to Book VII. Other views of the phrase *τρίτος τις ἀπὸ βασιλέως* are discussed in App. I.

598 A—598 D Moreover it is not the *Idea* which is copied by the Painter, but only the manufactured objects, and even of these he copies only one particular aspect or appearance. Hence Imitation is far removed indeed from the Truth; and only a simpleton will be beguiled by it.

598 A I πότερα ἐκείνο—ἔφη. In holding that the Art of Painting imitates only τὰ τῶν δημιουργῶν ἔργα, Plato degrades it to the level of photography, and the painter himself to a mere mechanical copyist, whose intelligence does not rise above *εἰκασία* (in the sense of VI 511 E: see note ad loc. and App. I to Book VII). Yet the highest art has in every age claimed to portray, not the so-called actual, but the Ideal: see for example Arist. *Poet.* 25. 6 and 17: "It may be impossible that there should be men such as Zeuxis painted. 'Yes,' we say, 'but the impossible is the higher thing; for the ideal type must surpass the reality.'" (Butcher's translation), and the recent development of this idea by W. J. Courthope, *Life in Poetry and Love in Taste* pp. 152, 165, 196 ff. and passim. In the present passage, Plato bases his unfavourable verdict on what must be admitted to be a narrow and scholastic interpretation of his own ontology, but in view of Books II and III as well as 605 C—607 A below, we can hardly doubt that his attitude was determined in the first instance by educational rather than by

metaphysical considerations, and that throughout the whole of Book X he was thinking less of the inherent possibilities of Art, than of actual Greek Art and Poetry considered as the exponents of a moral and religious creed which Plato himself emphatically disowns. See also on 607 A. In any case, the objections which he here urges do not touch the real essence of any form of Art except pure and unadulterated realism. Elsewhere throughout the Platonic writings there are not wanting indications of a juster estimate of the artistic faculty and its possibilities (see for example III 401 B—403 C, and especially V 472 D, and cf. Walter *Gesch. d. Aesthetik im Altertum* pp. 441 ff., 459 ff. and Stählin *Stellung d. Poesie in d. Plat. Phil.* pp. 56—65), and the sympathetic student of Plato will find it easy to construct a nobler and more generous theory of Aesthetic Art out of the doctrine of Ideas together with its corollaries of ἀνάμνησις and pre-existence. It is also a historical fact that Plato's own conception of a transcendent self-existing Beauty, αἰὲν ὃν καὶ οὔτε γιγνώμενον οὔτε ἀπολλύμενον, οὔτε αὐξανόμενον οὔτε φθίνον, ἔπειτα οὐ τῇ μὲν καλόν, τῇ δ' αἰσχρόν, οὐδὲ τοτὲ μὲν, τοτὲ δ' οὐ, οὐδὲ πρὸς μὲν τὸ καλόν, πρὸς δὲ τὸ αἰσχρόν (*Symp.* 211 A), has proved an inexhaustible fountain of inspiration to some of the greatest artists, notably, for instance, in connexion with the Platonic Academy at Florence in the days of Michel Angelo: see Symonds, *Renaissance in Italy* II pp. 205, 207, 247, 323 ff. Those who have caught the spirit of Plato's teaching will agree with me when I say that the famous lines of Wordsworth on King's College Chapel

"They dreamt not of a perishable home,  
 Who thus could build,"

are more truly and characteristically Platonic than Plato's attack upon poetry and painting in this passage.

3 ἄρα οἷα ἔστιν κτλ. The painter, as Bosanquet reminds us, operates in two dimensions, and so cannot copy the material bed "in its solid completeness, but



τοῦτο γὰρ ἔτι διόρισον. Πῶς λέγεις; ἔφη. Ὡδε. κλίνη, εἰάν τε  
 5 ἐκ πλαγίου αὐτὴν θεᾷ εἰάν τε καταντικρὺ ἢ ὀρθοῦν, μὴ τι διαφέρει  
 αὐτὴ ἐαυτῆς, ἢ διαφέρει μὲν οὐδέν, φαίνεται δὲ ἄλλοια; καὶ τᾶλλα  
 ὡσαύτως; Οὕτως, ἔφη· φαίνεται, διαφέρει δ' οὐδέν. Τοῦτο ἰδὲ **B**  
 αὐτὸ σκόπει. πρὸς πότερον ἢ γραφικὴ πεποιήται περὶ ἑκάστου;  
 πότερα πρὸς τὸ ὕν, ὡς ἔχει, μιμήσασθαι, ἢ πρὸς τὸ φαινόμενον, ὡς  
 10 φαίνεται, φαντάσματος ἢ ἀληθείας οὔσα μίμησις; Φαντάσματος,  
 ἔφη. Πόρρω ἄρα πού τοῦ ἀληθοῦς ἢ μιμητικὴ ἐστὶν καί, ὡς  
 ἔοικεν, διὰ τοῦτο πάντα ἀπεργάζεται, ὅτι σμικρόν τι ἑκάστου  
 ἐφάπτεται καὶ τοῦτο εἰδῶλον. οἶον ὁ ζωγράφος, φάμεν, ζωγρα-  
 φήσει ἡμῖν σκυτοτόμον, τέκτονα, τοὺς ἄλλους δημιουργοὺς, περὶ

only his partial view of it" i.e. the bed as it *appears* to him from one point of view, a particular *φάντασμα* of bed. His work, in fact, is *σκιαγραφία* (II 365 C n.). It will follow that Painting is a stage lower than 'third from truth,' but Plato does not press the point, and in 599 A and D Poetry—the sister art to Painting—remains as before only *τρίτον ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας*. See also on *μιμητική* in B below.

598 B 8 *πεποιήται* is passive, not middle, as J. and C. strangely imagine. Cf. 605 A ὁ δὲ *μιμητικὸς ποιητής*—οὐ πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον τῆς ψυχῆς *πέφυκε τε καὶ ἡ σοφία αὐτοῦ* τούτῳ *ἀρέσκειν πένηγεν*.

9 τὸ ὅν: not of course in the meta-physical sense, but in the sense in which e.g. the material bed 'is' as opposed to its *φάντασμα*, which only *φαίνεται*, and which is all that the painter copies. An apologist of Art might fairly reply to Plato that in another and profounder sense it is just because Art does 'imitate' the *φάντασμα* and not the material reality that her creations frequently possess a measure of ideality and truth beyond and above what Plato assigns to them here. Cf. Butcher, *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry* etc. pp. 127 ff., 157—162. For the construction see on III 407 B.

11 ἡ *μιμητική*. In this particular instance the inference from Painting to the whole of imitative art is hardly to be justified: for Sculpture, which is certainly, in the Greek way of thinking, a branch of *μιμητική*, cannot be said to copy only a *φάντασμα* of the material object to the same extent that Painting does. See however *Soph.* 235 E, 236 A.

12 διὰ τοῦτο—*εἰδῶλον*: 'what enables it to manufacture all things is that

it lays hold of but a little part of each, and even that is unsubstantial.' πάντα *ἀπεργάζεται* recalls 596 C—E, while preparing us at the same time for *πάσας ἐπισταμένῃ τὰς δημιουργίας κτλ.* below in C. In *σμικρόν τι ἑκάστου ἐφάπτεται* the construction is like *μεταλαμβάνουσι—τούτων τῶν τῆς ἀρετῆς μορίων οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι, οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι* (*Prot.* 329 E). For *εἰδῶλον* Herwerden conjectures *εἰδῶλον*: but the word refers to *φαντάσματος* above and must therefore be in apposition to the part and not the whole. The particular 'appearance' of a bed which a painter copies is properly regarded as only a little 'part' of it.

14 περὶ οὐδενός—*τῶν τεχνῶν*: 'although he does not understand about the arts of any one of them.' According to this explanation, which is that of Prantl, *περὶ* governs *τῶν τεχνῶν* and *τούτων* has for its antecedent *σχυτοτόμον, τέκτονα κτλ.* The plural *τῶν τεχνῶν* is a trifling irregularity, due to the introduction of *τοὺς ἄλλους δημιουργοὺς*, in the absence of which Plato would doubtless have written *περὶ οὐδετέρου τούτων ἐπαίων τῆς τέχνης*. For the distance between *περὶ* and its noun cf. VIII 551 C *περὶ ἄλλου οὕτως ὁνοοῦν ἀρχῆς*, *Prot.* 319 D *περὶ τῶν τῆς πόλεως διοικήσεως* (if Sauppe is right in construing *περὶ* with *διοικήσεως*), *Latws* 859 A οὕτω *διανοώμεθα περὶ νόμων δεῖν γραφῆς γίγνεσθαι ταῖς πόλεσιν*, *Tim.* 40 D τὰ περὶ θεῶν ὁρατῶν καὶ γεννητῶν *εἰρημένα φύσεως* ἔχτω τέλος, and other examples in *Lina de praeapos. usu Plat.* pp. 17 f. It is certainly wrong to translate the text by 'without knowing anything about these arts,' and we have no right to resort to such emendations as οὐδὲν τούτων ἐπαίων τῶν

- C<sup>1</sup> οὐδενὸς τούτων ἐπαίων τῶν τεχνῶν· ἀλλ' ὅμως παιδίας τε καὶ 15  
 ἄφρονας ἀνθρώπους, εἰ ἀγαθὸς εἴη ζωγράφος, γράψας ἂν τέκτονα  
 καὶ πόρρωθεν ἐπιδεικνὺς ἐξαπατῶ ἂν τῷ δοκεῖν ὡς ἀληθῶς τέκτονα  
 εἶναι. Τί δ' οὐ; Ἀλλὰ γάρ, οἶμαι, ὦ φίλε, τόδε δεῖ περὶ πάντων  
 τῶν τοιούτων διανοεῖσθαι· ἐπειδάν τις ἡμῖν ἀπαγγέλλῃ περὶ του,  
 ὡς ἐνέτυχεν ἀνθρώπῳ πίαςας ἐπισταμένῳ τὰς δημιουργίας καὶ 20  
 D τᾶλλα πάντα, ὅσα εἰς ἕκαστος οἶδεν, οὐδὲν ὅ τι οὐχὶ ἀκριβέστερον  
 ὁ τουοῦν ἐπισταμένῳ, ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ τῷ τοιούτῳ, ὅτι εὐήθης τις  
 ἄνθρωπος, καί, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐντυχὼν γόητί τινι καὶ μιμητῇ ἐξηπατήθη,  
 ὥστε ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ πᾶσσοφος ὅτι εἶναι, διὰ τὸ αὐτὸς μὴ οἶός τ' εἶναι

24. πᾶσσοφος A<sup>1</sup> γ<sup>1</sup>: πᾶς σοφὸς A<sup>2</sup> Π: πάνσοφος Ξ γ<sup>2</sup>.

τεχνῶν (Ast) or οὐδὲν περὶ τούτων (οἱ τούτων  
 πέρι οὐδὲν) ἐπαίων τῶν τεχνῶν (Richards).  
 I now believe that Prantl's view, with  
 which Stallbaum also agrees, is correct, and  
 therefore withdraw my former conjecture  
 τεχνιτῶν. That τεχνῶν is sound appears  
 also from αὐτὸς τε οὐκ ἐπαίων περὶ σκυ-  
 τοτομίας in βοί A.

598 C 16 γράψας—τέκτονα εἶναι. The  
 same idea recurs in *Soph.* 234 B. The sub-  
 ject of δοκεῖν (*opinari*) is παιδίας τε καὶ ἄφρο-  
 νας ἀνθρώπους (Schneider). This is better  
 than to make δοκεῖν = *videri* and supply  
 τὸ ἐξωγραφημένον (with J. and C.).

598 D 22 ὑπολαμβάνειν δεῖ τῷ τοι-  
 ούτῳ: 'we must reply to'—(or 'retort  
 upon') 'such a person': cf. (with J. B.  
 Mayor in *Cl. Rev.* x p. 110) *Prot.* 320 C  
 πολλοὶ οὖν αὐτῷ ὑπέλαβον κτλ. The ante-  
 cedent of τῷ τοιούτῳ is τις. The words  
 have been strangely misinterpreted by  
 Schneider ("beidem muss man annehmen"  
 etc.), J. and C. ("we must understand by  
 such a statement") and others, forgetful of  
 the parallel expression in the *Protagoras*.  
 Vermehren actually goes so far as to con-  
 jecture ἐν τῷ τοιούτῳ (*Plat. Stud.* p. 119).

23 γόητί τινι. Cf. *Soph.* 234 C.

24 διὰ τὸ αὐτὸς κτλ. In agreement  
 with Dümmler (*Antisth.* pp. 23 ff.),  
 Stählin (*Stellung d. Poesie* etc. p. 26) takes  
 this as a specific reference to Antisthenes.  
 Antisthenes, in the first place, denied the  
 Ideal theory and held that there could be  
 no knowledge except of particulars: so  
 that Plato might well insinuate that he  
 was incapable of distinguishing knowl-  
 edge from ignorance: cf. v 476 D n. In  
 the second place, Antisthenes was a  
 champion of Homer, and discovered a  
 sort of moral philosophy in his works (see

*Frag.* 24—28 in Winckelmann *Antisth.*  
*Frag.* and Zeller<sup>4</sup> II pp. 330 ff.). On the  
 strength of these two facts Stählin has  
 evolved the ingenious theory that Plato's  
 motive throughout this part of the dis-  
 cussion is a purely polemical one, and  
 that he did not seriously consider Poetry  
 only 'third from Royalty and Truth.'  
 Plato, thinks Stählin, says in effect:  
 'Antisthenes holds that poets have knowl-  
 edge of and copy particulars; but there  
 is no knowledge of particulars, and par-  
 ticulars are copies of Ideas, so that on  
 Antisthenes's own shewing Poets are igno-  
 rant, and Poetry is thrice removed from  
 Truth: whereas Antisthenes thinks Homer  
 was omniscient.' The dagger is only  
 lath: for Antisthenes was not an Idealist.  
 Yet it is tolerably clear that Plato is re-  
 futing a view of poetry which found enthu-  
 siastic advocates in his own time, and  
 Antisthenes may have been one of these,  
 though the evidence falls far short of  
 proof (see next note): but the purpose of  
 this investigation is certainly not polemi-  
 cal and nothing more, and in spite of  
 other passages in which Plato takes a  
 more generous view of Poetry (see on  
 598 E), there is no good reason to sup-  
 pose that his hostility is otherwise than  
 serious here. See also on line 28.

598 D—601 B We hear it said that  
 tragedians, including Homer, have knowl-  
 edge of that whereof they write; but it is  
 not so. No one would seriously give him-  
 self to the production of copies if he could  
 make originals. If the poet possessed true  
 knowledge of what he imitates, he would  
 rather do great deeds than sing of them;  
 and Homer rendered no services to his  
 fellow men in the sphere of action,

25 ἐπιστήμην καὶ ἀνεπιστημοσύνην καὶ μίμησιν ἐξετάσαι. Ἀληθέστατα, ἔφη.

III. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, μετὰ τοῦτο ἐπισκεπτέον τὴν τε τραγωδίαν καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῆς Ὅμηρον, ἐπειδὴ τινων ἀκούομεν, ὅτι οὗτοι πάσας μὲν τέχνας ἐπίστανται, πάντα δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπεια  
30 τὰ πρὸς ἀρετὴν καὶ κακίαν καὶ τὰ γε θεία· ἀνάγκη γὰρ τὸν ἀγαθὸν ποιητὴν, εἰ μέλλει περὶ ὧν ἂν ποιῇ καλῶς ποιήσῃ, εἰδότα ἄρα ποιεῖν, ἢ μὴ οἶόν τε εἶναι ποιεῖν. δεῖ δὴ ἐπισκέψασθαι, πότερον

*invention, or even education, as the neglect he suffered in his own lifetime abundantly proves. The fact is that the Poet writes without knowledge. His productions are but images of images, and owe all their charm to their poetic setting.*

598 D 28 τὸν ἡγεμόνα αὐτῆς Ὅμηρον κτλ. See 595 C II. In τινων Dümmler and Stählin (ll. cc.) again recognise Antisthenes, but although Antisthenes seems to have believed in Homer, there is no evidence that he was a champion of Tragedy (note ὅτι οὗτοι κτλ.); and he was certainly not the only person in whose eyes Homer was regarded as at once a universal genius and the educator of the whole of Greece. It is not necessary to suppose that Plato has any individual person in his mind: there must have been many such apologists of Homer and dramatic poetry in Plato's day, and Plato as usual individualizes the type. See for instance the *Ion* of Plato and Ar. *Frogs* 1008 ff. It will, no doubt, help us to appreciate Plato's attitude towards Poetry if we remember that she was the *de facto* rival of Philosophy, and that (as Munk observes, *die nat. Ordnung d. Plat. Schr.* pp. 313 ff.) the *Republic* is in a certain sense a demand that Philosophy shall take the place which Poetry had hitherto filled in educational theory and practice: see especially the address to poets in *Laws* 817 A ff. ὦ ἀριστοὶ—τῶν ξένων, ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν τραγωδίας αὐτοὶ ποιηταὶ κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι καλλίστης ἅμα καὶ ἀρίστης· πᾶσα οὖν ἡμῖν ἢ πολιτεία ξυνέστηκε μίμησις τοῦ καλλίστου καὶ ἀρίστου βίου, ὃ δὴ φάμεν ἡμεῖς γε ὄντως εἶναι τραγωδίαν τὴν ἀληθεστάτην. ποιηταὶ μὲν οὖν ὑμεῖς, ποιηταὶ δὲ καὶ ἡμεῖς ἔσμεν τῶν αὐτῶν, ὑμῖν ἀντίτεχνοί τε καὶ ἀνταγωνισταὶ τοῦ καλλίστου δράματος κτλ. Cf. also *infra* 600 A n. But it is surely absurd to suppose that Plato was actuated by any feeling of personal jealousy to-

wards Homer, and aspired to supplant him in the admiration of his countrymen: 'there is no envy in the choir divine' (*Phaedr.* 247 A). There is something almost pathetic in Dionysius' inability to understand and appreciate Plato when he assures us with monotonous and feeble iteration that 'there was, there really was in Plato's nature, with all its excellences, something of vainglory. He shewed this particularly in his jealousy of Homer, whom he expels from his imaginary commonwealth after crowning him with a garland and anointing him with myrrh' (*Letter to Pompeius* § 756, translated by Roberts).

598 E 30 ἀνάγκη—ποιεῖν. The saying is attributed by Wilamowitz (*Phil. Unters.* IV p. 285) to Sophocles himself, on what authority he does not say. Is he thinking of Athen. I 22 B μεθ' ὧν δὲ ἐπολεῖ τὰς τραγωδίας Αἰσχύλος, ὡς φησὶ Χαμαιλέων. Σοφοκλῆς γοῦν ὠνείδιζεν αὐτῷ ὅτι εἰ καὶ τὰ δέοντα ποιεῖ, ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰδώς γε? In any case the reference ought not to be thus limited, nor ought we to suppose (with Dümmler and Stählin, ll. cc.) that Antisthenes alone is intended, for Plato seems to be alluding to a tolerably widespread view and one which was freely represented in Apologies of Poetry. Understood in its full significance, the theory of Poetry which Plato is here combating requires us to believe that a poet who can represent a general, a pilot etc., knows the art of generalship, pilotage etc. (cf. 599 C ff.), and we are told that Sophocles was actually made *στρατηγός* because of his *Antigone* (see the Argument ascribed to Aristophanes the grammarian). If we realise the part which Poetry, and especially the poetry of Homer, played in Greek education, and remember that Aristophanes makes Homer the teacher of τάξεις, ἀρετάς, ὀπλίσεις ἀνδρῶν, it is by no means extra-



μιμηταῖς τούτοις οὗτοι ἐντυχόντες ἐξηπάτηνται καὶ τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν  
 599 ὁρῶντες οὐκ αἰσθάνονται τριττὰ ἀπέχοντα τοῦ ὄντος καὶ ῥίδια ποιεῖν  
 μὴ εἰδότες τὴν ἀλήθειαν· φαντάσματα γάρ, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὄντα ποιοῦσιν·  
 ἢ τι καὶ λέγουσιν καὶ τῷ ὄντι οἱ ἀγαθοὶ ποιηταὶ ἴσασιν περὶ ὧν  
 δοκοῦσιν τοῖς πολλοῖς εὖ λέγειν. Πάνυ μὲν οὖν, ἔφη, ἔξεταστέον.  
 Οἶε οὖν, εἴ τις ἀμφοτέρα δύναται ποιεῖν, τό τε μιμηθισόμενον καὶ 5  
 τὸ εἶδωλον, ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν εἰδώλων δημιουργίᾳ ἑαυτὸν ἀφεῖναι ἂν σπου-  
 B δάζειν καὶ τοῦτο προστήσασθαι τοῦ ἑαυτοῦ βίου ὥς ἡ βέλτιστον

vagant to suppose that such views were actually maintained in Plato's time, though Pericles for example had a different criterion of strategic ability when he told Sophocles that he 'knew how to write poetry, but not how to command an army' (*Περικλῆς ποιεῖν με ἔφη, στρατηγέειν δ' οὐκ ἐπίστασθαι* *Athen.* XIII 604 D). Cf. *Ion* 540 B—542 B and Stählin *Stellung d. Poesis* etc. p. 23 n. 3. 'The public,' remarks Stählin, 'whose views Plato here combats, allowed the authority of the poets to extend even to the domain of the particular arts. It was Plato who broke through this magic circle which surrounded Poetry.' Aristotle followed in the same path, refusing to allow that a mistake in respect of some particular art is necessarily a flaw in the poetry: see *Poet.* 25. 1460<sup>b</sup> 20 ff., 33 ff. Plato himself, of course, holds that poets are destitute of scientific knowledge, and compose their poems οὐ σοφία, ἀλλὰ φύσει τινὶ καὶ ἐνθουσιάζοντες *Ap.* 22 C: cf. also *Phaedr.* 245 A, *Ion* 533 D ff., *Laws* 719 C and *Men.* 99 C. The true Poet, according to Plato, is a seer: knowledge he has none, but instead of it intuition, enthusiasm and inspiration: he is in short ἐνθεός, because ἐπίπνους ὧν καὶ κατεχόμενος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ (*Men.* l.c.). This view of Poetry is of course earlier than Plato: we meet with something like it in a striking fragment of Democritus ap. Dio Chrys. LIII 274 (quoted by Stählin l.c. p. 12) "Ὀμηρος φύσεως λαχὼν θεαζούσης ἐπέων κόσμον ἐτεκτῆναι παντοίων, and Pindar likes to represent himself as the inspired mouthpiece of the Muses and Apollo. We cannot attain to a correct conception of Plato's aesthetic unless we are careful to remember that, although he refused to allow that the poet has knowledge, he did not deny him genius and inspiration. See also on 598 A supra.

32 πότερον μιμηταῖς κτλ.: 'whether these men whom they have met are imitators, by whom they have been deceived' etc. μιμηταῖς is of course predicative, and that is why τούτοις has no article. We certainly ought not (with Richards) to change τούτοις into τοιούτοις. Cf. IV 436 D n.

599 A I τριττὰ—ὄντος: 'are three stages removed from Truth.' One of Schneider's MSS has τριτὰ (*sic*), and Herwerden conjectures τριτα, comparing τριτος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας in D. Possibly Proclus also read τριτα: see the critical note in Kroll's edition of the *in remp.* I p. 203. 22. If the numeral is an adjective agreeing with ἔργα, we must certainly read τριτα, but it may be an accusative of extent, i. q. τριτα ἀπέχοντα. I therefore think it safer to retain the MS reading, especially as τριττὰ was more likely to be corrupted into τριτα than conversely.

2 φαντάσματα—ποιοῦσιν. 596 E.

3 ἢ τι καὶ κτλ.: 'or whether again there is something in what they say.' ἢ καὶ is sometimes thus used instead of ἢ, from a feeling that it introduces something additional, viz. an additional alternative. Cf. (with Schneider) *Hom.* II. II 238 and *Pl. Laws* 744 A. The force of ἢ καὶ in *Ap.* 27 E, *Phaedr.* 269 A and *infra* 602 D, 605 D is nearly, but not quite, the same.

6 ἐπὶ—δημιουργία depends on σπουδάζειν, rather than on ἀφεῖναι. The word σπουδάζειν is emphatic: he might occasionally παίζειν ἐν τοῖς τοιούτοις, but he would never make it the serious business of his life: cf. *infra* 602 B, VII 536 C n. and *Phaedr.* 276 C ff. The whole of this passage reminds us very strongly of the depreciatory estimate of written books in the *Phaedrus*. Cf. 599 B n.

7 τοῦτο—ἔχοντα: 'set this in the forefront of his life as his best possession,'

ἔχοντα; Οὐκ ἔγωγε. Ἄλλ' εἴπερ γε, οἶμαι, ἐπιστήμων εἴη τῇ  
 ἀληθείᾳ τούτων πέρι, ἅπερ καὶ μιμείται, πολὺ πρότερον ἐν τοῖς  
 10 ἔργοις ἂν σπουδάσειεν ἢ ἐπὶ τοῖς μιμήμασι, καὶ πειρῶτο ἂν πολλὰ  
 καὶ καλὰ ἔργα ἑαυτοῦ καταλιπεῖν μνημεῖα, καὶ εἶναι προθυμοῖτ'  
 ἂν μᾶλλον ὁ ἐγκωμιαζόμενος ἢ ὁ ἐγκωμιάζων. Οἶμαι, ἔφη· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἐξ ἴσου ἢ τε τιμὴ καὶ ἡ ὠφελία. Τῶν μὲν τοίνυν ἄλλων πέρι  
 15 ἠρώτωντες, εἰ ἱατρικὸς ἦν τις αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ μιμητὴς μόνον C  
 ἱατρικῶν λόγων, τίνας ὑγιεῖς ποιητὴς τις τῶν παλαιῶν ἢ τῶν νέων  
 λέγεται πεποιηκέναι, ὥσπερ Ἀσκληπιός, ἢ τίνας μαθητὰς ἱατρικῆς  
 κατελίπετο, ὥσπερ ἐκείνος τοὺς ἐκγόνους, μὴδ' αὖ περὶ τὰς ἄλλας  
 τέχνας αὐτοὺς ἐρωτῶμεν, ἀλλ' ἐώμεν· περὶ δὲ ὧν μεγίστων τε καὶ  
 20 καλλίστων ἐπιχειρεῖ λέγειν Ὀμηρος, πολέμων τε πέρι καὶ στρα-  
 τηγῶν καὶ διοικήσεων πόλεων καὶ ἰ παιδείας πέρι ἀνθρώπου, D  
 δίκαιόν πιν ἐρωτᾶν αὐτὸν πυνθανομένους· ὦ φίλε Ὀμηρε, εἴπερ  
 μὴ τρίτος ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας εἰ ἀρετῆς πέρι, εἰδώλου δημιουργός,  
 ὃν δὴ μιμητὴν ὠρισάμεθα, ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῦτερος, καὶ οἷός τε ἦσθα  
 25 γινώσκεις, ποῖα ἐπιτηδεύματα βέλτιους ἢ χεῖρους ἀνθρώπους  
 ποιεῖ ἰδίᾳ καὶ δημοσίᾳ, λέγε ἡμῖν, τίς τῶν πόλεων διὰ σέ βέλτιον

15. μὴ A<sup>2</sup>Π: nescio an omiserit A<sup>1</sup>.

in accordance with the maxim τὰ καλὰ  
 τρέφει ἔξω in Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 83. προσήσα-  
 σθαι is used like πρόστασις IX 577 A, and  
 προστησάμενοι in VII 531 B is not very  
 different. Others (Schneider, Stallbaum,  
 etc.) think προστήσασθαι κτλ. means 'to  
 set before his life' as an aim or goal. In  
 itself, this rendering is unexceptionable;  
 but it does not suit with ὡς βέλτιστον  
 ἔχοντα. The word ἔχοντα cannot be equi-  
 valent to ἡγοούμενον 'considering' (in spite  
 of the exceptional phrase ἐντίμως ἔχειν  
 VII 528 B n.); nor is it easy to accept  
 the version of Schneider "und dieses als  
 das beste was er konnte." The emphasis  
 requires us to take ἔχοντα in its full  
 sense ("als das beste was er habe" Schleier-  
 macher). Stallbaum conjectures ὡς βέλ-  
 τιστ' ἂν ἔχοντα, but the text is sound.  
 For βέλτιστον instead of τὸ βέλτιστον cf.  
 (with Schneider) μέγιστον ἀγαθόν in I  
 330 D.

599 B 9 ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις. ἐπὶ for  
 ἐν is called for by Herwerden, but cf.  
*Latius* 834 B τὰς σπουδὰς—τὰς τε ἐν τῇ  
 τροφῇ καὶ τὰς περὶ ἀγωνίαν αὐτῶν. In  
 ἔργοις there is combined the twofold

sense of 'deeds' and 'originals') (μιμή-  
 ματα: the originals of dramatic μίμησις  
 are actions (603 C n.).

11 καὶ εἶναι—ἐγκωμιάζων. He would  
 rather be Achilles than Homer. There  
 is another side of the question, repre-  
 sented by Pindar's ῥῆμα δ' ἐργμάτων χρο-  
 νιώτερον βιοτεύει (*Nem.* 4. 6), and by Plato  
 himself very forcibly in *Symp.* 209 D,  
 and it is certainly unfair to insinuate that  
 no one would write good poems if he  
 were capable of doing great deeds. Some  
 of Plato's expressions in this passage  
 almost suggest the tone of a man of letters  
 pining for a life of action: cf. VI 496 D nn.  
 13 ὠφέλεια: not simply to the agent  
 himself: cf. σφᾶς ὠφελήκηναι 599 E.

599 C 15 ἠρωτῶντες κτλ. Cf. *Ion*  
 537 C ff., *Ap.* 22 A—C. τοὺς ἐκγόνους are  
 of course the Asclepiadae: see on III  
 405 D.

599 D 24 ὠρισάμεθα κτλ. See 597 E f.  
 From ἀλλὰ καὶ δεῦτερος we may infer that  
 "the actual law-giver, in Plato's view,  
 is second from reality" (Bosanquet).

26 τίς τῶν πόλεων κτλ. Contrast  
*Symp.* 209 C ff. where Homer and Hesiod

ἔθηκεν, ὥσπερ διὰ Λυκοῦργον Λακεδαίμων καὶ δι' ἄλλους πολλοὺς  
**Ε** πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα <sup>1</sup> τε καὶ σμικραί; σὲ δὲ τίς αἰτιάται πόλις νομο-  
 θέτην ἀγαθὸν γεγονέναι καὶ σφᾶς ὠφεληκέναι; Χαρῶνδαν μὲν  
 γὰρ Ἰταλία καὶ Σικελία, καὶ ἡμεῖς Σόλωνα· σὲ δὲ τίς; ἔξει τινα <sup>30</sup>  
 εἰπεῖν; Οὐκ οἶμαι, ἔφη ὁ Γλαῦκων· οὐκ οὐν λέγεται γε οὐδ' ὑπ'  
 600 αὐτῶν Ὀμηριδῶν. Ἀλλὰ δὴ τις πόλεμος ἐπὶ Ὀμήρου ὑπ' ἐκείνου  
 ἄρχοντος ἢ ξυμβουλευόντος εὖ πολεμηθεὶς μνημονεύεται; Οὐδεὶς.  
 Ἀλλ' οἶα δὴ εἰς τὰ ἔργα σοφοῦ ἀνδρὸς πολλὰ ἐπίνοιοι καὶ εὐμή-  
 χανοι εἰς τέχνας ἢ τινας ἄλλας πράξεις λέγονται, ὥσπερ αὐτὸν Θάλεω  
 τε περὶ τοῦ Μιλησίου καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος τοῦ Σκύθου; Οὐδαμῶς <sup>5</sup>  
 τοιοῦτον οὐδέν. Ἀλλὰ δὴ εἰ μὴ δημοσίᾳ, ἰδίᾳ τισὶν ἡγεμῶν παι-  
 δείας αὐτὸς ζῶν λέγεται Ὀμηρος γενέσθαι, οὐ ἐκείνων ἡγάπων ἐπὶ  
**Β** συνουσίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὑστέροις ὁδὸν τινα <sup>1</sup> παρέδωσαν βίον Ὀμηρικὴν,  
 ὥσπερ Πυθαγόρας αὐτὸς τε διαφερόντως ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἡγαπήθη, καὶ

31. Ita II: οὐκ οὐν—μνημονεύεται Socrati tribuit A.

3. eis A<sup>2</sup> II: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

are linked with Lycurgus, Solon, καὶ ἄλλοι ἄλλοι πολλοῦ ἀνδρες, καὶ ἐν Ἑλλάσι καὶ ἐν βαρβάροις, πολλὰ καὶ καλὰ ἀποφηνάμενοι ἔργα, γεννήσαντες παντοίαν ἀρετήν.

599 E 28 σὲ δὲ τίς κτλ. Yet it is a genuinely Greek sentiment that 'Poets are the unacknowledged'—a Greek would have said 'acknowledged'—'legislators of the world' (Shelley).

29 Χαρῶνδαν κτλ. Charondas, of Catana in Sicily, the legislator of the Chalcidian colonies in Italy and Sicily, is not elsewhere mentioned by Plato, though frequently by Aristotle: see Susemihl and Hicks on Arist. *Pol.* A 2. 1252<sup>b</sup> 14. The date of Charondas is probably the sixth century B.C.: see Niese in Pauly-Wissowa *art.* Charondas, where the authorities relating to this early legislator are cited and reviewed. It is worth noting, in view of *Ἰταλία* here and elsewhere in Plato (*Laws* 777 C, *Tim.* 20 A: cf. also *Laws* 659 B), that an argument against the genuineness of the seventh Platonic Epistle has been derived from the fact that it mentions Italy (326 B, 339 D): see Hermann, *Gesch. u. System* p. 591 n. 213.

32 Ὀμηριδῶν: 'votaries of Homer,' 'Homer's devotees.' So the word is rightly explained by Heine (*de rat. quae Pl. c. poet. Gr. intercedit* pp. 18—22),

and also by Jebb (*Homer* p. 78). Cf. Ὀμήρου ἐπαινέταις 606 E and the use of Ὀμηρίδαι in *Ion* 530 E, *Phaedr.* 252 B. The original meaning of Ὀμηρίδαι is discussed by Jebb l.c.

ἀλλὰ δὴ like ἀλλὰ γάρ = 'at enim' (II 365 C n.).

600 A 3 eis τὰ ἔργα should be connected with σοφοῦ. The omission of eis in A<sup>1</sup> (see *cr. n.*) is apparently accidental, for it occurs in all other mss.

4 Θάλεω τε—καὶ Ἀναχάρσιος. Plato retains the Ionic genitive in the Ionic name: cf. Arist. *Pol.* A 11. 1259<sup>a</sup> 6 Θάλεω τοῦ Μιλησίου. On Thales' useful discoveries see Zeller<sup>5</sup> I p. 183 n. 2. Anacharsis was credited by some authorities with the invention of the anchor and the potter's wheel (D. L. I 105).

8 ὁδὸν τινα—βίον Ὀμηρικὴν. Yet in another and wider sense Homer was the founder of a 'way of life,' and the ὁδὸς Ὀμηρικὴ, which Plato so strongly condemns in Books II and III, was in fact the ὁδὸς Ἑλληνική (Reber *Platon u. die Poesie* p. 25). From this point of view Plato's antagonism to Homer is only a symptom of his profound dissent from much that we are accustomed to regard as essentially characteristic of the Greek view of life. See on V 470 E and Bohne *Wie gelangt P. zur Aufstellung s. Staatsideals*, etc. p. 38.



10 οἱ ὕστεροι ἔτι καὶ νῦν Πυθαγόρειον τρόπον ἐπονομάζοντες τοῦ βίου  
 διαφανεῖς πῃ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις; Οὐδ' αὖ, ἔφη, τοιοῦ-  
 τον οὐδὲν λέγεται. ὁ γὰρ Κρεώφυλος, ὃ Σώκρατες, ἴσως, ὁ τοῦ  
 Ὀμήρου ἑταῖρος, τοῦ ὀνόματος ἂν γελοιότερος ἔτι πρὸς παιδείαν  
 φανεῖη, εἰ τὰ λεγόμενα περὶ Ὀμήρου ἀληθῆ. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς  
 15 πολλή τις ἀμέλεια ἰ περὶ αὐτὸν ἦν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου, ὅτε ἔζη. C

IV. Λέγεται γὰρ οὖν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ. ἀλλ' οἶει, ὃ Γλαῦκων, εἰ τῷ  
 ὄντι οἷός τ' ἦν παιδεύειν ἀνθρώπους καὶ βελτίους ἀπεργάζεσθαι  
 Ὀμηρος, ἅτε περὶ τούτων οὐ μιμείσθαι ἀλλὰ γιγνώσκειν δυνάμενος,  
 οὐκ ἄρ' ἂν πολλοὺς ἑταίρους ἐποίησατο καὶ ἐτιμᾶτο καὶ ἡγαπᾶτο  
 20 ὑπ' αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ Πρωταγόρας μὲν ἄρα ὁ Ἀβδηρίτης καὶ Πρόδικος

600 B 10 Πυθαγόρειον τρόπον—τοῦ βίου. The aim of the Πυθαγόρειος βίος was *ἔπείσθαι θεῷ*, and the rules of abstinence etc. by which its votaries sought to 'follow God' made them conspicuous (*διαφανεῖς*) and exceptional among the Greeks. See Rohde *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> II pp. 159—171.

12 ὁ γὰρ Κρεώφυλος κτλ. Κρεώφυλος was read before Ast on slight MS authority, and gives an excellent sense to τοῦ ὀνόματος—*φανεῖη*: but Κρεώφυλος is confirmed by all the best MSS, as well as by Callimachus (*Erigr.* 6 ap. Strabo XIV 638 Κρεώφουλον πόνος εἰμι κτλ.) and others: see Pape-Benseler s.v. Plato speaks of him as Homer's friend or disciple (for *ἑταῖρος* has this meaning here: cf. *ἑταίρους* in C and *Soph.* 216 A *ἑταῖρον*—τῶν ἀμφὶ Παρμενίδην κτλ. with Bonitz *Ind. Arist.* s.v.): others, including the Scholiast, say he was his son-in-law. The Epic poem *Οἰχαλίας ἄλωσις* was ascribed to Creophylus by Callimachus (l.c.): but according to another tradition, Creophylus received the poem from Homer himself in return for hospitality (Suidas s.v. Κρεώφυλος).

13 τοῦ ὀνόματος—ἔζη. Cf. Cic. *de re-pub.* III *Frag.* 38 Nobbe Sardanapalus ille vitio multo quam nomine ipso deformior (as if *Σαρδανό-φαλλος*). Κρεώφυλος (from *κρέας* and *φύλον*: 'Carnigena' 'Fleisch-gebur', suggests Schneider) is an *ὄνομα γέλοιον πρὸς παιδείαν*: for Beef suggests anything but culture. "I am a great eater of beef, and I believe that does harm to my wits" (*Twelfth Night* I 3. 90). The Greeks had the same feeling: cf. Plato's remarks on the effects of over-much feeding and athletics in III 411 C—Ε *μισόλογος*

δή, οἶμαι, ὁ τοιοῦτος γίγνεται καὶ ἄμωσος, and Euripides *Frag.* 284 Dindorf, with the comic fragment *παχεῖα γαστήρ λεπτόν οὐ τίκτει νόον*. Plato means that the proof of the pudding is in the eating: Homer must have been a poor teacher if his disciples (including Creophylus) learnt so little. Had he taught them successfully they would have proved their *παιδεία* by treating their master more respectfully: cf. *Gorg.* 519 C, D, where we are told that if teachers of *δικαιοσύνη* do not get paid by their pupils, it only shews that they have failed to teach their subject and therefore deserve no fees. *λέγεται*—*ἔζη* means 'for it is said that he was much neglected even in his own age, when he was *alive*,' whereas it is precisely during his lifetime that he would have been most respected if he had taught to any purpose: witness the enthusiasm aroused by Protagoras, Prodicus and other teachers! Thus understood, *ὅτε ἔζη* has a strong rhetorical emphasis and ought not to be discarded (with Cobet, Baizer, and Herwerden). For *ἐκείνου* after *αὐτοῦ* referring to the same person cf. VII 538 B and Riddell *Digest of Platonic Idioms* p. 143 § 49. If we adopt Ast's conjecture and read *ὅπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου*, the passage gains a little in point, because *αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου* will then refer to Creophylus: but it is difficult to make the subject of *ἔζη* different from the antecedent of *αὐτοῦ ἐκείνου*, and on the whole I no longer think there is any good reason for deserting the MSS.

600 C 16 ἀλλ' οἶει κτλ. For *οἶει* thus used cf. *Men.* 93 C with Heindorf on *Theaet.* 147 B.

20 Πρωταγόρας μὲν ἄρα κτλ. With

ὁ Κεῖος καὶ ἄλλοι πάμπολλοι δύνανται τοῖς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν παριστάναί  
**D** ἰδίᾳ<sup>1</sup> ξυγγιγνόμενοι, ὥς οὔτε οἰκίαν οὔτε πόλιν τὴν αὐτῶν διοικεῖν  
οἰοί τ' ἔσονται, ἐὰν μὴ σφεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπιστατήσωσιν τῆς παιδείας,  
καὶ ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ σοφίᾳ οὕτω σφόδρα φιλοῦνται, ὥστε μόνον οὐκ  
ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς περιφέρουσιν αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐταῖροι. "Ομηρον δ' ἄρα 25  
οἱ ἐπ' ἐκείνου, εἶπερ οἶός τ' ἦν πρὸς ἀρετὴν δυνάμει ἀνθρώπων,  
ἢ Ἡσίοδον ῥαψωδεῖν ἂν περιόντας εἶων, καὶ οὐχὶ μᾶλλον ἂν  
αὐτῶν ἀντείχοντο ἢ τοῦ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἡνάγκαζον παρὰ σφίσιν οἶκοι  
**E** εἶναι,<sup>1</sup> ἢ εἰ μὴ ἔπειθον, αὐτοὶ ἂν ἐπαιδαγωγῶν ὅπῃ ᾗσαν, ἕως  
ἱκανῶς παιδείας μεταλάβοιεν; Παντάπασιν, ἔφη, δοκεῖς μοι, ὅ 30  
Σώκρατες, ἀληθῆ λέγειν. Οὐκοῦν τιθώμεν ἀπὸ Ὀμήρου ἀρξαμένους

21. Κεῖος A<sup>2</sup>: Κίος vel Κῖος A<sup>1</sup>ΠΞg. 23. ἐπιστατήσωσιν vel ἐπιστατήσωσι  
A<sup>2</sup>Π: ἐπιστατῶσιν ut videtur A<sup>1</sup>. 26. δυνάμει Matthiaeus: δυνάμει (sic) A<sup>1</sup>Π:  
δύναι (sic) A<sup>2</sup>g: δύναι Ξ. 27. περιόντας A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: περιόντας A<sup>1</sup>Πg.

the structure of the sentence cf. (with Stallbaum) *Crit.* 50 E and *Prot.* 325 B, C, where ἄρα occurs, as here, in both clauses. See also on I 336 E and App. IV to Book I. Prodicus survived to 399 at least, but Protagoras seems to have died about 411; so that if the date of action of the dialogue is 410, the reference to Protagoras as apparently still living may seem an anachronism. But the slip is a trifling one in any case; and Socrates might quite well have spoken as he does even if either or both of the persons had recently died. See *Introd.* § 3.

600 D 22 οὔτε οἰκίαν—παιδείας. Cf. *Prot.* 318 E ff. and *Men.* 91 A ff.

25 ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς περιφέρουσιν: 'carry about shoulder-high' ('auf den Händen tragen' Schneider). Ast quotes Dio Chrys. *Or.* IX p. 141 A ὑψηλὸν φερόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄχλου, and the imitation of this passage by Themistius *Or.* XXI p. 254 A ὃν ἡμεῖς διὰ ταύτην τὴν φαντασίαν μόνον οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς περιφέρομεν. It is clear that the phrase has a honorific meaning, so that it cannot be, as Erasmus (quoted by Ast) imagined, "translatum—a matribus ac nutricibus, quae infantulos cunis impositos capite portant," whether children were thus carried in antiquity or no.

26 δυνάμει. See *cr. n.* I agree with Hermann, Baiter and the Oxford editors in preferring δυνάμει to δυνάμει (so Bekker and Schneider on slight MS authority) or

δυνάμει (Stallbaum, after one MS of Aristides II p. 432). δυνάμει is a very dubious formation, and the present gives a better meaning than the aorist. The error arose from lipography of -να-: and δυνάμει, δυνάμει look like attempts to make the residue into an infinitive.

600 E 28 παρὰ σφίσιν οἶκοι εἶναι: 'to be with them in their homes.' παρὰ σφίσιν οἶκεν, which Cobet (*V. L.* p. 534) and Herwerden desire to read, would not necessarily mean more than 'to dwell in their country.' With the sentiment cf. *Men.* 89 B (quoted below).

29 αὐτοὶ ἂν ἐπαιδαγωγῶν: 'they would have made themselves their tutors and escorted them' etc. παιδαγωγεῖν is used in the same playful way in *Alc.* I 135 D κινδυνεύσομεν μεταβαλεῖν τὸ σχῆμα, ὃ Σώκρατες, τὸ μὲν σὺν ἐγῶ, σὺ δὲ τοῦμιν· οὐ γὰρ ἔστιν ὅπως οὐ παιδαγωγῆσω σε ἀπὸ τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας, σὺ δ' ὑπ' ἐμοῦ παιδαγωγῆσει. The proverb οἷς παῖδες οἱ γέροντες perhaps lends an additional point to ἐπαιδαγωγῶν, as in *Soph. Fr.* 623 Dindorf=Eur. *Bacch.* 193 γέρον γέροντα παιδαγωγῆσω σ' ἐγώ.

30 μεταλάβοιεν. The regular sequence would be μετέλαβον, but cf. *Men.* 89 B οὐδ' ἡμεῖς ἂν—ἐφυλάττομεν ἐν ἀκροπόλει, κατασημηνόμενοι πολὺ μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ χρυσόν, ἵνα μηδεὶς αὐτοὺς διέφθειρεν (διαφθείρειεν conj. Madvig), ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἀφίκοιντο εἰς τὴν ἡλικίαν, χρήσιμοι γίγνονται ταῖς πόλεσιν. The difference is the difference between 'should' and 'should have.'

πάντας τοὺς ποιητικοὺς μιμητὰς εἰδῶλων ἀρετῆς εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, περὶ ὧν ποιοῦσιν, τῆς δὲ ἀληθείας οὐχ ἄπτεσθαι, ἀλλ' ὥσπερ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν, ὁ ζωγράφος σκυτοτόμον ποιήσει δοκοῦντα | εἶναι, αὐτὸς τε οὐκ ἐπαῖων περὶ σκυτοτομίας καὶ τοῖς μὴ ἐπαίου- 601 σιν, ἐκ τῶν χρωμάτων δὲ καὶ σχημάτων θεωροῦσιν; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Οὕτω δὴ, οἶμαι, καὶ τὸν ποιητικὸν φήσομεν χρώματα ἅπτα ἐκάστων τῶν τεχνῶν τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ ῥήμασιν ἐπιχρωματίζειν, 5 αὐτὸν οὐκ ἐπαῖοντα ἀλλ' ἢ μιμείσθαι, ὥστε ἐτέροις τοιούτοις ἐκ τῶν λόγων θεωροῦσι δοκεῖν, ἐάν τε περὶ σκυτοτομίας τις λέγῃ ἐν μέτρῳ καὶ ῥυθμῷ καὶ ἀρμονίᾳ, πάνυ εὖ δοκεῖν λέγεσθαι, ἐάν τε 1 περὶ στρατηγίας ἐάν τε περὶ ἄλλου ὁποιοῦν· οὕτω φύσει αὐτὰ B ταῦτα μεγάλην τινὰ κήλησιν ἔχειν. ἐπεὶ γυμνωθέντα γε τῶν τῆς

5. αὐτὸν—ἐτέροις II et in marg. A<sup>2</sup> (ubi tamen ἀλλὰ pro ἀλλ' ἢ et ἐν τοῖς pro ἐτέροις): om. A<sup>1</sup>. 6, 7. ἐν μέτρῳ—λέγεσθαι II et in marg. A<sup>2</sup>: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

32 πάντας τοὺς ποιητικούς: see on 595 C.

μιμητὰς εἰδῶλων: 'imitators of images.' The words can scarcely mean 'forgers of semblances,' 'imitative makers of shadows,' as suggested by J. and C., in spite of 599 D εἰδῶλου δημιουργός and τοῦ εἰδῶλου ποιητής in 601 B. The images which the poet manufactures are in fact images of images, according to both 598 B and 596 B ff.: cf. 602 B n.

34 νῦν δὴ. 598 B, C.

ὁ ζωγράφος κτλ.: 'the painter will make what seems to be a shoemaker, in the eyes of those who understand as little about shoemaking as he does himself, but judge by colour and form.' The dative is the dative of person judging, and does not directly depend on δοκοῦντα εἶναι, though doubtless affected by it. This explanation is better, I think, than to construe τοῖς μὴ ἐπαῖουσιν either directly with δοκεῖν (so Vermehren *Pl. St.* p. 120, comparing ὥστε ἐτέροις—δοκεῖν below), or with ποιήσει ('und für diejenigen, die auch nichts verstehen' Schneider).

601 A 4 τοῖς ὀνόμασι καὶ ῥήμασιν. The dative is instrumental.

6 δοκεῖν—δοκεῖν. The repetition "partim perspicuitatis studio, partim sermonis familiaris negligentiae cuidam tribuenda videtur" Schneider, who cites in illustration *Laus* 859 D, where there is a similar repetition of εἶναι. Other parallels will be found in Engelhardt *Anac. Pl. Spec.* III p. 44.

7 ῥυθμῷ καὶ ἀρμονίᾳ κτλ. Rhythm and Pitch are the two elements of Music: see III 398 D n. The words αὐτὰ ταῦτα mean 'just these' and no more: viz. Metre and Music. For the sense cf. (with Ast) Isocrates *Evag.* 8—10.

601 B 9 ἔχειν. ἔχει was read till Bekker, apparently without any MS authority. The influence of φήσομεν is still felt.

ἐπεὶ γυμνωθέντα—φαίνεται. Cf. Isocr. I. c. II ἦν γάρ τις τῶν ποιημάτων τῶν εὐδοκμοῦντων τὰ μὲν ὀνόματα καὶ τὰς διανοίας καταλήπῃ, τὸ δὲ μέτρον διαλύσῃ, φανήσεται πολὺ καταδεστέρα τῆς δόξης ἢς νῦν ἔχομεν περὶ αὐτῶν and *Pl. Gorg.* 502 C, *Symp.* 205 C, *Phaedr.* 258 D ἐν μέτρῳ ὡς ποιητής, ἢ ἄνευ μέτρον ὡς ἰδιώτης. A cursory inspection of these passages of Plato might lead one to suppose that he defined poetry as no more than λόγος ἔχων μέτρον, but we can see from other passages in his writings that it was not the μέτρον, but the μῦθος which appeared to him to be the most essential part of poetry (e.g. *Phaedr.* 61 B ἐννοήσας ὅτι τὸν ποιητὴν δέοι, εἴπερ μέλλοι ποιητής εἶναι, ποιεῖν μῦθους ἀλλ' οὐ λόγους: cf. *Arist. Poet.* 9. 1451<sup>b</sup> 29 τὸν ποιητὴν μᾶλλον τῶν μῦθων εἶναι δεῖ ποιητὴν ἢ τῶν μέτρων. See also Walter *Gesch. d. Aesthetik im Alt.* pp. 460, 463). Whether Plato would have spoken of a prose romance as a poem, is another question, and the passages to which I have referred make it unlikely that he would have done so. Aristotle seems to attach less importance than



μουσικῆς χρωμάτων τὰ τῶν ποιητῶν, αὐτὰ ἐφ' αὐτῶν λεγόμενα, <sup>10</sup> οἶμαί σε εἶδέναι οἷα φαίνεται. τεθέασαι γάρ που. "Εγώγ', ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἔοικεν τοῖς τῶν ὥραίων προσώποις, καλῶν δὲ μή, οἷα γίγνεται ἰδεῖν, ὅταν αὐτὰ τὸ ἄνθος προλίπη; Παντάπασι, ἦ δ' ὅς. "Ιθι δὴ, τόδε ἄθρει· ὁ τοῦ εἰδώλου ποιητῆς, ὁ μιμητῆς, C φαμέν, τοῦ μὲν ὄντος οὐδὲν ἐπαίει, τοῦ δὲ φαινομένου· <sup>15</sup> οὐχ οὕτως; Naί. Μὴ τοίνυν ἡμίσεως αὐτὸ καταλίπωμεν ῥηθέν, ἀλλ' ἰκανῶς ἴδωμεν. Λέγε, ἔφη. Ζωγράφος, φαμέν, ἡνίας τε γράφει καὶ χαλινόν; Naί. Ποιήσει δέ γε σκυτοτόμος καὶ χαλκεύς; Πάνυ

10. λεγόμενα A<sup>1</sup>Π: γενόμενα corr. A<sup>2</sup>.

16. ἡμίσεως A<sup>1</sup>Π: ἡμίσεος A<sup>2</sup>.

Plato to the metrical form: see *Poet.* I. 1447<sup>b</sup> 17 ff. οὐδὲν δὲ κοινόν ἐστιν Ὁμήρῳ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλεῖ πλὴν τὸ μέτρον· διὸ τὸν μὲν ποιητὴν δίκαιον καλεῖν, τὸν δὲ φυσιολόγον μᾶλλον ἢ ποιητὴν κτλ. and ib. 9. 1451<sup>b</sup> 2 ff.: but it is doubtful whether even Aristotle could have said with Sir Philip Sidney 'One may be a poet without versifying,' although he would certainly not quarrel with the converse statement that 'one may be a versifier without poetry.' See on the whole subject Butcher *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry*<sup>2</sup> etc. pp. 143 ff. and Courthope *Life in Poetry* etc. pp. 68 ff.

11 τεθέασαι γάρ που. An example is afforded by III 393 B ff., but the reference is more general.

12 ἔοικεν—προλίπη. Aristotle cites this as an example of an εἰκὼν (*Rhet.* III 4. 1406<sup>b</sup> 36 ff.).

601 B—602 B *The condition of Imitative art in respect of knowledge may be apprehended in the following way. In connexion with every object we can distinguish three arts, that which uses, that which makes, and that which imitates it. The user alone has knowledge of the object; the maker, when the user instructs him, has correct opinion; but neither knowledge nor correct opinion can be attributed to the imitator. He merely copies what appears to be beautiful to the ignorant multitude.*

601 B 14 ἴθι δὴ, τόδε ἄθρει κτλ. Plato has already proved that Imitation is 'third from Truth' ἐκ τῆς εἰσθῆτας μεθόδου (596 A), i.e. from the ontological standpoint provided by his own Ideal Theory. The following argument takes up a different standpoint, according to which knowledge is defined as ἐμπειρία

or practical familiarity (601 C, D, 602 A). The attitude assumed throughout this section resembles in some respects that of the historical Socrates (601 D n.). Can the two points of view be reconciled? Bosanquet makes an interesting attempt to do so (pp. 379, 389 ff.), but his misconception (as it seems to me) of Plato's Ideas renders his conclusions less valuable than they might otherwise have been. Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 255) professes himself unable to effect a reconciliation. We must admit that Plato himself does not, as a matter of fact, endeavour in this passage to connect the two arguments. Had he chosen to make the effort, I think a careful study of *Euthyd.* 288 E—290 D and *Crat.* 390 B—E will shew on what lines he might have proceeded (see on ἐμπειρότατον in 601 D), but it is safer to suppose that he has shifted his ground, and is applying a new and less strictly scientific μέθοδος to shew that the Imitator is third from knowledge, as Imitation is from truth.

601 C 16 ἡμίσεως—ῥηθέν. See on 601 E. ἡμίσεως or ἡμισέως, in whichever way accented, is surely a full adverb, and not "the genitive used adverbially" (J. and C.) like ὀλγου, πολλοῦ, etc., although there is good authority for the genitive in -εως from ἡμισυς (see Lobeck *Phryn.* p. 247). Stephanus preferred ἡμισέως: but the adverb follows the accent of the genitive plural (ἡμίσεων), and ἡμίσεως· ἐπίρρημα. Πλάτων Πολιτείας ἔκτῳ (Antiat. in Bekk. *Anecd.* 98. 30)—a note which certainly refers to this passage: see *Introd.* § 4—supports the MS accentuation (Schneider). Liebholt's conjecture ἐπὶ μιμήσεως needs no refutation.

γε. Ἄρ' οὖν ἐπαίει οἷας δεῖ τὰς ἡνίας εἶναι καὶ τὸν χαλινὸν ὁ  
 20 γραφεύς; ἢ οὐδ' ὁ ποιήσας, ὃ τε χαλκεὺς καὶ ὁ σκυτεὺς, ἀλλ'  
 ἐκείνος, ὅσπερ τούτοις ἐπίσταται χρῆσθαι, μόνος ὁ ἵππικός;  
 Ἀληθέστατα. Ἄρ' οὖν οὐ περὶ πάντα οὕτω φήσομεν ἔχειν;  
 Πῶς; Ἰ Περὶ ἕκαστον ταύτας τινὰς τρεῖς τέχνας εἶναι, χρησομένην, D  
 ποιήσουσαν, μιμησομένην; Ναί. Οὐκοῦν ἀρετὴ καὶ κάλλος καὶ  
 25 ὀρθότης ἐκάστου σκεύους καὶ ζώου καὶ πράξεως οὐ πρὸς ἄλλο τι ἢ  
 τὴν χρεῖαν ἐστίν, πρὸς ἣν ἂν ἕκαστον ἦ πεποιημένον ἢ πεφυκός;  
 Οὕτως. Πολλὴ ἄρα ἀνάγκη τὸν χρώμενον ἐκάστῳ ἐμπειρότατον  
 τε εἶναι καὶ ἀγγελοῦ γίγνεσθαι τῷ ποιητῇ, οἷα ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ ποιεῖ

21. ὅσπερ A<sup>2</sup>Π: ὥσπερ A<sup>1</sup>.

26. πρὸς ἣν Π: ἣν A.

21 ἐπίσταται. See on ἐμπειρότατον in D below.

601 D 24 οὐκοῦν ἀρετὴ—πεφυκός. The historical Socrates was in the habit of testing the beauty, excellence etc. of an object by the degree in which it fulfilled its function or purpose: see especially Xen. *Symp.* 5. 4 ff. together with other passages cited by Krohn *Pl. St.* p. 369. Plato himself adopts the same standard in I 352 E—353 E and elsewhere.

27 ἐμπειρότατον. Throughout the whole of this argument it is held that he who *uses*, e.g. an instrument, has *knowledge* of it (ἐπίσταται C, εἰδώς and εἰδότε E, εἰδότες and ἐπιστήμην etc. 602 A), and Plato says nothing to make us attach any metaphysical significance to the word 'knowledge,' which he often employs throughout his writings without any suggestion of the Ideas (e.g. II 374 D, IV 422 C). There is no doubt a certain sense in which—if we have regard to *Crat.* 390 B ff. and *Euthyd.* 288 E ff.—ὁ χρώμενος has, not indeed scientific knowledge of the Idea, but something analogous thereto. Dialectic, which is the scientific knowledge of Ideas, is κατ' ἐξοχὴν the χρώμενη ἐπιστήμη, the Science which alone knows in what respect each thing is good and useful, and uses things accordingly (cf. *Euthyd.* 290 C, *Crat.* 390 C), proving itself thereby the royal or kingly science (VI 505 A n.). Thus the man who uses a single instrument correctly occupies the same relative position in regard to that object which the dialectician occupies in regard to the totality of things, and is, in his own small way, a king compared with the maker and imitator of the instrument. Cf. Bosanquet p. 390. But

if Plato had intended us to pursue this vein, he would, I think, have furnished us with some hints in the course of the argument itself. See also on 601 B.

28 οἷα—χρήται: 'what are the good or bad points of the instrument he uses when he uses it,' lit. 'what good or bad things that which he uses does'—we cannot like the Greeks say 'makes'—'in use.' This interpretation, which is Schleiermacher's ("wie sich das was er gebraucht gut oder schlecht zeigt in Gebrauch"), seems to me the natural and obvious meaning of the Greek. In agreement, apparently, with Schneider's version, Campbell proposes "what specimens of that which he (the user) employs, the maker makes that are good or bad in actual use," remarking that "the correlation of singular and plural arises from the collocation of particular and universal. The instrument (sing.) is good in some cases, but bad in others (plur.)." Campbell's solution has the advantage of referring ποιεῖ to ποιητής, and corresponds more exactly with χρηστῶν καὶ πονηρῶν αὐλῶν in E. The grammatical difficulty is however, I think, insuperable. If the subject to ποιεῖ must be ποιητής, it would even be easier to make ᾧ χρήται=τούτῳ δὲ χρήται—a rare form of attraction illustrated on V 465 D: but there is a certain elegance in applying ποιεῖ also to the instrument, which is in its way a 'maker too' and one by whose ἔργα the other maker must be guided. Herwerden remarks "expectabam potius οἷα ἀγαθὰ ἢ κακὰ (sc. ἐστί) ἐν τῇ χρεῖα ᾧν (i.e. τῶν οἷς) κτλ." It is well that his expectations have been disappointed.

ἐν τῇ ἰδέᾳ ὥς χρηταί. οἷον αὐλητῆς που αὐλοποιῶ ἐξαγγέλλει  
 E περὶ τῶν αὐλῶν, οἳ ἂν ὑπηρετῶσιν | ἐν τῷ αὐλεῖν, καὶ ἐπιτάξει 30  
 οἷους δεῖ ποιεῖν, ὁ δ' ὑπηρετήσῃ. Πῶς δ' οὐ; Οὐκοῦν ὁ μὲν  
 εἰδὼς ἐξαγγέλλει περὶ χρηστῶν καὶ πονηρῶν αὐλῶν, ὁ δὲ πιστεύων  
 ποιήσει; Ναί. Τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἄρα σκεύους ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς πίστιν  
 ὀρθὴν ἔξει περὶ κάλλους τε καὶ πονηρίας, ξυνὼν τῷ εἰδότητι καὶ  
 602 ἀναγκαζόμενος ἀκούειν | παρὰ τοῦ εἰδότητος, ὁ δὲ χρώμενος ἐπι- 35  
 στήμην. Πάνν γε. Ὁ δὲ μιμητὴς πότερον ἐκ τοῦ χρῆσθαι ἐπι-  
 στήμην ἔξει ὧν ἂν γράφῃ, εἴτε καλὰ καὶ ὀρθὰ εἴτε μὴ, ἢ δόξαν  
 ὀρθὴν διὰ τὸ ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνεῖναι τῷ εἰδότητι καὶ ἐπιτάττεσθαι οἷα  
 χρὴ γράφειν; Οὐδέτερα. Οὔτε ἄρα εἴσεται οὔτε ὀρθὰ δοξάσει 5  
 ὁ μιμητὴς περὶ ὧν ἂν μιμῆται πρὸς κάλλος ἢ πονηρίαν. Οὐκ  
 ἔοικεν. Χαρίεις ἂν εἴῃ ὁ ἐν τῇ ποιήσει μιμητικὸς πρὸς σοφίαν

29 ἐξαγγέλλει. Bekker and others write ἐξαγγελεῖ both here and in E below. The present echoes ἄγγελον γίνεσθαι, and I agree with Schneider that change is needless, in spite of ἐπιτάξει and ὑπηρετήσῃ: cf. κείσθαι—ἔσεσθαι V 478 D. For the meaning cf. *Crat.* 390 B.

30 οἳ ἂν ὑπηρετῶσιν κτλ. I take this clause as a sort of parenthetical adjunct or characterisation of αὐλοποιῶ: 'thus the flutemaker informs the flutemaker about his flutes—the persons who are his *servants* in the art of fluteplaying—and he will give orders how they should be made, and the flutemaker will *serve* him.' The liberty is great, but hardly greater than Plato allows himself elsewhere in the *Republic*: cf. III 411 C ἀκράχοιο οὖν καὶ ὀργίλοι ἀντὶ θυμοειδοῦς γεγνηνται, δυσκολίας ἐμπλεοί, IV 426 C ὡς ἀποθανομένων, ὅς ἂν τοῦτο δρᾷ, VI 496 C, D, I 347 A n.: and the break afforded by the interposition of this clause makes the difference of tense between ἐξαγγέλλει and ἐπιτάξει seem easy and natural. To the ordinary interpretation, which makes αὐλῶν the antecedent to οἳ ἂν, it is a serious and I think fatal objection that the verb ὑπηρετεῖν is used immediately afterwards of the flutemaker in a way which seems to imply that it has been used of him before: and it is also very strange and unnatural to speak of flutes as ὑπηρεταί ἐν τῷ αὐλεῖν. Jowett's translation "which of his flutes is *satisfactory* to the performer," though Schleiermacher, Schneider and Prantl take much the same view, cannot be fairly extracted

from οἳ ἂν ὑπηρετῶσιν. Many inferior MSS read οἷα for οἳ: and Richards conjectures οἷα ποιοῦσιν or οἷα ἀποτελοῦσιν, but the change is much too great. I once suggested ὑπερέχουσιν for ὑπηρετῶσιν, but now believe the foregoing interpretation to be right.

601 E 32 ἐξαγγέλλει. See on ἐξαγγέλλει in D above.

πιστεύων. In the language of the Line, his state of mind is *πίστις* (cf. *πίστιν* ὀρθήν below): see App. I to Book VII. In 596 B on the other hand the δημιουργὸς πρὸς τὴν ιδεάν βλέπει. Plato does not try to reconcile the two points of view (601 D n.): but he might say that the objective *reality* of that which guides the δημιουργὸς is always the Idea, whether he acts on his own initiative or under the direction of another. See on 596 B. It should be noted that Poetry and the other imitative arts are placed higher, and not lower, than δημιουργία in *Phaedr.* 248 E. Here, however, Plato's purpose is a narrower one, viz. by means of an illustration derived from the mechanical arts to complete the proof—hitherto only *ἡμίσεως* ῥηθέν 601 C—that the Imitator does not εἰδὼς ποιεῖν, as many assert (598 E), but is in reality third from knowledge.

602 A 3 δόξαν ὀρθήν. See IV 430 B n.

5 οὔτε—πονηρίαν. The word *εἰκασία*, though not here used, represents the Imitator's state of mind: see on VI 511 E and App. I to Book VII.

7 ὁ ἐν τῇ ποιήσει μιμητικός. Stallbaum remarks "cave unam poesim intelli-



περὶ ὧν ἂν ποιῇ. Οὐ πάνυ. Ἄλλ' οὖν ἡ δὴ ὅμως γε μιμήσεται, B  
οὐκ εἰδὼς περὶ ἐκάστου, ὅπῃ πονηρὸν ἢ χρηστόν· ἀλλ', ὡς ἔοικεν,  
10 οἷον φαίνεται καλὸν εἶναι τοῖς πολλοῖς τε καὶ μηδὲν εἰδόσιν, τοῦτο  
μιμήσεται. Τί γὰρ ἄλλο; Ταῦτα μὲν δὴ, ὡς γε φαίνεται, ἐπικεικῶς  
ἡμῖν διωμολόγηται, τὸν τε μιμητικὸν μηδὲν εἰδέναι ἄξιον λόγου  
περὶ ὧν μιμεῖται, ἀλλ' εἶναι παιδιάν τινα καὶ οὐ σπουδὴν τὴν  
μίμησιν, τοὺς τε τῆς τραγικῆς ποιήσεως ἀπτομένους ἐν ἱαμβείοις  
15 καὶ ἐν ἔπεσι πάντας εἶναι μιμητικοὺς ὡς οἷόν τε μάλιστα. Πάνυ  
μὲν οὖν.

V. ἡ Πρὸς Διός, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, τὸ δὲ δὴ μιμεῖσθαι τοῦτο οὐ περὶ C  
τρίτον μὲν τί ἐστὶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας; ἡ γάρ; Ναί. Πρὸς δὲ

gas": but *ποίησις* is certainly 'poetry' and nothing else, as Schneider shews, throughout the whole of this episode. It is *poetical mimesis* with which the discussion is primarily and chiefly concerned: hence this passing exclamation—for it is nothing more: witness the asyndeton. With *χαρίεις* (ironical, of course) followed by *οὐ πάνυ*, in which the irony disappears, cf. IV 426 A, B (J. and C.). <οὐκουν> *χαρίεις* (Richards) is an unnecessary conjecture. The reading *μιμήσει* for *ποιήσει* (q and some other MSS) is tautological and absurd.

602 B 10 οἷον φαίνεται—εἰδόσιν. He will copy τὰ τῶν πολλῶν πολλὰ νόμιμα καλοῦ τε περὶ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων (V 479 D).

τοῦτο μιμήσεται κτλ. τοῦτο is surely not "a cognate accusative" (J. and C.): see on μιμητὰς εἰδῶν 600 E. For παιδιάν τινα see on 599 A, and on ἐν ἔπεσι 595 C n.

602 C—603 B Consider, again, what is the part of our nature to which Imitation appeals. Painting depends for its effect on the optical delusions to which we are subject, and against which the arts of measurement, counting etc., are our only safeguard. The rational part of soul applies these arts, and proves itself the best by accepting their results. The opposing part is therefore one of the baser elements within us; and base will be the brood that springs from its union with imitative art, in Poetry as well as Painting.

602 c ff. The reasoning from here to 607 A has been supposed to rest on a psychological theory irreconcilable with that of Book IV, to which the discussion expressly alludes (in 602 E). See for example Krohn *Pl. St.* p. 255 and Pfeleiderer *Zur Lösung* etc., p. 38. It is true that

Plato is here content, in view of his immediate purpose, with a twofold division of soul into (1) a rational and (2) an irrational, ἀλόγιστον (604 D, 605 B), or lower element. But the resemblance between the two theories is greater than the difference, for (a) the λογιστικὸν is common to both, and (b) on its moral side the irrational element appears sometimes as the ἐπιθυμητικὸν (606 D καὶ περὶ ἀφροδισίων—καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐπιθυμητικῶν κτλ.), sometimes as a degenerate form of the θυμοειδὲς (604 E, 606 A: cf. θυμοῦ 606 D). What is new is the assignment to the ἀλόγιστον of a certain quasi-intellectual power—viz. the power of forming false *opinions* (603 A, 605 C); but there was no occasion to raise this point in the earlier psychology, which was intended as a foundation for Plato's theory of the virtues. It becomes necessary to touch upon the question now, because imitative art aims at producing false opinions, and Plato accordingly assigns them to the ἀλόγιστον.

602 C 17 πρὸς Διὸς κτλ. The logical sequence is "iam vero haec imitatio non solum futilia efficit, sed etiam futilem animi nostri partem afficit" (Schneider). There is a certain awkwardness in making the transitional sentence interrogative in form, but the extreme animation carries it through. We cannot (with Stephanus) cancel οὐ and print a colon after ἀληθείας, for the interrogation is attested by πρὸς Διός.

18 μὲν τί. μὲν of course balances δὲ in πρὸς δὲ κτλ., and μέντοι (Stallbaum with some *deterioris notae* MSS) is not so good.

δὴ ποῖόν τί ἐστιν τῶν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου ἔχον τὴν δύναμιν, ἣν ἔχει;  
 Τοῦ ποίου τινὸς πέρι λέγεις; Τοῦ τοιοῦδε. ταυτόν που ἡμῖν 20  
 μέγεθος ἐγγύθεν τε καὶ πόρρωθεν διὰ τῆς ὀψews οὐκ ἴσον φαίνεται.  
 Οὐ γάρ. Καὶ ταῦτα καμπύλα τε καὶ εὐθέα ἐν ὕδατι τε θεωμένοις  
 καὶ ἔξω, καὶ κοιλὰ τε δὴ καὶ ἐξέχοντα διὰ τὴν περὶ τὰ χρώματα  
 D αὖ πλάνην τῆς ὀψews, καὶ πᾶσά τις ἰ παραχῇ δῆλη ἡμῖν ἐνοῦσα  
 αὕτη ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ· ὧ δὴ ἡμῶν τῷ παθήματι τῆς φύσεως ἡ σκια- 25  
 γραφία ἐπιθεμένη γοητείας οὐδὲν ἀπολείπει, καὶ ἡ θαυματοποιία  
 καὶ αἱ ἄλλαι πολλαὶ τοιαῦται μηχαναί. Ἀληθῆ. Ἀρ' οὖν οὐ τὸ  
 μετρεῖν καὶ ἀριθμεῖν καὶ ἰστάναι βοήθειαι χαριέσταται πρὸς αὐτὰ  
 ἐφάνησαν, ὥστε μὴ ἄρχειν ἐν ἡμῖν τὸ φαινόμενον μεῖζον ἢ ἔλαττον  
 ἢ πλέον ἢ βαρύτερον, ἀλλὰ τὸ λογισάμενον καὶ μετρήσαν ἢ καὶ 30  
 E στήσαν; Πῶς γάρ οὐ; Ἄλλὰ μὴν τοῦτό γε τοῦ λογιστικοῦ ἀν  
 εἶη τοῦ ἐν ψυχῇ ἔργον. Τούτου γάρ οὖν. Τούτῳ δὲ πολλάκις  
 μετρήσαντι καὶ σημαίνοντι μεῖζω ἅττα εἶναι ἢ ἐλάττω ἕτερα  
 ἐτέρων ἢ ἴσα τὰναντία φαίνεται ἅμα περὶ ταῦτά. Ναί. Οὐκοῦν

19. Ita A<sup>1</sup>: ab A<sup>2</sup> τω super ποῖον, τὸ pro τῶν scripta legimus. Pro τῶν, quod praebebat etiam γ sed omisit E, legitur in II τῷ. 25. αὕτη II: αὕτη A.

22 καὶ ταῦτα καμπύλα τε κτλ. Nettle-  
 ship (*Lect. and Rem.* II p. 349 n. 2)  
 reminds us that images in water were  
 among Plato's examples of τὰ ἐφ' οἷς  
 εἰκασία ἐστὶν in Book VI 510 A: but,  
 as Jackson points out, Plato is here  
 thinking of refraction, and not of re-  
 flection.

24 πᾶσά τις—ψυχῇ. "πᾶσα cum  
 αὕτη coniungendum et per attractionem  
 pro πᾶν τοῦτο dictum videtur. τις nomi-  
 ni praepositum est ut *Gorg.* p. 522 D  
 αὕτη γάρ τις βοήθεια ἐαυτῷ πολλάκις ἡμῖν  
 ὡμολόγηται κρατίστη εἶναι" Schneider. For  
 other examples of this sort of attraction  
 see Riddell *Digest* p. 203 § 201. Con-  
 jecture is not necessary; but if it were,  
 we could not acquiesce either in αὕτῃ for  
 αὕτη (Richter *Fleck.* 7b. 1867 p. 147, with  
 one MS), or even, I think, in πᾶσι for  
 πᾶσα (Richards). B. D. Turner in his  
 edition of Book X thinks we may trans-  
 late "and this weakness (πάθημα, as it is  
 afterwards) is manifested in our  
 souls as every species of confusion." This  
 solution gives an awkward sense, and is  
 grammatically less easy than Schneider's.

602 D 26 γοητείας οὐδὲν ἀπολείπει:  
 'leaves no magic art untried.'

27 τὸ μετρεῖν—ιστάναι. Cf. *Euthyph.*  
 7 B, C, *Prot.* 356 B, *Phil.* 55 E, [περὶ δι-

καίου] 373 A and Xen. *Mem.* I 1. 9 ἃ ἐξεστὶν  
 ἀριθμήσαντας ἢ μετρήσαντας ἢ στήσαντας  
 εἰδέναι. See also on IX 587 B.

29 ἐφάνησαν: 'were discovered' were  
 invented'=ἠρέθησαν: cf. φανῆναι VII  
 528 D. The meaning is not 'were found  
 by us to be' etc., as Liebhold supposes  
 (*Fleck.* 7b. 1884 p. 522), and even Krohn,  
 who actually thinks ἐφάνησαν may possi-  
 bly contain a reference to some 'lost  
 fragment' of the *Republic* (*Pl. St.* p. 252).  
 Grimmelt, in his reply to Krohn, takes  
 nearly the right view (*de comp. et unit.*  
 etc. p. 90 n.).

τὸ φαινόμενον—βαρύτερον. 'The ap-  
 parently larger' rules in us when we  
 believe the nearer and smaller of two  
 objects to be larger than a more distant  
 object which measurement shews to be  
 larger. Similarly in the other cases.  
 There is no good reason for adding ἡ  
 κουφότερον after βαρύτερον, as Madvig  
 proposes to do: cf. IV 433 D n.

30 τὸ λογισάμενον κτλ.: 'that which  
 has counted' etc. For ἡ καί='or if you  
 like' see on 599 A.

602 E 31 τοῦτό γε κτλ.: sc. τὸ  
 λογισασθαι κτλ. In λογιστικοῦ there is a  
 glance at the etymology of the word: cf.  
 VII 525 B n.

32 τοῦτῳ δὲ—ἅμα περὶ ταῦτά κτλ.

- 35 ἔφαμεν τῷ αὐτῷ ἅμα περὶ ταῦτὰ ἐναντία δοξάζειν ἀδύνατον εἶναι;  
 Καὶ ὀρθῶς γ' ἔφαμεν. | Τὸ παρὰ τὰ μέτρα ἄρα δοξάζον τῆς ψυχῆς 603  
 τῷ κατὰ τὰ μέτρα οὐκ ἂν εἴη ταυτόν. Οὐ γὰρ οὖν. Ἀλλὰ μὴν τὸ  
 μέτρῳ γε καὶ λογισμῷ πιστεῦον βέλτιστον ἂν εἴη τῆς ψυχῆς.  
 Τί μὴν; Τὸ ἄρα τούτῳ ἐναντιούμενον τῶν φαύλων ἂν τι εἴη ἐν  
 5 ἡμῖν. Ἀνάγκη. Τοῦτο τοίνυν διομολογήσασθαι βουλόμενος ἔλεγον,  
 ὅτι ἡ γραφικὴ καὶ ὅλως ἡ μιμητικὴ πόρρω μὲν τῆς ἀληθείας ὄν τὸ  
 αὐτῆς ἔργον ἀπεργάζεται, πόρρω δ' αὖ φρονήσεως ὅντι τῷ ἐν ἡμῖν B  
 προσομιλεῖ τε καὶ ἐταῖρα καὶ φίλη ἐστὶν ἐπ' οὐδενὶ ὑγιεῖ οὐδ'  
 ἀληθείῃ. Παντάπασιν, ἡ δ' ὅς. Φαύλη ἄρα φαύλῳ ξυγγιγνομένη  
 10 φαῦλα γέννῃ ἡ μιμητικὴ. Ὅμοιον. Πότερον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἡ κατὰ  
 τὴν ὄψιν μόνον, ἡ καὶ ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἀκοήν, ἣν δὴ ποιήσιν ὀνομά-  
 ζομεν; Εἰκός γ', ἔφη, καὶ ταύτην. Μὴ τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τῷ

11. ἡ καὶ ἡ q: ἡ A<sup>1</sup>: ἡ καὶ A<sup>2</sup>ΠΞ.

'And to this principle, when it has measured and signifies that some given objects are greater or less than or equal to some others, the contrary appearances are often presented in connexion with the same objects at the same time.' *τὰναντία* is 'the contrary,' i.e. not 'opposite appearances' in general, but *the* contrary (in any given instance) of the impression formed without the aid of *measurement*: cf. *τὰναντία* in V 453 C, *Euthyph.* 6 A et al. The object A, for example, which is nearer and smaller, appears larger than B: but the *λογιστικόν* discovers after measurement that A is smaller and reports accordingly. We have thus two contrary coexisting impressions of the same object. One of the two impressions belongs to the *λογιστικόν*: does the other also? No, because, as shewn in IV 436 A—C, it is impossible for the same faculty to hold contrary opinions simultaneously in relation to the same objects. Hence the part of soul which *δοξάζει* παρὰ τὰ μέτρα is not the same as that which *δοξάζει* κατὰ τὰ μέτρα (i.e. the *λογιστικόν*). And as the part which believes *λογισμός* (viz. the *λογιστικόν*, cf. 604 D, 605 B) is the best, that which opposes it will be τῶν φαύλων τι ἐν ἡμῖν. J. and C. follow Schneider in translating τῷ αὐτῷ as instrumental ('with the same faculty to form opposite opinions at the same time'); but it is much more natural to make it the dative with infinitive after ἀδύνατον, in view especially of τὸ—δοξάζον

τῆς ψυχῆς immediately following. Rightly understood, IV 436 B is also in favour of taking τῷ αὐτῷ in this way. For other views of this difficult passage see App. II.

603 A 5 ἔλεγον: viz. in πρὸς Διὸς—ἔχει 602 C, although Socrates reads more into πρὸς δὲ δὴ ποῖον—ἔχει than the mere words by themselves convey.

603 B 7 τῷ ἐν ἡμῖν κτλ. See on 602 C.

9 φαύλη—μιμητικὴ. Cf. VI 406 A.

11 ἡ καὶ ἡ. See *cr. n.* "Inter ἡ et κα facile καὶ ἡ excidere potuit" (Schneider).

603 B—605 C If we examine *Poetry on its own merits*, apart from the *sister-art of Painting*, we observe that *Poetry imitates action*. Now in action we often fluctuate between two impulses. When a great calamity befalls us, we are tempted to give way to grief, before the eyes of others; but Law bids us refrain, and try to cure the wound instead of hugging it. That which is best within us readily obeys: whereas the part that tempts us to dwell upon our sorrows is irrational, indolent, cowardly. Yet it is just this peevish, querulous side of human nature which most lends itself to imitation, and whose portrayal in dramatic art the vulgar most readily understand. Poetry is thus the counterpart of Painting; its products are low in point of truth, and it feeds our lower nature. We exclude the Poet from our city on both grounds.

603 B 12 μὴ τοίνυν κτλ. In 605 A Plato seems to think that his procedure



εἰκότι μόνον πιστεύσωμεν ἐκ τῆς γραφικῆς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὸ αὐ  
 C ἔλθωμεν τῆς <sup>1</sup> διανοίας τοῦτο, ᾧ προσομιλεῖ ἢ τῆς ποιήσεως μιμη-  
 τική, καὶ ἴδωμεν, φαῦλον ἢ σπουδαῖον ἐστίν. Ἄλλα χρή. Ὡδε 15  
 δὴ προθώμεθα· πράττοντας, φαμέν, ἀνθρώπους μιμεῖται ἢ μιμητικῇ  
 βιαίους ἢ ἐκουσίας πράξεις καὶ ἐκ τοῦ πράττειν ἢ εὖ οἰομένους ἢ  
 κακῶς πεπραγέναι καὶ ἐν τούτοις δὴ πᾶσιν ἢ λυπουμενούς ἢ χαί-  
 ροντας. μὴ τι ἄλλο ἦν παρὰ ταῦτα; Οὐδέν. Ἄρ' οὖν ἐν ἅπασι  
 D τούτοις ὁμονοητικῶς ἄνθρωπος διάκειται; <sup>1</sup> ἢ ὥσπερ κατὰ τὴν 20  
 ὄψιν ἐστασίαζεν καὶ ἐναντίας εἶχεν ἐν ἑαυτῷ δόξας ἅμα περὶ τῶν  
 αὐτῶν, οὕτω καὶ ἐν ταῖς πράξεσι στασιάζει τε καὶ μάχεται αὐτὸς  
 αὐτῷ; ἀναμιμνήσκομαι δέ, ὅτι τοῦτό γε νῦν οὐδὲν δεῖ ἡμᾶς διομο-  
 λογεῖσθαι· ἐν γὰρ τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις ἱκανῶς πάντα ταῦτα διωμο-  
 λογησάμεθα, ὅτι μυρίων τοιούτων ἐναντιωμάτων ἅμα γιγνομένων 25  
 ἢ ψυχὴ γέμει ἡμῶν. Ὁρθῶς, ἔφη. Ὁρθῶς γάρ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ· ἀλλ'  
 E ὁ τότε ἀπελίπομεν, <sup>1</sup> νῦν μοι δοκεῖ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι διεξελεῖν. Τὸ  
 ποῖον; ἔφη. Ἀνὴρ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐπιεικὴς τοιαῶδε τύχης μετασχών,  
 ὕδὼν ἀπολέσας ἢ τι ἄλλο ὧν περὶ πλείστου ποιεῖται, ἐλέγομέν που  
 καὶ τότε ὅτι ῥᾶστα οἴσει τῶν ἄλλων. Πάνυ γε. Νῦν δέ γε τόδ' 30  
 ἐπισκεψώμεθα, πότερον οὐδὲν ἀχθέσεται, ἢ τοῦτο μὲν ἀδύνατον,  
 μετριάσει δέ πως πρὸς λύπην. Οὕτω μᾶλλον, ἔφη, τό γε ἀληθές. |  
 604 Τόδε νῦν μοι περὶ αὐτοῦ εἰπέ· πότερον μᾶλλον αὐτὸν οἶει τῇ λύπῃ

13. πιστεύσωμεν A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: πιστεύσομεν A<sup>1</sup>Π: πιστεύωμεν q. 18. πᾶσιν (sive πᾶσι)  
 ἢ Π: πᾶσιν A<sup>1</sup>: πᾶσι A<sup>2</sup>. 19. ἦν Ast: ἢ AΞ: ἢ Π: om. q. 28. τύχης Π:  
 ψυχῆς A. I. τότε v: τὸ δὲ AΠΞ: τότε δὴ q.

in arguing from Painting to Poetry (597 E n.) needs a word of explanation and defence. The following argument incidentally furnishes such a defence by deducing from an independent treatment of Poetry the conclusions to which we have already been led by τὸ εἰκὸς ἐκ τῆς γραφικῆς.

603 C 15 ὧδε δὴ προθώμεθα: 'let us put it before us in this way.' The object is easily supplied, and in other respects *προτίθεσθαι* is used as in II 375 D, *Phil.* 36 E and elsewhere: so that there is no good reason for suspecting the text. *ὑποθώμεθα* (Richards) has a different and less suitable meaning.

16 πράττοντας κτλ. Cf. Aristotle's definition of tragedy as *μυθοῖς πράξεως* κτλ. (*Poet.* 6. 1449<sup>b</sup> 24) and Plato *Λαῶς* 817 A ff. See also Stahlin *Stellung d. Poesie* etc. pp. 35 f.

19 μὴ τι—ταῦτα; 'It was nothing be-

yond this, was it?' I have adopted Ast's conjecture (see *cr. n.*), which Schneider also favours, in preference to omitting ἢ with q and two other MSS, Stallbaum, and Baiter. The imperfect may be a reminiscence of III 399 A—C. The different usages of μὴ with the subjunctive have not yet been thoroughly explained (see *Cl. Rev.* x pp. 150—153, 239—244), but it seems clear that μὴ cannot in interrogative sentences with the 3rd person subjunctive mean 'num,' and the meaning 'perhaps' (as in μὴ ἀληθὲς ἦ) is unsuitable. The only exact parallel to this idiom in Plato is *Parm.* 163 D where Heindorf similarly restores ἦν, apparently with Waddell's approval. See however on the other hand Goodwin *MT.* p. 93.

603 D 21 ἐστασίαζεν. 602 C ff.

24 τοῖς ἄνω λόγοις. IV 439 C ff.

603 E 30 καὶ τότε. III 387 D, E.

604 A I τότε. See *cr. n.* τὸ δέ,

μαχεῖσθαι τε καὶ ἀντιτενεῖν, ὅταν ὁρᾶται ὑπὸ τῶν ὁμοίων, ἢ ὅταν ἐν ἐρημίᾳ μόνος αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτὸν γίγνηται; Πολύ που, ἔφη, διοίσει, ὅταν ὁρᾶται. Μονωθεὶς δέ γε, οἶμαι, πολλὰ μὲν τολμήσει 5 φθέγγασθαι, ἃ εἰ τις αὐτοῦ ἀκούει αἰσχύνοιτ' ἄν, πολλὰ δὲ ποιήσει, ἃ οὐκ ἂν δέξαιτό τινα ἰδεῖν δρῶντα. Οὕτως ἔχει, ἔφη.

VI. Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν ἀντιτείνειν διακελευόμενον λόγος καὶ νόμος ἐστίν, τὸ δὲ ἔλκον<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ τὰς λύπας αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος; Ἀληθῆ. B Ἐναντίας δὲ ἀγωγῆς γιγνομένης ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ περὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἅμα 10 δύο φαμέν ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι. Πῶς δ' οὐ; Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν ἕτερον τῷ νόμῳ ἔτοιμον πείθεσθαι, ἢ ὁ νόμος ἐξηγεῖται; Πῶς; Λέγει που ὁ νόμος, ὅτι κάλλιστον ὃ τι μάλιστα ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν ἐν ταῖς ξυμφοραῖς καὶ μὴ ἀγανακτεῖν, ὥς οὔτε δήλου ὄντος τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ τε καὶ κακοῦ τῶν τοιούτων, οὔτε εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν οὐδὲν

2. ἀντιτενεῖν q: ἀντιτείνειν AΠΞ.

10. ἐν q: om AΠΞ.

though supported by most MSS and retained by Bekker and others, cannot, I think, be right. "Nescias τὸ cum νῦν construendum, an per se pro τοῦτο accipiendum sit. Hoc communi, illud Platonicae loquendi consuetudini repugnat. Contra τὸδε offensione caret, et quoniam nexus inter haec et superiora intercedens paullo ante particula δὲ post νῦν significatus est, δῆ—abesse posse videtur" (Schneider).

2 ἀντιτενεῖν. See *cr. n.* Schneider and the more conservative editors keep the present; but it is much more difficult to defend such a difference in tense with τε—καί than for example in 601 D. Cf. 1 342 A n. Stobaeus (*Flor.* 124. 43) has μάχεσθαι τε καὶ ἀντιτείνειν, which may be right.

3 μόνος is bracketed by Cobet (*V. L.*<sup>2</sup> p. 361) and others. Cf. however *Polit.* 307 E αὐτοὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς μόνοι and other examples in *Ast Lex. Plat.* s.v. μόνος.

5 ποιήσει κτλ. Richards would write ποιῆσαι, but ποιήσει is much more forcible. The words ἃ—δρῶντα mean 'which he would not like any one to see him do': not 'which he would not choose to see another doing' (J. and C.). Cf. ἃ εἰ τις αὐτοῦ ἀκούει αἰσχύνοιτ' ἄν. It should be remembered throughout this passage that violent demonstrations of grief did not offend the Greek sense of propriety so much as they offend ours: cf. Bosanquet *Companion* p. 396.

604 B 8 αὐτὸ τὸ πάθος: "the affliction itself" (D. and V.): "das Leiden selbst" (Schneider), objectively understood: not "perturbatio" (Ficinus) or "Leidenschaft" (Schleiermacher). See Krohn *Pl. St.* p. 256.

10 δύο is of course neuter, but δύο τινέ (q Flor. U) hardly makes the gender clearer and ought not to be preferred.

ἐν αὐτῷ. See *cr. n.* αὐτῷ, which Schneider and others retain, has a great preponderance of MS authority, but is not sufficiently precise: for the two principles do not merely belong to the man, but are *in* him: cf. 603 B. This kind of error is a common one in Paris A: see *Introd.* § 5. Morgenstern's conjecture αὐτῷ, which Burnet adopts, would refer "ad proxime commemorata πάθος et λόγον, quae diversa et duo esse Socrates iam supra posuit, non nunc demum colligit" (Schneider). φαμέν need not be parenthetical: for εἶναι can be omitted as well as ἐστί, and its presence would have been awkward here, on account of the εἶναι to which δύο is subject. See Schanz *Nov. Comm. Pl.* pp. 33 f.

11 τῷ νόμῳ. Richards proposes τῷ λόγῳ in view of λόγος καὶ νόμος above and λογισμῷ 604 D. This conjecture would introduce a false and unpleasant contrast between τῷ λόγῳ and ὁ νόμος. The repetition of ὁ νόμος is for emphasis.

13 δήλου ὄντος—προβαίνον. Cf. *Euthyphr.* 4 D and other grammatical parallels in Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 648.

- C προβαίνουν τῷ χαλεπῶς φέροντι, οὔτε τι τῶν ἀνθρώπων <sup>1</sup> ἄξιον 15  
 ὃν μεγάλης σπουδῆς, ὃ τε δεῖ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὃ τι τάχιστα παραγίνεσθαι  
 ἡμῖν, τούτῳ ἐμποδὼν γιγνόμενον τὸ λυπεῖσθαι. Τίνι, ἢ δ' ὅς,  
 λέγεις; Τῷ βουλευέσθαι, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, περὶ τὸ γεγονὸς καὶ ὥσπερ  
 ἐν πτώσει κύβων πρὸς τὰ πεπτωκότα τίθεσθαι τὰ αὐτοῦ πράγ- 20  
 ματα, ὅπῃ ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ βέλτιστ' ἂν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ προσπταί-  
 σαντας καθάπερ παῖδας ἐχομένους τοῦ πληγέντος ἐν τῷ βοᾶν  
 διατρίβειν, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ ἐθίζειν τὴν ψυχὴν ὃ τι τάχιστα γίνεσθαι  
 D πρὸς τῷ ἰᾶσθαι τε καὶ ἐπανορθοῦν τὸ πεσόν τε καὶ νοσήσαν,  
 ἱατρικῇ θρηνηδίαν ἀφανίζοντα. Ὅρθότατα γοῦν ἂν τις, ἔφη, πρὸς  
 τὰς τύχας οὕτω προσφέροιτο. Οὐκοῦν, φαμέν, τὸ μὲν βέλτιστον 25  
 τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ ἐθέλει ἔπесθαι. Δῆλον δὲ. Τὸ δὲ πρὸς τὰς  
 ἀναμνήσεις τε τοῦ πάθους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὀδυρμούς ἄγον καὶ ἀπλή-  
 στως ἔχον αὐτῶν ἢρ' οὐκ ἀλόγιστόν τε φήσομεν εἶναι καὶ ἀργὸν καὶ  
 δειλίας φίλον; Φήσομεν μὲν οὖν. Οὐκοῦν τὸ μὲν πολλὴν μίμησιν  
 E καὶ ποικίλῃν <sup>1</sup> ἔχει, τὸ ἀγανακτητικόν· τὸ δὲ φρόνιμόν τε καὶ 30  
 ἡσύχιον ἦθος, παραπλήσιον ὃν αἰεὶ αὐτὸ αὐτῷ, οὔτε ῥάδιον

16. ὃ τε A<sup>1</sup>Π: ὃ τι A<sup>2</sup>, sed corr. a manu recenti ὃ τε. 20. αἰρεῖ Ξ q:  
 ἐρεῖ A: ἔρρει Π. 21. πληγέντος Π: πλήττοντος A. 23. τῷ (sive τῷ) q:  
 τὸ AΠΞ. 24. ἱατρικῇ θρηνηδίαν Stobaeus (*Flor.* 109. 10) et Plutarchus (*Cons.*  
*ad Apoll.* 112 E): ἱατρικὴν θρηνηδίαν A<sup>2</sup>: ἱατρικὴν καὶ θρηνηδίαν Π et fortasse A<sup>1</sup>:  
 θρηνηδίαν Ξ: ἱατρικῇ τὴν θρηνηδίαν q. 25. βέλτιστον A<sup>1</sup>Π: βέλτιστόν που A<sup>2</sup>.  
 31. αὐτὸ Ξ q et in marg. A<sup>2</sup>: om. A<sup>1</sup>Π.

15 οὔτε τι κτλ. The sentiment is repeated and expanded in *Laus* 803 B ff.

604 C 20 ὁ λόγος αἰρεῖ. Cf. IV 440 B and infra 607 B. The origin of this frequent phrase is, I think, to be sought in the legal rather than, as Schneider supposes, in the military meaning of *αἰρεῖν*. Cf. "voluptatem—convictam superiore libro" in Cic. *de Fin.* III 1. Badham (on *Phil.* 35 D) strangely conjectures that the figure is "borrowed from the draught-board."

ἀλλὰ μὴ προσπταίσαντας κτλ. Cf. (with Stallbaum) Dem. *Phil.* 140. The curious error *πλήττοντος* for *πληγέντος*, found in several MSS besides A, is perhaps due to a reminiscence of V 469 E.

604 D 23 πρὸς τῷ ἰᾶσθαι κτλ. See *cr. n.* In Stephanus-Hase *Thes.* s.v. *πρὸς* it is said that *γίγνεσθαι πρὸς τι* = "occupatum esse circa aliquid vel in aliquo vel in aliqua re," but no certain examples are given. I agree with the Oxford editors in thinking the dative right as against the accusative, which the

German editors retain. Cf. VIII 567 A n.

πεσόν. The conjecture *πταίσαν* (Herwerden *Mn.* XIX p. 340) is worse than unnecessary. *ἀφανίζοντα* agrees of course with the subject of *ἐθίζειν*, which is singular, in spite of *προσπταίσαντας*. We need not (with Apelt *Obs. Cr.* p. 12) write *ἀφανίζοντας* or *ἀφανίζουσαν*: see on I 347 A.

24 ἱατρικῇ κτλ. Stallbaum reads *τὴν θρηνηδίαν* with q (see *cr. n.*). "In dictione poetica articulum etiam minus desidero" (Schneider). The article would be comparatively tame.

26 τούτῳ τῷ λογισμῷ means the λογισμός expressed in *λέγει* που ὁ νόμος (B) — *ἀφανίζοντα* (D). Stallbaum was the first to restore λογισμῷ (from AII etc.) for the λογιστικῷ of inferior MSS.

604 E 30 ἔχει κτλ. *ἔχει* = *ἐνδέχεται*, as often. The Euripidean drama forebodingly illustrates what Plato here says. τὸ ἀγανακτητικόν may be regarded as a degenerate variety of the *θυμοειδές*: cf. III 411 A—C and supra 602 C n.



μιμήσασθαι οὔτε μιμουμένον εὐπετές καταμαθεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ  
 πανηγύρει καὶ παντοδαποῖς ἀνθρώποις εἰς θέατρα ξυλληγομένοις.  
 ἄλλοτρίου γάρ που πάθους ἡ μίμησις αὐτοῖς γίνεται. | Παντάπασι 605  
 μὲν οὖν. Ὁ δὲ μιμητικὸς ποιητὴς δῆλον ὅτι οὐ πρὸς τὸ τοιοῦτον  
 τῆς ψυχῆς πέφυκέν τε καὶ ἡ σοφία αὐτοῦ τούτῳ ἀρέσκειν πέπηγεν,  
 εἰ μέλλει εὐδοκιμήσειν ἐν τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ ἀγανακτη-  
 5 τικόν τε καὶ ποικίλον ἦθος διὰ τὸ εὐμίμητον εἶναι. Δῆλον. Οὐκοῦν  
 δικαίως ἂν αὐτοῦ ἤδη ἐπιλαμβανοίμεθα καὶ τιθεῖμεν ἀντίστροφον  
 αὐτὸν τῷ ζωγράφῳ· καὶ γὰρ τῷ φαῦλα ποιεῖν πρὸς ἀλήθειαν  
 ἔοικεν αὐτῷ, καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἕτερον τοιοῦτον ὁμιλεῖν τῆς | ψυχῆς, B  
 ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ βέλτιστον, καὶ ταύτῃ ὁμοίεται. καὶ οὕτως ἤδη  
 10 ἂν ἐν δίκῃ οὐ παραδεχοίμεθα εἰς μέλλουσαν εὐνομεῖσθαι πόλιν,  
 ὅτι τοῦτο ἐγείρει τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ τρέφει καὶ ἰσχυρὸν ποιῶν ἀπόλ-  
 λυσι τὸ λογιστικόν, ὥσπερ ἐν πόλει ὅταν τις μοχθηροὺς ἐγκρατεῖς  
 ποιῶν παραδιδῷ τὴν πόλιν, τοὺς δὲ χαριεστέρους φθείρῃ. ταῦτον  
 καὶ τὸν μιμητικὸν ποιητὴν φήσομεν κακὴν πολιτείαν ἰδίᾳ ἐκάστου  
 15 τῇ ψυχῇ ἐμποιεῖν, τῷ ἀνοήτῳ αὐτῆς χαριζόμενον καὶ οὔτε τὰ  
 μείζω | οὔτε τὰ ἐλάττω διαγιγνώσκοντι, ἀλλὰ τὰ αὐτὰ τοτὲ μὲν C

32. μιμουμένον II: μιμούμενον A. 3. τε A<sup>1</sup>: γε A<sup>2</sup> (sed corr. τε a manu recenti) cum IIΞg. 11. ποιῶν A<sup>1</sup>II: ποιῶν A<sup>2</sup>. 13. φθείρῃ A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: φθείρει A<sup>1</sup>II: φθείροι g.

32 μιμουμένον. See *cr. n.* μιμούμενον, if it could be taken as passive, would be better and more pointed; but there is apparently no other example of the present participle of this verb used passively, and we are hardly justified in reasoning from the perfect (μεμιμημένα *Crat.* 425 D) etc. to the present. Schneider thinks μιμούμενον may be active, 'the imitator' being said instead of 'the imitation' ('nor is it easy to understand one who tries to imitate him' J. and C.). But we cannot help feeling that εὐπετέας as well as ῥάδιον ought to agree with ἦθος. I therefore follow Stallbaum in preferring the genitive absolute μιμουμένου, which has the authority of g and several other MSS in addition to II.

ἄλλως τε—ξυλληγομένοις. Cf. VI 492 B. 605 A 3 πέφυκέν τε—πέπηγεν. It is easy to carry on the negative if we read τε and not γε, which is in all MSS except A<sup>1</sup>. πέφυκε πρὸς, like πεποιήται πρὸς in 598 B, is here said of the relation of Art to that which it imitates, as appears from

ἀλλὰ πρὸς—εὐμίμητον εἶναι. The word πέπηγεν means 'is framed' or 'constructed,' i.e. πεποιήται (598 B); cf. VII 530 D. The infinitive is the old dative infinitive of purpose 'constructed for pleasing' 'to please': see Goodwin *MF.* pp. 297, 310 f. Various unnecessary and unpleasing conjectures have been proposed: the addition of οὐ before τούτῳ (Stephanus), ἡ σοφία αὐτῷ τούτῳ ἀρέσκειν πέφυκεν (Cornarius *Ecl.* p. 102): the transposition of πέφυκε and πέπηγεν (Valckenaer on Eur. *Phoen.* 923): and οὐ τοῦ τούτῳ ἀρέσκειν πεπεινηκεν (Richter in *Fleck. Jb.* 1867 p. 147).

4 εἰ μέλλει—τοῖς πολλοῖς. See on VI 493 D and cf. Reber *Pl. u. die Poetik* pp. 54—59.

5 οὐκοῦν δικαίως—ζωγράφῳ. See on 603 B.

605 B 12 μοχθηροὺς—πόλιν κτλ. τοῖς is not required before μοχθηροῦς any more than τοῖς αὐτοῖς after πόλιν (Herwerden's conjectures in *An.* XIX p. 340). With πολιτείαν—ψυχῇ cf. IX 590 E and X 608 B.

μεγάλα ἡγουμένῳ, τοτὲ δὲ σμικρά, εἶδωλα εἰδωλοποιούντα, τοῦ δὲ ἀληθοῦς πόρρω πάνν ἀφεστῶτα. Πάνν μὲν οὖν.

VII. Οὐ μέντοι πῶ τό γε μέγιστον κατηγορήκαμεν αὐτῆς. τὸ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐπικεικὺς ἱκανῇ εἶναι λωβᾶσθαι, ἐκτὸς πάνν τινῶν 20 ὀλίγων, πάνδεινόν πον. Τί δ' οὐ μέλλει, εἴπερ γε δρᾷ αὐτό; Ἀκούων σκόπει. οἱ γὰρ που βέλτιστοι ἡμῶν ἀκροώμενοι Ὀμήρου D ἢ ἄλλου τινὸς τῶν τραγῳδοποιῶν ἡμιμουμένου τινὰ τῶν ἡρώων ἐν πένθει ὄντα καὶ μακρὰν ῥῆσιν ἀποτείνοντα ἐν τοῖς ὀδυρμοῖς ἢ καὶ ἄδοντάς τε καὶ κοπτομένους, οἷσθ' ὅτι χαίρομέν τε καὶ ἐνδόντες 25 ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπόμεθα συμπάσχοντες καὶ σπουδάζοντες ἐπαινοῦμεν

17. εἰδωλοποιούντα  $g^2$ : εἰδωλοποιούντι AΠΞ  $g^1$ .

605 C 17 εἶδωλα εἰδωλοποιούντα κτλ. See *cr. n.* εἰδωλοποιούντα seems also to have been the reading of the first hand in Vind. F. The dative εἰδωλοποιούντι is retained by Schneider, who makes it agree with τῷ ἀνοήτῳ and regards ἀφεστῶτα as neuter plural. This interpretation, though grammatically tenable, is otherwise unsatisfactory. Plato (in 605 A) has just correlated Poetry with Painting because Poetry also (a) produces φαῦλα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν and (b) consorts with φαῦλόν τι τῆς ψυχῆς. On both grounds, he concludes, Poetry must be proscribed: for (b) τοῦτο ἐγείρει—τοτὲ δὲ σμικρά, and (a) εἶδωλα εἰδωλοποιεῖ. The chiasmic sequence is usual in Plato. If we read εἰδωλοποιούντι, Plato assigns only one of his two main reasons for the exclusion of Poetry, viz. (b), and the correspondence between this and the preceding sentence disappears. On this account Stallbaum and others are, I believe, right in restoring the accusative, and making ἀφεστῶτα, as well as εἰδωλοποιούντα, agree with τὸν μμητικὸν ποιητὴν. The error—an easy one after διαγινώσκοντι and ἡγουμένῳ—affected ἀφεστῶτα also in at least one MS, for Ξ has ἀφεστῶτι.

605 C—607 A But the most serious count in our indictment is that Poetry is capable of corrupting, with few exceptions, even men of character and virtue. Tragedy stirs in us just those emotions which we are ashamed to indulge when suffering misfortunes of our own, and the consequence is that we succumb more readily in the hour of trial. The same may be said, mutatis mutandis, of comedy also. We shall therefore decline to model our lives

after Homer, and refuse to surrender our city to the rule of Pleasure.

605 C 19 αὐτῆς. That is, τῆς ποιήσεως. Cf. VI 503 E n.

20 τὸ γὰρ καὶ τοὺς ἐπικεικὺς. See on 595 B.

605 D 23 τινὰ τῶν ἡρώων κτλ. Cf. III 387 D. In ῥῆσιν—κοπτομένους the contrast is between a ῥῆσις or set speech, spoken and not sung, “*quales multae in tragoediis, Euripidis praesertim*” (Casaubon apud Stallbaum), and κομμοί, which are sung. Hence ἢ καὶ—κοπτομένους, ‘or if you like singing and beating the breast,’ is perfectly accurate, and we ought not to change καὶ ἄδοντας into κλάοντας or κλαίνοντας (with Ast, Cobet, Baiter) or ἄδοντας into ἀλύνοντας (with Winckelmann). For ἢ καὶ cf. 599 A n. The readings τινὰς—ὄντας—ἀποτείνοντας in  $g$  and some other MSS are only attempts to obliterate the common irregularity of a singular (τινά etc.) passing into a plural: see on I 347 A. Richards ‘suspects’ that Plato wrote ἡμιμουμένου—ἀποτείνοντος—κλαίνοντος—κοπτομένου. The conjecture is as unnecessary as it is bold.

25 χαίρομεν κτλ. Pity, according to Aristotle, as well as Plato, is aroused by Tragedy: see *Poet.* 6. 1449<sup>b</sup> 27. With συμπάσχοντες κτλ. cf. Arist. *Pol.* Θ 5. 1340<sup>a</sup> 12 ἐτι δὲ ἀκροώμενοι τῶν μιμήσεων γίνονται πάντες συμπαθεῖς, and with ἐπαινοῦμεν—διαθῇ *Laws* 800 D δς ἂν δακρύσαι μάλιστα τὴν θύσσαν παραχρήμα ποιήσῃ πόλιν, οὗτος τὰ νικητήρια φέρει, *Phil.* 48 A τὰς γε τραγικὰς θεωρήσεις, ὅταν ἅμα χαίροντες κλάωσι and *Ion* 535 E. See also on 606 B and III 395 D.

ὡς ἀγαθὸν ποιητὴν, ὃς ἂν ἡμᾶς ὅ τι μάλιστα οὕτω διαθῇ. Οἶδα· πῶς δ' οὐ; "Όταν δὲ οἰκεῖόν τι ἡμῶν κῆδος γένηται, ἐννοεῖς αὐτὸν ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ ἐναντίῳ καλλωπιζόμεθα, ἂν δυνώμεθα ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν 30 καὶ καρτερεῖν, ὡς τοῦτο μὲν ἀνδρὸς ὄν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ γυναικός, ὃ τότε Ε ἐπηρεάζομεν. Ἐννοῶ, ἔφη. Ἡ καλῶς οὖν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, οὗτος ὁ ἔπαινος ἔχει, τὸ ὀρώντα τοιοῦτον ἀνδρα, οἷον ἑαυτὸν τις μὴ ἀξιοῖ εἶναι ἀλλ' αἰσχύνεται ἂν, μὴ βδελύττεσθαι ἀλλὰ χαίρειν τε καὶ ἐπαινεῖν; Οὐ μὰ τὸν Δί', ἔφη, οὐκ εὐλόγῳ ἔοικεν. | Naί, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, εἰ ἐκείνη γ' 606 αὐτὸ σκοποῖς. Πῆ; Εἰ ἐνθυμοῖο, ὅτι τὸ βία κατεχόμενον τότε ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις ξυμφοραῖς καὶ πεπεινηκὸς τοῦ δακρῦσαί τε καὶ ἀποδύρασθαι ἱκανῶς καὶ ἀποπλησθῆναι, φύσει ὃν τοιοῦτον οἷον τούτων 5 ἐπιθυμεῖν, τότε ἔστιν τοῦτο τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν ποιητῶν περιπλάμενον καὶ χαίρειν· τὸ δὲ φύσει βέλτιστον ἡμῶν, ἅτε οὐχ ἱκανῶς πεπαιδευμένον λόγῳ οὐδὲ ἔθει, ἀνίσιν τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ θρηνώδους τούτου, ἅτε ἀλλότρια ἡ πάθος θεωροῦν, καὶ ἑαυτῷ οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν ὄν, εἰ ἄλλος Β ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς φάσκων εἶναι ἀκαίρως πενθεῖ, τοῦτον ἐπαινεῖν καὶ 10 ἐλεεῖν· ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο κερδαίνειν ἡγεῖται, τὴν ἡδονήν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν δέξαιτο αὐτῆς στερηθῆναι καταφρονήσας ὅλου τοῦ ποιήματος. λογίζεσθαι γάρ, οἶμαι, ὀλίγοις τισὶν μέτεστιν, ὅτι ἀπολαύειν

12. ἀπολαύειν A<sup>1</sup>Π: ἀπολλύει ut videtur corr. A<sup>2</sup>.

606 A 1 ναὶ κτλ. It is unreasonable to take pleasure in and praise such exhibitions; for the appetite to which they minister is one which in the case of our own individual misfortunes we are careful to repress. Jackson points out that *ναὶ* ("ganz recht" Schneider) assents to what Glauco has just said, viz. οὐκ εὐλόγῳ ἔοικεν, and does not mean *ναὶ*, εὐλόγῳ ἔοικεν, as J. and C. suppose, taking *ναὶ* as the equivalent of the French *si*.

2 κατεχόμενον τότε: viz. ὅταν οἰκεῖόν τι ἡμῶν κῆδος γένηται (605 D).

5 τότε ἔστιν τοῦτο κτλ.: 'is on those occasions the part of our nature which the poets satisfy and please.' τοῦτο is the subject, and repeats τὸ βία κατεχόμενον κτλ., while τὸ—χαίρειν is in the predicate. A difficulty has been felt because τότε now refers to poetical exhibitions, whereas the other τότε had a different reference; but the emphatic place of the second adverb seems to place it in opposition to the first, and mistake is made impossible by the presence in the one case of ἐν ταῖς οἰκείαις συμφοραῖς, in the other of ὑπὸ τῶν ποιη-

τῶν. Cf. also the double reference of αὐτὸν—αὐτὸν in 606 C. Madvig conjectures αὐτ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο, Richards τοῦτ' ἐστὶν αὐτό. I once read τοῦτό ἐστιν with *q* and Flor. U, but there is not sufficient reason for deserting the best mss. On the theory of Tragedy involved in this sentence see 606 B n.

7 τοῦ θρηνώδους τούτου. See on τὸ ἀγανακτητικόν 604 E.

606 B 8 ἐαυτῷ. "Plato passes from the rational part of soul to the man himself" J. and C. Hence καταφρονήσας below. The antithesis with ἄλλος ἀνὴρ makes the meaning clear; and a similar transition occurs, as Schneider points out, in VI 486 A: see also note ad loc.

11 καταφρονήσας—ποιήματος. He cannot bring himself to despise the whole poem: yet that is the only safe thing to do. From this point of view Plato's own καταφρονήσις ὅλης τῆς ποιήσεως is in itself the strongest testimony to the hold which Poetry had on him. See on 595 B.

12 ἀπολαύειν—οἰκεία. Cf. III 395 C ff. and *Latius* 656 B.



ἀνάγκη ἀπὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα· θρέψαντα γὰρ ἐν ἐκεί-  
νοις ἰσχυρὸν τὸ ἔλεεινὸν οὐ ῥάδιον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πάθεσι κατέχειν.  
C Ἀληθέστατα, ἔφη. Ἄρ' οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τοῦ γελοίου, 15  
ὅτι, ἂν αὐτὸς αἰσχύνοιο γελωτοποιῶν, ἐν μιμήσει δὲ κωμωδικῇ ἢ  
καὶ ἰδίᾳ ἀκούων σφόδρα χαρῆς καὶ μὴ μισῆς ὡς πονηρά, ταυτὸν  
ποιεῖς ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐλέοις; ὁ γὰρ τῷ λόγῳ αὐ κατεῖχες ἐν σαυτῷ  
βουλόμενον γελωτοποιεῖν, φοβούμενος δόξαν βωμολοχίας, τότε αὐ  
ἀνίης καὶ ἐκεῖ νεανικὸν ποιήσας ἔλαθες πολλάκις ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις 20

16. ἂν Schneider: ἂν codd.  
A<sup>1</sup>: μιμήση Ξ: οὐ μιμήσεις q.

17. μὴ μισῆς A<sup>2</sup>: μιμήσης (sic) Π et nisi fallor  
20. ἀνίης Ξ q: ἂν εἴης A: ἀνείης II.

13 θρέψαντα—κατέχειν. Plato and Aristotle agree in holding that Pity is one of the principal emotions to which Tragedy ministers. The point at which they part company is where they begin to discuss the effect produced upon human life and conduct by the indulgence of this emotion in the mimicry of the stage. According to Plato, the emotion grows by what it feeds upon, and becomes more and more troublesome and deleterious in real life, the more we indulge it at the theatre: according to Aristotle, tragedy effects the 'purgation' of pity and its kindred emotions and tends to free us from their dominion in matters of more serious moment (*Poet.* 6. 1449<sup>b</sup> 27 et al.). Aristotle hopes to effect by means of theatrical stimulation what Plato would attain by starving the emotions even in play. It is obvious that the Aristotelian theory of the drama was in this important respect developed in direct and conscious antagonism to the Platonic, to which, in other particulars, it owes much: see Finster *Platon u. die Arist. Poetik* pp. 96 ff. I think it may fairly be argued that Plato's view is not less true to experience than that of Aristotle; for a spectacle which 'purges' the ἔλεεινόν in one man may strengthen it in another and make him more than ever inclined to self-pity. On the contrast between the Platonic and Aristotelian views see Butcher *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry*<sup>2</sup> etc. pp. 237—268, especially 241 f., and for Aristotle's debt to Plato in his definition of tragedy consult the excellent essay of Siebek *Zur Katharsisfrage* in his *Unters. zur Phil. d. Gr.* pp. 165—180.

14 ἔλεεινόν. ἔλεεινός and not ἔλεεινός is the Platonic form of this word: see Schanz *Phaedo* p. VII.

606 C 15 ἄρ' οὐχ κτλ. Cf. III 388 E.

16 ὅτι κτλ.: lit. 'that whatever jests you would be ashamed to make yourself, but which you are mightily pleased to hear in comic representations, or it may be in private life, and do not hate as bad, you do the same thing' etc. 'Whatever' is treated as equivalent to 'if any': see Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 945. I have followed Schneider in writing ἄν or ἂ ἄν instead of ἄν (see *cr. n.*), although he gives no other instance where ἄν appears to do double duty in this fashion. The usage, however, ought not on that account to be pronounced impossible; for cases in which a single relative pronoun forms, as here, the object of two opposing clauses, one representing a hypothetical, the other an actual situation, are extremely rare. We should also remember that ὅς is occasionally used instead of ὅς ἄν with the subjunctive, even in classical prose, according to the best MSS: e.g. *Laws* 737 B: see also Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 206. A sentence like the present is made easier by the mere existence of such an exceptional liberty of style. For the corruption of ἄν to ἄν cf. (with Schneider) *Gorg.* 486 E. All other attempts at emendation—and they are numerous—involve too much change: see App. III.

17 ἰδίᾳ: i.e. "intra privatos parietes et ab iis, qui artem non profitentur" (Schneider). The word has been held to refer to writings in prose: but see on II 363 E.

18 αὐ κατεῖχες. αὐ is "item, ut antea θρηνηῶδες" (Stallbaum). Madvig's conjecture ἄν should not be adopted. The second αὐ (τότ' αὐ) points the contrast between κατεῖχες and ἀνίης: cf. 606 A n.

ἐξενεχθεὶς ὥστε κωμωδοποιὸς γενέσθαι. Καὶ μάλα, ἔφη. | Καὶ περὶ **D**  
ἀφροδισίων δὴ καὶ θυμοῦ καὶ περὶ πάντων τῶν ἐπιθυμητικῶν τε  
καὶ λυπηρῶν καὶ ἡδέων ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ, ἃ δὴ φαμεν πάσῃ πράξει ἡμῖν  
ἐπεσθαι, ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἡμᾶς ἡ ποιητικὴ μίμησις ἐργάζεται; τρέφει  
25 γὰρ ταῦτα ἄρδουσα, δέον αἰχμεῖν, καὶ ἄρχοντα ἡμῖν καθίστησιν,  
δέον ἄρχεσθαι αὐτά, ἵνα βελτίους τε καὶ εὐδαιμονέστεροι ἀντὶ  
χειρόνων καὶ ἀθλιωτέρων γινώμεθα. Οὐκ ἔχω ἄλλως φάναι, ἢ  
δ' ὅς. Οὐκοῦν, εἶπον, ὦ Γλαῦκων, ὅταν | Ὀμήρου ἐπαινέταις **E**  
ἐντύχῃς λέγουσιν, ὡς τὴν Ἑλλάδα πεπαίδευκεν οὗτος ὁ ποιητὴς  
30 καὶ πρὸς διοίκησίν τε καὶ παιδείαν τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων  
ἄξιος ἀναλαβόντι μανθάνειν τε καὶ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν ποιητὴν πάντα  
τὸν αὐτοῦ βίον κατασκευασάμενον ζῆν, | φιλεῖν μὲν χρὴ καὶ **607**  
ἀσπάζεσθαι ὡς ὄντας βελτίστους εἰς ὅσον δύνανται, καὶ συγχω-  
ρεῖν Ὀμηρον ποιητικώτατον εἶναι καὶ πρῶτον τῶν τραγωδοποιῶν,  
εἰδέναι δέ, ὅτι ὅσον μόνον ὕμνους θεοῖς καὶ ἐγκώμια τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς  
5 ποιήσεως παραδεκτέον εἰς πόλιν· εἰ δὲ τὴν ἡδυσμένην Μοῦσαν

**606 D 21** καὶ περὶ ἀφροδισίων κτλ. Cf. III 389 D ff., and (for the psychological theory of this passage) supra 602 C n. ὅτι, which depends on ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος, is easy enough if we retain ὅτι in C: cf. VI 510 D οὐκοῦν καὶ ὅτι κτλ. and infra 613 D καὶ αὖ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδίκων ὅτι κτλ. Otherwise ὅτι becomes extremely difficult, although Stallbaum and Neukirch (in *Pl. Pol. quaest. phil.* I p. 49) think that ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος ἔστιν may even then be supplied. The word was accordingly suspected by Ast and bracketed by Baiter. Madvig conjectures ἔτι, and Richards would replace ὅτι τοιαῦτα by ἕτερα τοιαῦτα or οὐ τὰ αὐτά (understood interrogatively). The recurrence of ὅτι is, however, the strongest evidence in favour of its genuineness both here and above. See App. III. The pronoun τοιαῦτα takes its meaning from ἀφροδισίων etc. The note of interrogation after ἐργάζεται was added by Schneider. On ἄρδουσα see VIII 550 B n.

**606 E 28** Ὀμήρου ἐπαινέταις. Dümmler and Stählin suppose that Plato has Antisthenes in his mind: but see on 598 D.

31 ἄξιος. Campbell was the first to point out that ἄξιος, and not ἄξιον, is the reading of Paris A. There is no MS authority of any kind for ἄξιον, and it is intrinsically much inferior.

**607 A 3** πρῶτον τῶν τραγωδο-

ποιῶν. See on 595 C.

4 ὕμνους—ἀγαθοῖς. In *Latius* 801 E —802 A the same exceptions are allowed. Even religious hymns would fall under the heading of μίμησις, according to Plato's definition of the term: so that it is once more clear that his real quarrel is not with Imitation as such, but only with Imitation of the false and immoral. See on 595 A. For the construction cf. (with Stallbaum) *Symp.* 194 D τοῦ ἐγκωμίου τῷ Ἐρωτι. In pp. 55—59 of his *Stellung d. Poesie in der plat. Phil.* Stählin gives an interesting sketch of the kind of Poetry which Plato would have admitted in the *Republic*.

5 ἡδυσμένην. The same word is used by Aristotle in a narrower sense, with specific reference to what he considers the ἡδύσματα or seasoning of poetry, viz. metre and melody; see Butcher *Aristotle's Theory of Poetry* etc. p. 146 n. 1. Here ἡδυσμένην points the way to ἡδονή; and for that reason 'pleasurable' is a more suitable translation than 'honeyed' (Jowett) or 'highly-seasoned' (D. and V.), although the epithet also suggests a comparison with cookery (cf. ὅσον ἡδύναι *Theaet.* 175 E). For the sentiment cf. III 398 A f. αὐτοὶ δ' ἂν τῷ αὐστηροτέρῳ καὶ ἀηδεστέρῳ ποιητῇ χρώμεθα κτλ.

παραδέξει ἐν μέλεσιν ἢ ἔπεις, ἡδονὴ σοι καὶ λύπη ἐν τῇ πόλει βασιλεύσετον ἀντὶ νόμου τε καὶ τοῦ κοινῇ αἰεὶ δόξαντος εἶναι βελτίστου λόγου. Ἀληθέστατα, ἔφη. <sup>1</sup>

**B** VIII. Ταῦτα δὴ, ἔφην, ἀπολελογίσθω ἡμῖν ἀναμνησθεῖσιν περὶ ποιήσεως, ὅτι εἰκότως ἄρα τότε αὐτὴν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἀπε- 10 στέλλομεν τοιαύτην οὖσαν· ὁ γὰρ λόγος ἡμᾶς ἔρει. προσείπωμεν δὲ αὐτῇ, μὴ καὶ τινα σκληρότητα ἡμῶν καὶ ἀγροικίαν καταγνῶ, ὅτι παλαιὰ μὲν τις διαφορὰ φιλοσοφία τε καὶ ποιητικῇ. καὶ γὰρ ἡ

9. ἀπολελογίσθω Ξq: ἀπολελογίσθω AII.  
corr. A<sup>2</sup>.

13. ποιητικῇ A<sup>1</sup>II: μιμητικῇ

7 τοῦ κοινῇ—λόγου: 'the principle which the community shall in every instance have pronounced to be the best.' See 604 B—D, where one example of such a λόγος is provided. For λόγος in this sense cf. (with Schneider) *Crit.* 46 B ἐγὼ—αἰεὶ τοιοῦτος οἶος τῶν ἐμῶν μηδενὶ ἄλλω πείθεσθαι ἢ τῷ λόγῳ, ὃς ἂν μοι λογιζομένῳ βέλτιστος φαίνεται. In his second edition Ast wished to place a comma after βελτίστου ('that which has ever been judged best by all, viz. reason'). This interpretation lends a certain weight and dignity to the clause; but the other is easier and more natural. Cf. Shorey in *A. J. Ph.* XIII pp. 364 ff. Plato elsewhere provides against what he takes to be the antinomian tendency of Poetry by enacting that the Poet shall παρὰ τὰ τῆς πόλεως νόμιμα καὶ δίκαια ἢ καλὰ ἢ ἀγαθὰ μηδὲν ποιεῖν ἄλλο, and submit all his works to a state censorship (*Laws* 801 C, D), although in a striking passage of the *Politicus* (299 B, E) he himself insists that freedom is the very life of poetry and every other art. See Reber *Platon u. die Poesie* p. 71.

607 B—608 B *The quarrel between Philosophy and Poetry is nothing new; but, for our own part, we are willing to let Poetry return, as soon as she is proved to be not merely pleasant, but profitable. Till then, we shall use our argument as a charm to protect ourselves against her fascinations; for the issue at stake is greater than it appears.*

607 B 9 ἀπολελογίσθω κτλ. See *cr. n.* The reading ἀπολελογίσθω—*enumerata sunt* or, according to Hermann, *singulatim exputata sunt*—though retained by Hermann and Baier, is much less appropriate than ἀπολελογίσθω: for the whole of the preceding episode is an

ἀπολογία or defence of Plato's attitude towards Poetry in Books II and III (595 A n.). ἀπολελογίσθω is also more in accordance with ὅτι εἰκότως ἀπεστέλλομεν: and the words ὁ γὰρ λόγος ἡμᾶς ἔρει "non tam eorum sunt, qui ius suum exsequi, quam qui excusare se valuerunt" (Schneider). The corruption, which recurs *infra* 607 D in II, is by no means rare: see Stephanus-Hase s.v. ἀπολογίζομαι. See also on VI 490 A. On ὁ γὰρ λόγος ἡμᾶς ἔρει see 604 C n. προσείπωμεν δὲ αὐτῇ = 'let us tell her also.' With this use of προσεί- πειν cf. II 375 E n.

13 παλαιὰ—ποιητικῇ. There are few traces of this 'ancient feud' in the extant fragments of early Greek poetry. Pindar furnishes one, *Fr.* 209 ed. Bergk, ἀτελὴ σοφίας καρπὸν δρέπειν (said of the φυσιολογοῦντες: see above on V 457 B). The early philosophers on the other hand were constantly falling foul of Homer, Hesiod and the poets generally on theological and moral grounds: see for example Heraclitus *Fr.* 35, 43, 111, 119 Bywater, and Xenophanes and Empedocles in RP.<sup>7</sup> §§ 82, 83, 140 A—140 D. The attitude of Pythagoras was equally hostile, if we may trust Hieronymus ap. D. L. VIII 21. Even those philosophers who defended Homer did not venture to take him at his word, but had resort to the allegorical method of interpretation (II 378 D n.). The antagonism between Philosophy and Poetry—the latter "immortalising in imperishable creations the traditional faith, the former, just on account of that faith, condemning those creations" Krohn (*Pl. St.* p. 261)—was appreciated in its true historical significance by those Christian apologists who, like Clement, make philosophy a *προπαιδεῖα* to Christianity—ἐπαιδαγωγεί γὰρ καὶ



λακέρυζα πρὸς δεσπόταν κύων ἐκείνη κραυγάζουσα, καὶ  
 15 μέγας ἐν ἀφρόνων κενεαγορίαισι, καὶ ὁ τῶν λίαν σοφῶν  
 ὄχλος κράτων, καὶ οἱ λεπτῶς μεριμνῶντες ὅτι ἄρα πένονται, C  
 καὶ ἄλλα μυρία σημεῖα παλαιᾶς ἐναντιώσεως τούτων· ὅμως δὲ

15. λίαν Herwerden: δία A.

16. κράτων nos: κρατῶν codd.

αὐτὴ τὸ Ἑλληνικόν, ὡς ὁ νόμος τοὺς Ἑβραίους, εἰς Χριστόν. προπαρασκευάζει τοίνυν ἡ φιλοσοφία, προοδοποιούσα κτλ. (*Strom.* I 5. 718 D, 720 A. Cf. Spiess *Logos Spermatikos* pp. 3—5).

καὶ γὰρ—πένονται. The source of these quotations has not been discovered. They are all from poets, as Schneider holds; but we ought not to take παλαιά too strictly, and infer from it that all of them are very old. Plato's main object is to make out that his quarrel with Poetry is nothing new, for Poetry and Philosophy have quarrelled from the earliest times; and it is therefore inherently probable that the quotations are of very different dates. There is no *a priori* reason why some of them should not be from the contemporary drama; but some of them should be older; and those who refer them all to comedy, such as Ast, Prantl, and Heine (*de rat. quae Pl. c. poet. Gr. intercedit* p. 50 n. 4), can hardly be right. Still less is Pfeiderer justified in citing them as expressions of the indignation which, according to his own chorizontic views, Books II and III had aroused in comic poets (*Zur Lösung* etc. p. 34).

ἡ λακέρυζα—κραυγάζουσα. Cf. *Laws* 967 C, D καὶ δὴ καὶ λοιδορήσεις γε ἐπήλθον ποιηταῖς, τοὺς φιλοσοφούντας κυσὶ ματαλαῖς ἀπεικάζοντας χρωμέναισιν ὕλακαῖς. The occasion which provoked this assault upon philosophy was—so Plato tells us—the atheistic teaching of Anaxagoras and his followers about the celestial bodies. Here the λακέρυζα κύων represents of course φιλοσοφία: but (in view of the passage in the *Laws*) it would be unsafe to identify δεσπόταν with Poetry. Probably the quotation is from some lyric poet.

15 μέγας—κενεαγορίαισι is presumably also a lyrical fragment, directed against some notable philosopher, or less probably against some philosophical figure “cuius modi Δῶνος in Nubibus Aristophanis est” (Schneider).

ὁ—κράτων: ‘the rabble-rout of all too-sapient heads.’ I have combined Herwerden's conjecture ΛΙΑ for ΔΙΑ with my own suggestion κράτων (from κράς) instead of κρατῶν (*Cl. Rev.* x p. 105). τῶν λίαν σοφῶν ὄχλος | κράτων looks like a tragic fragment, and a comparison with *Med.* 305 εἰμὶ δ' οὐκ ἄγαν σοφὴ and *Hipp.* 518, *El.* 296 γνώμην ἐνεῖναι τοῖς σοφοῖς λίαν σοφὴν, suggests that the author is Euripides: cf. also VIII 568 A n. The head stands for the whole personality, as in the familiar use of κάρα and κεφαλὴ in Tragedy and elsewhere (πολλὰς ἰσθμίου κεφαλὰς Ἄιδι προέψεν *Il.* II. 55 ἡ μὲν κεφαλὴ αὐτῇ *Dem. Cor.* 153 et al.: see Blaydes on *Ar. Ach.* 285); and a learned poet like Euripides might the more readily have described philosophers by this feature, because the head, and not the heart or midriff, was believed to be the seat of intelligence not only by Hippocrates, but also by many of the philosophers themselves, including Pythagoras, Alcmaeon, Democritus and Plato: see Diels *Dox. Gr.* pp. 391<sup>a</sup> 3, 391<sup>b</sup> 5, 392<sup>a</sup> 2, 427<sup>a</sup> 8, Zeller<sup>b</sup> I p. 448 and Gomperz, *Greek Thinkers* I pp. 148, 313. There are also, I think, traces of a similar view even in popular beliefs: see for example *Ar. Clouds* 1275 f. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως σύ γ' αὐτὸς ὕψαινεῖς. Τί δαί; | Τὸν ἐγκέφαλον ὥσπερ σεεῖσθαι μοι δοκεῖς. For other views of this passage see App. IV.

607 C 16 οἱ λεπτῶς—πένονται: ‘the subtle thinkers, how that they are beggars after all.’ This quotation is probably from comedy, which abounds in references to μεριμνοφροντισταί, λεπτολόγοι etc. (cf. *Ar. Clouds* 101, 153 al.), and constantly ridicules the poverty and destitution of οἱ σοφοί: see the passages quoted in my edition of the *Apology*, pp. VIII f. There is nothing in the language to justify Schneider in attributing the fragment to a lyrical poet. A MS note in my copy of Schneider cites the proverb λεπτήν πλέκειν λεγόμενον τι ἐπὶ τῶν πνήτων from Photius (p. 215. 12).

εἰρήσθω, ὅτι ἡμεῖς γε, εἴ τινα ἔχοι λόγον εἰπεῖν ἢ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ποιητικὴ καὶ ἡ μίμησις, ὡς χρὴ αὐτὴν εἶναι ἐν πόλει εὐνομουμένη, ἄσμενοι ἂν καταδεχοίμεθα, ὡς ξύνισμέν γε ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς κηλουμένοις 20 ὑπ' αὐτῆς· ἀλλὰ γὰρ τὸ δοκοῦν ἀληθὲς οὐχ ὅσιον προδιδόναι.

**D** ἡ γάρ, ὦ φίλε, οὐ κηλεῖ ὑπ' αὐτῆς καὶ σύ, καὶ μάλιστα<sup>1</sup> ὅταν δι' Ὀμήρου θεωρῆς αὐτήν; Πολύ γε. Οὐκοῦν δικαία ἐστὶν οὕτω κατιέναι, ἀπολογησαμένη ἐν μέλει ἢ τιμῇ ἄλλῳ μέτρῳ; Πάνυ μὲν οὖν. Δοῖμεν δέ γε πού ἂν καὶ τοῖς προστάταις αὐτῆς, ὅσοι μὴ 25 ποιητικοί, φιλοποιηταὶ δέ, ἄνευ μέτρου λόγον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐ μόνον ἡδεῖα, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελίμη πρὸς τὰς πολιτείας καὶ τὸν βίον τὸν ἀνθρώπινον ἐστίν· καὶ εὖμενῶς ἀκουσόμεθα. κερδανούμεν

**E** γάρ πού, ἐὰν μὴ μόνον ἡδεῖα<sup>1</sup> φανῇ ἀλλὰ καὶ ὠφελίμη. Πῶς δ' οὐ μέλλομεν, ἔφη, κερδαίνειν; Εἰ δέ γε μή, ὦ φίλε ἐταῖρε, ὥσπερ 30 οἱ ποτέ του ἐρασθέντες, ἐὰν ἡγήσωνται μὴ ὠφέλιμον εἶναι τὸν ἔρωτα, βία μὲν, ὅμως δὲ ἀπέχονται, καὶ ἡμεῖς οὕτως, διὰ τὸν ἐγγεγονότα μὲν ἔρωτα τῆς τοιαύτης ποιήσεως ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν καλῶν

**608** πολιτειῶν τροφῆς | εὖνοι μὲν ἐσόμεθα φανῆναι αὐτὴν ὡς βελτίστην καὶ ἀληθεστάτην, ἕως δ' ἂν μὴ οἷα τ' ἢ ἀπολογήσασθαι, ἀκροασόμεθ' αὐτῆς ἐπάδοντες ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς τοῦτον τὸν λόγον, ὃν λέγομεν, καὶ ταύτην τὴν ἐπιδόξην, εὐλαβούμενοι πάλιν ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὸν παιδικόν τε καὶ τὸν τῶν πολλῶν ἔρωτα. ἀκροασόμεθα δ' οὖν, ὡς 5

20. καταδεχοίμεθα A<sup>1</sup>Π: κατα punctis notavit A<sup>2</sup>.

24. ἀπολογησαμένη

A<sup>1</sup>Ξ q: ἀπολογησομένη A<sup>2</sup>: ἀπολογισαμένη Π. μέτρῳ AΠ: γρ τρόπῳ in marg.

A<sup>2</sup>. 5. ἀκροασόμεθα nos: αἰσθόμεθα AΠ: αἰσθόμεθα Ξ: εἰσόμεθα q.

20 καταδεχοίμεθα. καταδέχεσθαι is 'to receive home from exile': cf. κατιέναι below. δεχοίμεθα, which Baiter reads on insufficient authority, is much less expressive and appropriate.

ξύνισμέν γε κτλ. See on 595 B.

**607 D** 24 ἀπολογησαμένη. Plato is hardly likely to let Poetry return on the promise of an *ex post facto* ἀπολογία: she must surely make good her defence before the decree of banishment can be repealed. Hence ἀπολογησαμένη, which Schneider and the Oxford editors adopt, is right as against the ἀπολογησομένη of A<sup>2</sup> and a few inferior MSS (followed by Bekker and others).

**607 E** 30 εἰ δέ γε κτλ. The words from γε μή to φανῇ[ναι] have been found on one of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, without any difference from the text of A except οὕτω for οὕτως and ἐγγεγονότα for

ἐγγεγονότα (Grenfell and Hunt, Vol. I p. 52).

33 τῶν καλῶν πολιτειῶν. Ξ has κακῶν for καλῶν, oblivious of the irony.

**608 A** 5 ἀκροασόμεθα δ' οὖν κτλ. 'We shall listen, I say, in the conviction that this kind of poetry should not be taken seriously' etc. A majority of MSS, including A and Π, read αἰσθόμεθα instead of ἀκροασόμεθα (see *cr. n.*): but the present αἰσθόμεθα was not used in classical Greek, as Stallbaum successfully proves in his elaborate note (cf. also Kühner-Blass *Gr. Gr.* I 2. p. 354), and if it were, the meaning would still be unsuitable. Neither of the two variants, αἰσθόμεθα and εἰσόμεθα has any great MS authority, or is at all likely to be right. I formerly adopted Madvig's conjecture ἀσόμεθα, which is in harmony with the Greek tendency to drop the preposition in repeating the

οὐ σπουδαστέον ἐπὶ τῇ τοιαύτῃ ποιήσει ὡς ἀληθείας τε ἀποτρέφει καὶ σπουδαία, ἀλλ' εὐλαβητέον αὐτὴν ὃν τῷ ἀκρωμένῳ, περὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ πολιτείας δεδιότι, καὶ νομιστέα ἅπερ εἰρήκαμεν περὶ Β ποιήσεως. Παντάπασιν, ἣ δ' ὅς, ξύμφημι. Μέγας γάρ, ἔφην, ὁ 10 ἀγών, ὃ φίλε Γλαύκων, μέγας, οὐχ ὅσος δοκεῖ, τὸ χρηστὸν ἢ κακὸν γενέσθαι, ὥστε οὔτε τιμῇ ἐπαρθέντα οὔτε χρήμασιν οὔτε ἀρχῇ οὐδεμιᾷ οὐδέ γε ποιητικῇ ἄξιον ἀμελῆσαι δικαιοσύνης τε καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀρετῆς. Ξύμφημί σοι, ἔφη, ἐξ ὧν διεληλύθαμεν· οἶμαι δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ὄντινόν.

15 IX. Καὶ μὲν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, τά γε μέγιστα ἐπίχειρα ἀρετῆς καὶ C προκείμενα ἄθλα οὐ διεληλύθαμεν. Ἀμήχανόν τι, ἔφη, λέγεις μέγεθος, εἰ τῶν εἰρημένων μεῖζον ἐστὶν ἄλλα. Τί δ' ἂν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ,

6. ἀποτρέφει II: ἀποτρέφει A.

justify a compound verb (ἐπάδοντες and ἐπώδην, but ἀσόμεθα), and suits the situation fairly well, if we regard ὡς οὐ σπουδαστέον—δεδιότι as virtually embodying the ἐπώδῃ of which Plato speaks and depending directly on ἀσόμεθα ('we will say over to ourselves that' etc.). ἀσόμεθα is both a better and an easier remedy than Stallbaum's ἀσθανόμεθα, but the objections to it are that it involves the rejection of οὐν, for the "participial clause εὐλαβοῦμενοι—ἔρωτα is hardly enough to justify the resumptive δ' οὐν" (J. and C.), and also the rejection of ὃν after εὐλαβητέον αὐτὴν (with Stallbaum and Baiter). For the omission of οὐν, we have the authority of II and several MSS besides: but ὃν is in all the MSS except v and Flor. RT. (Vind. F has ὃν.) The suggestion ἀφεξόμεθα, which Campbell appears disposed to make, has little probability. ἀκροασόμεθα seems to me to give exactly the meaning which we require without involving any further change in the reading of the best MSS. I have printed my conjecture because I think it more probable than any other; but it involves too much departure from the MSS to be considered certain. For the sentiment cf. 595 B n.

6 τῇ τοιαύτῃ ποιήσει: viz. the ἡδυσμένη Μοῦσα of 607 A. The emphasis on τῇ τοιαύτῃ implies that there is another sort of Poetry which Plato would not exclude. See on 595 A and 607 A.

7 εὐλαβητέον—ὃν. ὃν is omitted by Stallbaum and Baiter (with v and two

Florentine MSS). The word must, I think, be rejected, if we read ἀσθανόμεθα, ἀσθανόμεθα, or ἀσόμεθα: for with each of these verbs ὡς—δεδιότι must be regarded as the direct object of the verb: but with the reading ἀκροασόμεθα there is no difficulty about ὃν. The meaning is 'We will listen, I say, in the belief that such poetry etc., and that the listener must be on his guard against it' etc.

608 B 8 τῆς ἐν αὐτῷ πολιτείας. See 605 B n.

11 οὔτε—οὐδέ γε. Cf. VI 499 B n.

608 C, D. The greatest rewards of virtue have still to be described. We will first prove that the soul is immortal.

608 C 15 καὶ μὲν κτλ. The main thesis of the Republic—that Justice alone and by itself is better than Injustice alone and by itself—was finally demonstrated in Book IX. But Justice and Injustice do also, in point of fact, involve consequences: and it is necessary to take these into account, if we are to make the comparison between Virtue and Vice in all respects perfect and complete. Cf. 612 B n.

17 τῶν εἰρημένων. Nettleship (*Lect. and Rem.* II p. 355) thinks τῶν εἰρημένων can only refer to 'the rewards of justice on earth,' in which case we must suppose that this passage and the argument for Immortality which it introduces were written by Plato after 612 A—613 E, where he describes the rewards of virtue and vice while we are still alive. But there is no



ἐν γε ὀλίγῳ χρόνῳ μέγα γένοιτο; πᾶς γὰρ οὗτός γε ὁ ἐκ παιδὸς  
 μέχρι πρεσβύτου χρόνος πρὸς πάντα ὀλίγος πού τις ἂν εἴη.  
 Οὐδὲν μὲν οὖν, ἔφη. Τί οὖν; οἷε ἀθανάτῳ πράγματι ὑπὲρ το- 20  
 D σούτου δεῖν χρόνου ἐσπουδακέναι, ἀλλ' οὐχ<sup>1</sup> ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντός;  
 Οἶμαι ἔγωγ', ἔφη. ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο λέγεις; Οὐκ ἦσθησαι, ἦν δ'  
 ἐγώ, ὅτι ἀθάνατος ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ οὐδέποτε ἀπόλλυται; καὶ ὃς  
 ἐμβλέψας μοι καὶ θαυμάσας εἶπε· Μὰ Δί', οὐκ ἔγωγε· σὺ δὲ  
 τοῦτ' ἔχεις λέγειν; Εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γ', ἔφην. οἶμαι δὲ καὶ σύ· οὐδὲν 25  
 γὰρ χαλεπὸν. Ἔμοιγ', ἔφη· σοῦ δ' ἂν ἡδέως ἀκούσαιμι τὸ οὐ  
 χαλεπὸν τοῦτο. Ἀκούοις ἄν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ. Λέγε μόνον, ἔφη.

21. οὐχ II et in marg. A<sup>2</sup>: om A<sup>1</sup>.

reason why τῶν εἰρημένων should not, like *ἐκείνοις* in 612 B, refer to what Plato in 614 A calls 'those goods which Justice by herself supplied' (*ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἷς αὐτὴ παρέχεται ἢ δικαιοσύνη*): and it is much more natural to assign this meaning to τῶν εἰρημένων than to suppose 'that Plato had two plans in his mind as to how to finish the *Republic*.' I can find no sufficient evidence to justify any such idea.

18 πᾶς γὰρ—ἂν εἴη. Cf. VI 486 A. Stallbaum follows Bekker in reading πρὸς τὸν πάντα with *q* and Flor. U, comparing VI 498 D, οὐχ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντός below and *Phaed.* 107 C. "Videtur—πᾶς ad universum tempus, quod omnino dicitur, ab illo verbis πᾶς οὗτος etc. significato distinguendum sufficere, ac nescio an consulto scriptor, quum priorem πάντα χρόνον necessario definisset, hunc plane infinitum exhibuerit" (Schneider). Cf. Walbe *Synt. Plat. spec.* p. 26.

608 D 22 οἶμαι ἔγωγε: sc. ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντός δεῖν ἐσπουδακέναι. Cf. I 336 E n. and App. ad loc.

οὐκ ἦσθησαι κτλ. 'Have you not observed' etc. The light and airy tone with which Plato introduces this momentous topic has often been remarked upon; and we can hardly help feeling that οὐδὲν γὰρ χαλεπὸν is too audacious to be taken seriously, in spite of Plato's immovable conviction of the immortality of the soul (see on VI 498 D). The doctrine itself had of course long been an article of the Orphic and Pythagorean creeds (see Rohde *Psyche* II pp. 1 ff. and Laudowicz *Præexistenz d. Seele u. Seelenwand. in Gr. Phil.* pp. 1—29), and we must not suppose (with Thomas

Gray) that it is the novelty of the idea which occasions Glauco's wonder. Glauco regards the originally half-theological doctrine of the immortality of the Soul with the same sort of well-bred incredulity which it inspired in most of Plato's contemporaries (cf. VI 498 D with I 330 D, E and *Phaed.* 69 E, 70 A, 80 D), and is astonished that a well-balanced mind should treat it seriously as a philosophical dogma capable of being established by rational argument.

25 εἰ μὴ ἀδικῶ γε. See on IV 430 D. 608 D—611 A *Everything, which suffers destruction, is destroyed by its own peculiar evil or disease, and that which cannot be destroyed thereby is indestructible. Now the evil which is peculiar to the soul is vice, and vice is powerless to slay the soul. We must beware of supposing that the soul is destroyed by bodily disease, unless it can be proved that bodily disease engenders within the soul its own specific evil; and if any one has the boldness to assert that the souls of the dying do actually become more vicious, he must be prepared to shew that vice, alone and by itself, is fatal to its possessor, which is far from being true. Vice would lose its terrors if death were the end of all things. We conclude that the soul is immortal, since neither its own nor any alien evil can destroy it.*

608 D ff. Socrates has already expressed his belief in the immortality of the soul in VI 498 D: cf. also ib. 496 E and I 330 D, E. The proof which Plato gives here has been widely discussed and severely, though often unfairly and unintelligently, criticised by many critics, to some of whom reference is made in the

Ἀγαθὸν τι, εἶπον, καὶ κακὸν καλεῖς; Ἐγωγε. ἴ Ἀρ' οὖν Ε  
 ὥσπερ ἐγὼ περὶ αὐτῶν διανοεῖς; Τὸ ποῖον; Τὸ μὲν ἀπολλύν  
 30 καὶ διαφθείρον πᾶν τὸ κακὸν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ σῶζον καὶ ὠφελοῦν τὸ  
 ἀγαθόν. Ἐγωγ', ἔφη. Τί δέ; κακὸν ἐκάστω τι καὶ ἀγαθὸν λέγεις;  
 οἶον ὀφθαλμοῖς | ὀφθαλμίαν καὶ ξύμπαντι τῷ σώματι νόσον σίτω 609  
 τε ἐρυσίβην σηπεδόνα τε ξύλοις, χαλκῷ δὲ καὶ σιδήρῳ ἰόν, καί,  
 ὅπερ λέγω, σχεδὸν πᾶσι ξύμφυτον ἐκάστω κακὸν τε καὶ νόσημα;  
 Ἐγωγ', ἔφη. Οὐκοῦν ὅταν τῷ τι τούτων προσγένηται, πονηρόν  
 5 τε ποιεῖ ᾧ προσεγένετο, καὶ τελευτῶν ὅλον διέλυσεν καὶ ἀπώλεσεν;  
 Πῶς γὰρ οὐ; Τὸ ξύμφυτον ἄρα κακὸν ἐκάστου καὶ ἡ πονηρία  
 ἕκαστον ἀπόλλυσιν, ἢ εἰ μὴ τοῦτο ἀπολεῖ, οὐκ ἂν ἄλλο γε αὐτὸ  
 ἔτι ἴ διαφθείρειεν. οὐ γὰρ τό γε ἀγαθὸν μή ποτέ τι ἀπολέσῃ, οὐδὲ Β  
 αὐτὸ μήτε κακὸν μήτε ἀγαθόν. Πῶς γὰρ ἂν; ἔφη. Ἐὰν ἄρα τι  
 10 εὐρίσκωμεν τῶν ὄντων, ᾧ ἔστι μὲν κακόν, ὃ ποιεῖ αὐτὸ μοχθηρόν,  
 τοῦτο μέντοι οὐχ οἷόν τε αὐτὸ λύειν ἀπολλύν, οὐκ ἤδη εἰσόμεθα,

30. τὸ δὲ A<sup>2</sup>Π: om. A<sup>1</sup>.  
 καὶ Π: τί A<sup>1</sup>: τί δὲ καὶ A<sup>2</sup>.

31. ἔγωγ' A<sup>1</sup>Π: ἔγωγ' ἐ τοῦτο γ' ἔφη A<sup>2</sup>.

τι

course of the notes. Plato does not stop to define what he means by 'soul,' nor the different senses in which he employs the word 'death,' and the consequence is that superficial inspection of his reasoning often sees a fallacy where there is only an ellipse. The best preparation for a study of this argument is a careful examination of the proofs in the *Phaedo*, to which Plato himself appears expressly to allude in 611 B: see note ad loc. It will be easier to understand the reasoning of Plato if we bear in mind the following considerations. (1) The duality of soul and body is assumed throughout the whole discussion. (2) It is the individual immortality of the soul which Plato wishes to prove. (In his excellent monograph *Unsterblichkeitslehre Plato's*, Halle, 1878, Bertram appears to me to have conclusively and once for all established this point as against Teichmüller *Die Plat. Fr.* pp. 1—23. Cf. Simson *Der Begriff d. Seele bei Plato* pp. 126—143.) (3) The conception of soul as the principle of life, though not expressly enunciated here, is present to Plato's mind (609 D n.). The question whether immortality (in the fullest sense of the term) belongs to the entire soul, or only to part of it, is not raised in the course of the proof itself, but from 611 B—612 A, it would seem

that the λογιστικόν alone is indestructible (611 B n.). At each successive incarnation the λογιστικόν is defiled ὑπὸ τῆς τοῦ σώματος κοινωνίας, and (according to *Phaed.* 81 B ff.) the pollution frequently adheres even after death, causing the soul to seek re-incarnation. The ultimate aim is apparently to be delivered from bodily existence altogether, and live ἀνευ σωμάτων τὸ παράπαν εἰς τὸν ἔπειτα χρόνον (*Phaed.* 114 C), but even then the soul would not—so at least I think—seem to Plato to lose its essential individuality and become absorbed. See on the whole subject Simson l.c. pp. 144—154 and cf. 611 B n.

608 E 31 κακόν—λέγεις; Richards would add ἴδιον or οἰκείον after λέγεις, comparing (for ἴδιον) 610 B, and (for οἰκείον) 609 C, 610 E. It is easy to understand εἶναι: 'do you say that each thing has a particular evil and a particular good?' See Schanz *Nov. Comm. Pl.* p. 33.

609 A 5 διέλυσεν καὶ ἀπώλεσεν. Throughout this argument, as throughout the *Phaedo*, destruction means dissolution (διάλυσις).

6 τὸ ξύμφυτον κτλ. The words ἐκάστου and ἀπολεῖ are bracketed by Herwerden, quite undeservedly. For the statement itself see on 609 E.

ὅτι τοῦ πεφυκότος οὕτως ὀλεθρος οὐκ ἦν; Οὕτως, ἔφη, εἰκός.  
 Τί οὖν; ἦν δ' ἐγὼ· ψυχῇ ἄρ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὃ ποιεῖ αὐτὴν κακὴν; Καὶ  
 C μάλα, ἔφη· ἃ νῦν δὴ διήμουν πάντα, ἀδικία τε καὶ ἀκολασία καὶ  
 δειλία καὶ ἀμαθία. Ἡ οὖν τι τούτων αὐτὴν διαλύει τε καὶ ἀπόλ- 15  
 λυσι; καὶ ἐννοεῖ μὴ ἐξαπατηθῶμεν οἰηθέντες τὸν ἄδικον ἄνθρωπον  
 καὶ ἀνέητον, ὅταν ληφθῇ ἀδικῶν, τότε ἀπολωλέναι ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδικίας,  
 πονηρίας οὔσης ψυχῆς. ἀλλ' ὥδε ποιεῖ· ὥσπερ σῶμα ἢ σώματος  
 πονηρία νόσος οὔσα τήκει καὶ διόλλυσι καὶ ἄγει εἰς τὸ μηδὲ σῶμα  
 εἶναι, καὶ ἃ νῦν δὴ ἐλέγομεν ἅπαντα ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκείας κακίας τῷ 20  
 D προσκαθῆσθαι<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐνεῖναι διαφθειρούσης εἰς τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἀφικνεῖται  
 —οὐχ οὕτω; Ναί. Ἴθι δὴ, καὶ ψυχὴν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον  
 σκόπει. Ἄρα ἐνοῦσα ἐν αὐτῇ ἀδικία καὶ ἡ ἄλλη κακία τῷ ἐνεῖναι  
 καὶ προσκαθῆσθαι φθείρει αὐτὴν καὶ μαραίνει, ἕως ἂν εἰς θάνατον  
 ἀγαγοῦσα τοῦ σώματος χωρίσῃ; Οὐδαμῶς, ἔφη, τοῦτό γε. Ἀλλὰ 25

13, 14 ψυχῇ—νῦν Π et in marg. A<sup>2</sup>: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

15. ἡ Π: ἡ A.

21. ἐνεῖναι A<sup>2</sup>Π: διεῖναι ut videtur corr. A<sup>2</sup>.

609 B 12 ἦν. "Imperfectum illud tempus indicat, quo res nondum satis cognita, et tamen ita, ut nunc apparet, comparata esset" Schneider. Cf. IV 436 C n.

14 ἀδικία—ἀμαθία. Vice is the evil peculiar to soul: cf. IV 444 C, *Tim.* 86 B ff. and *Soph.* 227 E.

609 C 18 ἀλλ' ὥδε ποιεῖ. ποιεῖ means 'picture,' 'represent.' που οἶει, which Liebhold conjectures (*Philol.* 1880 p. 169), is wholly inapposite; for the sense requires an imperative. Ast suggests νόει or σκόπει, but the text is sound: see on VI 498 A.

609 D 24 ἕως ἂν—χωρίσῃ. θάνατον must here be understood of the soul's death, otherwise the parallel with ὥσπερ—ἀφικνεῖται breaks down, and the reasoning becomes not merely fallacious, but absurd. We have, in fact, to distinguish between the death or dissolution of (a) the body (as described in C above ὥσπερ σῶμα—εἰς τὸ μηδὲ σῶμα εἶναι), (b) the soul, (c) the σύνολον, or body *plus* soul. If the soul is mortal, the moment at which it is dissolved and perishes is when the σύνολον dies, i.e. (*Phaed.* 64 C, 67 d) when soul is separated from body (cf. *Phaed.* 70 A, 77 B, D, E, 80 D and 84 B). Plato reminds us of this by saying ἕως ἂν εἰς θάνατον ἀγαγοῦσα τοῦ σώματος χωρίσῃ instead of merely ἕως ἂν εἰς θάνατον ἀγάγῃ. Cf. 610 D n.

25 οὐδαμῶς—τοῦτό γε. It is strange that Glauco should assent so readily. He is apparently thinking (as in 610 E) of the activity and vitality which wicked men so frequently display; but we may fairly ask 'Why should soul be the only thing which is incapable of being destroyed by its own vice?' It would surely be more true to hold that vice is able to kill the soul just *because* it is able ποιεῖν αὐτὴν κακὴν (609 B), and Panaetius actually made use of a similar argument in order to prove the soul mortal ("nihil esse, quod doleat, quin id aegrum esse quoque possit. quod autem in morbum cadat, id etiam interitum; dolere autem animos, ergo etiam interire" Cicero *Tusc. Disp.* I 79). Is ἄρα ἐνοῦσα—χωρίσῃ intended as an appeal to experience? Even if we allowed that experience is the proper tribunal, our experience of the effect of injustice on a human soul is limited to a single life; and why should not one soul wear out many bodies and perish at last through its own vice καὶ ἡ αὐτὸ τοῦτο θάνατος, ψυχῆς ὀλεθρος (cf. *Phaed.* 87 B, 91 D. See also Deichert *Plato's Beweise f. die Unsterblichkeit d. Seele* pp. 46—48). These difficulties are serious, and possibly fatal: they have even led some critics to stigmatise the whole argument as a *petitio principii* (e.g. Brandt *Zur Entwick. d. Pl. Lehre v. d. Seelenheilen* p. 29). Plato does not attempt to solve them here; but



μέντοι ἐκεῖνός γε ἄλογον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὴν μὲν ἄλλου πονηρίαν ἀπολλύναι τι, τὴν δὲ αὐτοῦ μή. Ἄλογον. Ἐννόει γάρ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὃ Γλαύκων, ὅτι οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν σιτίων πονηρίας, ἢ ἂν ἡ αὐτῶν **E** ἐκείνων, εἴτε παλαιότης εἴτε σαπρότης εἴτε ἥτισουν οὔσα, οὐκ 30 οἴομεθα δεῖν σῶμα ἀπόλλυσθαι· ἀλλ' ἐὰν μὲν ἐμποιῇ ἡ αὐτῶν πονηρία τῶν σιτίων τῷ σώματι σώματος μοχθηρίαν, φήσομεν αὐτὸ δι' ἐκεῖνα ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ κακίας νόσου οὔσης ἀπολωλέναι· ὑπὸ δὲ σιτίων πονηρίας ἄλλων ὄντων ἄλλο | ὃν τὸ σῶμα, ὑπ' ἄλλοτρίου **610** κακοῦ μὴ ἐμποιήσαντος τὸ ἔμφυτον κακόν, οὐδέποτε ἀξιόσομεν διαφθεῖρεσθαι. Ὁρθότατα, ἔφη, λέγεις.

X. Κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τοίνυν λόγον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἐὰν μὴ σώματος 5 πονηρία ψυχῇ ψυχῆς πονηρίαν ἐμποιῇ, μή ποτε ἀξιῶμεν ὑπὸ ἄλλοτρίου κακοῦ ἄνευ τῆς ἰδίας πονηρίας ψυχὴν ἀπόλλυσθαι, τῷ ἐτέρου κακῷ ἕτερον. Ἐχει γάρ, ἔφη, λόγον. Ἡ τοίνυν ταῦτα ἐξελέγξωμεν ὅτι οὐ καλῶς λέγομεν, ἢ ἕως αὖ <sup>1</sup> ἢ ἀνέλεγκτα, μή **B** ποτε φῶμεν ὑπὸ πυρετοῦ μηδ' αὖ ὑπ' ἄλλης νόσου μηδ' αὖ ὑπὸ 10 σφαγῆς, μηδ' εἴ τις ὅ τι σμικρότατα ὅλον τὸ σῶμα κατατέμει,

3. ὀρθότατα Stephanus; ὀρθότατ' ἂν ΑΠΞ g.  
8. ἀνέλεγκτα A<sup>2</sup>Π; ἐλεγκτα (sic) A<sup>1</sup>.

5. μή ποτε A<sup>2</sup>Π; μήτε A<sup>1</sup>.  
8, 9. μή ποτε Π; μήτε A.

a comparison of the present argument with *Phaed.* 93 A—94 B helps at all events to explain his position. Soul is always soul, and no soul is more a soul than any other (*Phaed.* 93 B); hence the soul which is made evil by vice retains its vitality unimpaired. It is in fact the conception of soul as the principle of life which explains (from the Platonic point of view) Glauco's emphatic οὐδαμῶς. Cf. I 353 D τί δ' αὖ τὸ ζῆν; ψυχῆς φήσομεν ἔργον εἶναι; Μάλιστά γ', ἔφη, with note ad loc. It is on the essential connexion between 'soul' and 'life' that Plato builds his crowning argument for the immortality of the soul in the *Phaedo* (100 B ff., and especially 105 C, D). Cf. Zeller<sup>4</sup> II p. 827 and infra 610 D n.

609 E 30 αὐτῶν—τῶν σιτίων. Herwerden (following Ξ) would omit τῶν σιτίων, but the contrast with σώματος μοχθηρίαν is improved by the presence of these words. αὐτῶν is 'ipsorum' exactly as in αὐτῶν ἐκείνων above: 'of food itself' (body).

32 ὑπὸ δὲ σιτίων κτλ. Cf. 609 A, B. It is difficult to see where the ἔμφυτον κακόν comes in when the organism is destroyed by violence. Surely fire destroys

wood without using σηπεδών as its instrument. The fact is that Plato's theory of a ἐμφυτον κακόν by which and which alone each object is destroyed, if destroyed it be, does not apply except where the object is independent of external influences, and such, throughout this proof, he supposes soul to be. Cf. 608 D n. and Brandt l.c. p. 29.

610 A 3 ὀρθότατα. See *cr. n.* Vind. F has ὀρθότατ' ἂν, Vind. E ὀρθότατ' ἄρ'; otherwise there is no variant. Schneider alone retains ἂν—λέγεις, but fails to justify the solecism. ὀρθότατ' ἂν—λέγεις, which Hermann and Stallbaum take from Ξ and Flor. V, does not suit the situation here, as κάλλιστα ἂν λέγεις does in *Laws* 897 E. Both here and in *Laws* 656 A (where A has ὀρθότατα λέγεις) the simplest correction is ὀρθότατα λέγεις. For the error see *Introd.* § 5.

8 ἐξελέγξωμεν. Richards proposes ἐλεγχθῶμεν, but the hortatory subjunctive is quite out of place with the passive here. See also on VII 534 C.

610 B 10 ὅ τι σμικρότατα is more idiomatic than εἰς ὅ τι σμικρότατα, which J. and C. suggest: cf. VI 509 D and *Sympr.* 191 D.

ἐνεκα τούτων μηδὲν μᾶλλον ποτε ψυχὴν ἀπόλλυσθαι, πρὶν ἂν τις ἀποδείξῃ, ὥς διὰ ταῦτα τὰ παθήματα τοῦ σώματος αὐτῇ ἐκείνη ἀδικωτέρα καὶ ἀνοσιωτέρα γίγνεται· ἀλλοτρίου δὲ κακοῦ ἐν ἄλλῳ γιγνομένου, τοῦ δὲ ἰδίου ἐκάστω μὴ ἐγγιγνομένου, μήτε ψυχὴν μήτε  
**C** ἄλλο μηδὲν<sup>1</sup> ἐώμεν φάναι τινὰ ἀπόλλυσθαι. Ἀλλὰ μέντοι, ἔφη, 15 τοῦτο γε οὐδεὶς ποτε δείξει, ὥς τῶν ἀποθνήσκοντων ἀδικώτεροι αἱ ψυχαὶ διὰ τὸν θάνατον γίνονται. Ἐὰν δέ γέ τις, ἔφην ἐγώ, ὁμόσε τῷ λόγῳ τολμᾷ ἰέναι καὶ λέγειν, ὥς πονηρότερος καὶ ἀδικώτερος γίγνεται ὁ ἀποθνήσκων, ἵνα δὴ μὴ ἀναγκάζεται ἀθανάτους τὰς ψυχὰς ὁμολογεῖν, ἀξιόσομέν που, εἰ ἀληθῇ λέγει ὁ ταῦτα 20 λέγων, τὴν ἀδικίαν εἶναι θανάσιμον τῷ ἔχοντι ὥσπερ νόσον, καὶ  
**D** ὑπ'<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ τούτου ἀποκτινύντος τῇ ἑαυτοῦ φύσει ἀποθνήσκειν τοὺς λαμβάνοντας αὐτό, τοὺς μὲν μάλιστα θᾶπτον, τοὺς δ' ἥττον σχολαίτερον, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὥσπερ νῦν διὰ τοῦτο ὑπ' ἄλλων δίκην ἐπιτιθέντων ἀποθνήσκουσιν οἱ ἄδικοι. Μὰ Δί', ἦ δ' ὅς, οὐκ ἄρα 25 πάνδεινον φανείται ἡ ἀδικία, εἰ θανάσιμον ἔσται τῷ λαμβάνοντι·

22. τούτου *q*: τοῦ ΑΠ: om. Ξ. ΑΠ: φαίνεται corr. A<sup>2</sup>.

24 τοῦτο *q*: τούτου ΑΠΞ.

26. φανείται

**610 C 18** ὁμόσε—ἰέναι: 'dares to close with the argument' not 'with us in argument' (one of J. and C.'s alternatives). Cf. *Euthyd.* 294 D ὁμόσε ἤτην τοῖς ἐρωτήμασιν, *Euthyphr.* 3 C and *Theaet.* 165 E.

λέγειν ὥς πονηρότερος κτλ. I think it was Dr Johnson who said 'Every man is a rascal when he is sick.' For the omission of the copula with ὁμολογεῖν cf. II 374 A n.

**610 D 22** αὐτοῦ τούτου. See *cr. n.* The reading αὐτοῦ τοῦ, which has most of the MSS in its favour, is kept by Schneider, Stallbaum and Burnet ("ab ea, utpote suapte vi et natura perimente" Schneider). Hermann and Jowett and Campbell read αὐτοῦ τούτου, which is intrinsically far better ('this itself' 'just this' as opposed to the external agencies mentioned below), and might easily have been corrupted into αὐτοῦ τοῦ.

ἀποθνήσκειν—οἱ ἄδικοι. If Injustice kills the soul, which is the principle of life (609 D n.), the wicked should die of their own wickedness; for they cannot of course continue to live on after their soul expires. As it is, however, they have to be put to death by others, and (according to Glauco) their wickedness

rather increases than diminishes their vitality. The argument may not be conclusive (609 D n.); but we are surely not justified in charging Plato (as Brandt apparently does l.c. p. 29) with confounding either here or in 609 D the two notions of physical death and death of the soul.

24 ἀλλὰ μὴ ὥσπερ κτλ. For the construction cf. III 410 B n.

διὰ τοῦτο. See *cr. n.* Schneider defends διὰ τούτου by Aesch. *Ag.* 447 πεισόντ' ἀλλοτρίας διὰ γυναικός: but Aeschylus regards Helen as an agent in the death of the fallen Greeks, and the meaning 'on account of' is even more necessary here than in 609 E δι' ἐκείνα ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ κακίας. Cf. VIII 562 B n.

25 οὐκ ἄρα—κακῶν. Cf. *Phaed.* 107 C εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ θάνατος τοῦ παντὸς ἀπαλλαγῇ, ἐρμαῖον ἂν ἦν τοῖς κακοῖς ἀποθανοῦσι τοῦ τε σώματος ἅμ' ἀπηλλάχθαι καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν κακίας μετὰ τῆς ψυχῆς. The thought expressed in these two passages contains the germ of a new argument for immortality. It might be urged that a future existence is necessary in order that the wicked may pay the penalty for their sins, so that Immortality would become a "postulate of the moral government of the universe" (Deichert l.c. p. 48). Plato

ἀπαλλαγὴ γὰρ ἂν εἴη κακῶν· ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον οἶμαι αὐτὴν φανήσεσθαι πᾶν τούναντίον τοὺς ἄλλους ἀποκτινύσαν, εἴπερ οἶόν τε, <sup>1</sup> τὸν E δ' ἔχοντα καὶ μάλα ζωτικὸν παρέχουσιν, καὶ πρὸς γ' ἔτι τῷ ζωτικῷ 30 ἄγρυπνον· οὕτω πόρρω που, ὡς ἔοικεν, ἐσκήνηται τοῦ θανάσιμος εἶναι. Καλῶς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, λέγεις. ὁπότε γὰρ δὴ μὴ ἱκανὴ ἢ γε οἰκεία ποινηρία καὶ τὸ οἰκεῖον κακὸν ἀποκτείνει καὶ ἀπολέσαι ψυχὴν, σχολῇ τό γε ἐπ' ἄλλου ὀλέθρῳ τεταγμένον κακὸν ψυχὴν ἢ 35 τι ἄλλο ἀπολεῖ, πλὴν ἐφ' ᾧ τέτακται. Σχολῇ γ', ἔφη, ὡς γε τὸ εἶκός. Οὐκοῦν ὁπότε μὴδ' ὑφ' ἐνὸς ἀπόλλυται κακοῦ, μήτε οἰκείου μήτε ἄλλοτρίου, δῆλον ὅτι ἀνάγκη αὐτὸ ἀεὶ ὂν εἶναι· εἰ δ' ἀεὶ ὂν, 611 ἀθάνατον. Ἀνάγκη, ἔφη.

XI. Τοῦτο μὲν τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, οὕτως ἐχέτω· εἰ δ' ἔχει, ἔννοεῖς, ὅτι ἀεὶ ἂν εἶεν αἱ αὐταί. οὔτε γὰρ ἂν που ἐλάττους γένοιτο 5 μηδεμιᾶς ἀπολλυμένης οὔτε αὖ πλείους. εἰ γὰρ ὅτιοῦν τῶν ἀθανάτων πλέον γίγνοιτο, οἶσθ' ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ θνητοῦ ἂν γίγνοιτο καὶ πάντα ἂν εἴη τελευτῶντα ἀθάνατα. Ἀληθῇ λέγεις. Ἄλλ', ἦν δ' ἐγώ, μήτε τοῦτο οἰώμεθα· ὁ γὰρ λόγος οὐκ ἑάσει· μήτε γε <sup>1</sup> αὖ τῇ B ἀληθεστάτῃ φύσει τοιοῦτον εἶναι ψυχὴν, ὥστε πολλῆς ποικιλίας

is content merely to suggest this argument: neither here nor elsewhere does he place it in the forefront of his dialectical proof of immortality.

610 E 29 καὶ μάλα ζωτικὸν κτλ. Glauco is thinking of the extreme activity and vitality sometimes displayed by the more aggressive kind of villain. A good example is furnished by the career of Dionysius I of Syracuse. With ἄγρυπνον Stallbaum compares "ut iugulent homines surgunt de nocte latrones" (Hor. *Ep.* 1 2. 32)—an instance on a small and petty scale of the sort of thing which is in Plato's mind.

611 A—612 A *It follows that the number of souls is always constant, each of them retaining its individuality throughout. We have hitherto represented soul as a composite substance; but the composite cannot easily be immortal; and if we would see the soul as it really is, we must view it apart from the body and those material accretions with which in human life it is clogged and encumbered. Then and only then shall we be able to see its true nature.*

611 A 4 αἰεὶ ἂν εἶεν αἱ αὐταί: 'it will always be the same souls that are in existence.' αἱ αὐταί is the subject, not the predicate (as Teichmüller translates

*Plat. Fr.* p. 7). Although οὔτε γὰρ—πλείους justifies αἰεὶ ἂν εἶεν αἱ αὐταί only in so far as concerns the total number of souls, αἱ αὐταί by itself means more than this, and implies the personal identity of each individual soul throughout all the vicissitudes of its endless existence. The conviction that the life of each particular soul is a continuous sequence of cause and effect stretching from eternity to eternity was firmly held by Plato, and he briefly reminds us of it here because the theory of future rewards and punishments, which he will presently describe, rests on that hypothesis and no other. For the history of this belief before the time of Plato see Rohde *Psyche* 2 II pp. 134—136.

5 ὁτιοῦν—ἀθάνατα. All things are either mortal or immortal: hence the immortal, if increased at all, must be so at the expense of the mortal, which will accordingly in course of time be exhausted. Cf. *Phaed.* 70 C—72 E, especially 72 B ff., where a similar train of reasoning is employed to prove ἐκ τῶν τεθνεώτων τοὺς ζῶντας γίγνεσθαι καὶ τὰς τῶν τεθνεώτων ψυχὰς εἶναι.

611 B 8 τῇ ἀληθεστάτῃ φύσει κτλ. In its true and essential nature soul is akin to the simple and incomposite: see *Phaed.* 78 B—81 A.



καὶ ἀνομοιότητός τε καὶ διαφορᾶς γέμειν αὐτὸ πρὸς αὐτό. Πῶς 10  
λέγεις; ἔφη. Οὐ ῥάδιον, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ἀδιδιον εἶναι σύνθετόν τε ἐκ  
πολλῶν καὶ μὴ τῇ καλλίστῃ κεχρημένον συνθέσει, ὥς νῦν ἡμῖν  
ἐφάνη ἡ ψυχὴ. Οὐκ οὖν εἰκός γε. "Οτι μὲν τοίνυν ἀθάνατον  
ψυχὴ, καὶ ὁ ἄρτι λόγος καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι ἀναγκάσειαν ἄν· οἷον δ' ἐστὶν  
C τῇ ἀληθείᾳ, οὐ λελωβημένον δεῖ αὐτὸ θεάσασθαι<sup>1</sup> ὑπὸ τε τῆς τοῦ 15  
σώματος κοινωνίας καὶ ἄλλων κακῶν, ὥσπερ νῦν ἡμεῖς θεώμεθα,  
ἀλλ' οἷον ἐστὶν καθαρὸν γιγνόμενον, τοιοῦτον ἱκανῶς λογισμῷ δια-  
θεατέον, καὶ πολὺ κάλλιον αὐτὸ εὐρήσει καὶ ἐναργέστερον δικαιο-  
σύνας τε καὶ ἀδικίας διόψεται καὶ πάντα ἃ νῦν διήλθομεν. νῦν  
δὲ εἵπομεν μὲν ἀληθῆ περὶ αὐτοῦ, οἷον ἐν τῷ παρόντι φαίνεται· 20

17, 18. διαθεατέον Ξ q: διαθετέον ΑΠ.

19. ᾧ Α²Π: om. Α¹.

10 αὐτὸ πρὸς αὐτό goes with ἀνομοιότητος—διαφορᾶς: cf. διαφέρεσθαι πρὸς αὐτό and the like. The translation 'viewed by itself' (D. and V.) is quite wrong.

12 ὥς νῦν ἡμῖν ἐφάνη ἡ ψυχὴ refers to the tripartite division of soul in IV 435 A ff.: cf. (with Campbell) infra C νῦν δὲ εἵπομεν κτλ., 612 A νῦν δὲ—διεληλύθαμεν and (for the use of νῦν) ὥσπερ νῦν in VI 504 D and III 414 B n. It is much less natural to connect the clause with ἀδιδιον ("eternal as we have just proved the soul to be" D. and V., with whom Jowett and apparently also Schneider agree. Prantl and others take the right view). Now that he has proved the soul to be immortal, Plato takes the opportunity to suggest a revision of the psychology of Book IV, in which soul was treated as composite (435 A n.): for nothing that is composite can well be immortal (cf. *Phaed.* l.c.). According to the theory which is rather suggested (612 A) than fully worked out in this chapter, the so-called lower 'parts' are not of the essence of soul at all, but only incidental to its association with body, and consequently perishable. Cf. *Phaed.* 66 C ff., 79 C, D and the *θητηρὸν εἶδος ψυχῆς* of *Tim.* 69 C ff. Plato expresses himself with great reserve (612 A), but apparently intends us to believe that soul in its truest nature is λογιστικόν, and that the λογιστικὸν alone is immortal (so also Simson *Begriff d. Seele bei Plato* p. 128: cf. also Grimmelt *de resp. Pl. comp. et univ.* p. 94 and Nettleship *Lect. and Rem.* II p. 357).

14 οἱ ἄλλοι. The reference is generally supposed to be to the arguments of

the *Phaedo*. Krohn however (*Pl. St.* p. 266) compares παλαιὸς—λόγος οὐ μεμνημέθα (*Phaed.* 70 C), where Plato is thinking of Orphic and Pythagorean beliefs, and suggests that οἱ ἄλλοι should here be interpreted in the same way; while Pfeleiderer (*Zur Lösung* etc. p. 41) sees an allusion to the *Phaedrus* and *Meno*. That the arguments of the *Phaedo* are included in the reference, is extremely probable both on other grounds, and also on account of the remarkable affinity between that dialogue and the whole of this section; but Plato's words are wide enough to cover all the proofs of immortality current in the Platonic school, whether published or not.

ἀναγκάσειαν ἄν. See on VI 490 C.

611 C 17 καθαρὸν: sc. from body and its attendant evil: cf. *Phaed.* 81 B ff.

18 εὐρήσει: sc. τις, which is easily supplied after the verbal διαθεατέον: cf. (with Schneider) *Eulhyd.* 299 D οὐκοῦν δεῖ δεῖ αὐτὸ ἔχειν—ἐν ἑαυτῷ; καὶ εἴη ἂν εὐδαιμονέστατος, εἰ ἔχοι κτλ.

ἐναργέστερον—διόψεται. The theory of Justice and Injustice in Book IV rested on a psychology which explained soul not as καθαρὸν, and by itself, but present in body (cf. 612 A). Plato hints that the new psychological standpoint will give us a new and higher conception of Justice. I agree with Hirzel (*der Dialog I* pp. 237 f.) in holding that this higher conception can only be the Idea. The plural refers to different conceptions of Justice and Injustice, rather than to 'their various forms' (as J. and C. explain).

τεθεάμεθα μέντοι διακειμένον αὐτό, ὥσπερ οἱ τὸν θαλάττιον Γλαῦ-  
 κον ὀρώντες οὐκ ἂν ἔτι ἰραδίως αὐτοῦ ἴδοιεν τὴν ἀρχαίαν φύσιν, D  
 ὑπὸ τοῦ τά τε παλαιὰ τοῦ σώματος μέρη τὰ μὲν ἐκκεκλᾶσθαι, τὰ  
 δὲ συντετριφθαι καὶ πάντως λελωβῆσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων, ἄλλα  
 25 δὲ προσπεφυκέναι, ὅστρεά τε καὶ φυκία καὶ πέτρας, ὥστε παντὶ  
 μᾶλλον θηρίῳ εἰκέναι ἢ οἶος ἦν φύσει, οὕτω καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἡμεῖς  
 θεώμεθα διακειμένην ὑπὸ μυρίων κακῶν. ἀλλὰ δεῖ, ὦ Γλαῦκων,  
 ἐκείσε βλέπειν. Ποῖ; ἢ δ' ὅς. Εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἰ αὐτῆς, καὶ E  
 ἐννοεῖν ὧν ἄπτεται καὶ οἷον ἐφίεται ὁμιλιῶν, ὡς ξυγγενὴς οὔσα τῷ  
 30 τε θείῳ καὶ ἀθανάτῳ καὶ τῷ αἰεὶ ὄντι, καὶ οἷα ἂν γένοιτο τῷ τοιούτῳ  
 πᾶσα ἐπισπομένη καὶ ὑπὸ ταύτης τῆς ὁρμῆς ἐκκομισθεῖσα ἐκ τοῦ  
 πόντου, ἐν ᾧ νῦν ἐστίν, καὶ περικρουσθεῖσα πέτρας τε καὶ ὅστρεα,

23. ἐκκεκλᾶσθαι II: κεκλᾶσθαι A.

21 τὸν θαλάττιον Γλαῦκον. Glaucus, who had originally been a fisherman himself, when transmuted into a sea-god, became a patron god of sailors and fishermen. See Roscher *Lex. d. Myth.* s.v. and Frazer on Paus. IX 22. 7.

611 D 23 τά τε παλαιὰ—ἄλλα δέ. For τε followed by δέ cf. II 367 C n.

ἐκκεκλᾶσθαι. See *cr. n.* The reading κεκλᾶσθαι is found only in one inferior MS besides A. It is rather less suitable in point of meaning, and “quum ἐκκλᾶν perrarum, κλᾶν vulg tritum sit, duorum codicum gratia usugatum mutare durum videtur” (Schneider).

28 εἰς τὴν φιλοσοφίαν αὐτῆς. Cf. *Phaed.* 79 D ὅταν δέ γε αὕτη καθ' αὐτὴν σκοπῇ, ἐκείσε οἴχεται εἰς τὸ καθαρόν τε καὶ αἰεὶ ὄν καὶ ἀθάνατον καὶ ὠσαύτως ἔχον, καὶ ὡς συγγενὴς οὔσα αὐτοῦ αἰεὶ μετ' ἐκείνου τε γίγνεται, ὅταν περ αὕτη καθ' αὐτὴν γένηται καὶ ἐξῇ αὐτῇ, καὶ πέπαντα τε τοῦ πλάνου καὶ περὶ ἐκείνα αἰεὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ὠσαύτως ἔχει, ἅτε τοιούτων ἐφαπτομένη.

611 E 29 ξυγγενὴς—ὄντι. Cf. *Phaed.* 79 A ff., especially 80 A, B and *Laus* 899 D, 959 B, *Tim.* 90 A, C. Here we have yet another expression of the profound conviction which inspires the teaching of Plato, that man is an οὐράνιον φυτὸν, οὐκ ἔγγειον. Herwerden would omit τῷ before αἰεὶ ὄντι, but the article adds emphasis by making αἰεὶ ὄντι look like a different category from ‘the divine and immortal,’ which is treated as a unity. Cf. I 334 E n.

30 οἷα ἂν γένοιτο—ἐπισπομένη. In

the light of 611 B, C we may suppose that when the soul altogether follows after the divine it shakes itself clear of the body and the lower parts of soul associated therewith, and appears in its true unity as pure λογιστικόν. Cf. Grimmelt l.c. p. 94 and 608 D n.

31 τοῦ πόντου—ἐστίν. The imagery, which is of course suggested by the comparison with Glaucus of the sea, reminds us of *Phaed.* 109 B—110 B.

32 περικρουσθεῖσα is used with exactly the same meaning and construction as περιεκόπη in VII 519 A. The word is particularly appropriate here, because it might well be used of striking a vessel of any kind in order to shake off the integuments with which it has become incrustated in the depths of the sea. Cf. also the metaphorical use of circumcisa in Cic. *de Fin.* I 44. παρακρουσθεῖσα (Morgenstern) gives a wrong meaning, and περικουφισθεῖσα, which Liebhold suggests, is tame and inadequate.

πέτρας—ὅστρεα is bracketed by Herwerden and Richards, the latter proposing as an alternative to insert *καὶ* before ἂν νῦν. The image is scarcely bolder than τὰς τῆς γενέσεως ξυγγενεῖς ὥσπερ μολυβδίδας in VII 519 A, and the comparison with Glaucus easily carries it through. ‘Stripped of stones and shellfish—the numerous and wild accretions of earth and stone which in consequence of these “happy” feastings as they are called have fastened themselves about her in her present state, because it is on

612 ἂ νῦν αὐτῇ ἢτε γῆν ἐστιωμένη | γενηρὰ καὶ πετρώδη πολλὰ καὶ ἄγρια περιπέφυκεν ὑπὸ τῶν εὐδαιμόνων λεγομένων ἐστιάσεων. καὶ τότ' ἂν τις ἴδοι αὐτῆς τὴν ἀληθῆ φύσιν, εἴτε πολυειδῆς εἴτε μονοειδῆς, εἴτε ὅπῃ ἔχει καὶ ὅπως. νῦν δὲ τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ πάθη τε καὶ εἶδη, ὡς ἐγῶμαι, ἐπιεικῶς αὐτῆς διεληλύθαμεν. Παν- 5 τάπασι μὲν οὖν, ἔφη.

XII. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τά τε ἄλλα ἀπελυσάμεθα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ B καὶ οὐ τοὺς μισθοὺς | οὐδὲ τὰς δόξας δικαιοσύνης ἐπηνέγκαμεν, ὥσπερ Ἡσίοδόν τε καὶ Ὀμηρον ὑμεῖς ἔφατε, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ δικαιοσύνην αὐτῇ ψυχῇ ἄριστον ἡῦρομεν καὶ ποιητέον εἶναι αὐτῇ τὰ δίκαια, 10

8. ἐπηνέγκαμεν II: ἐπηνεγάκαμεν (sic) A.

earth that she feasts.' Liebholt's conjecture γῇ ἐνοικουμένη and Madvig's γῆν ἐστιωμένη or γῆν εἰσφικισμένη may be taken as indications of how far these critics are qualified to deal with the text of Plato. Plato means of course that the soul which feeds on earth becomes of the earth, earthy. Man is an οὐράνιον φυτόν (*Tim.* 90 A) and should draw his sustenance from Heaven. The best commentary on the whole passage is VII 519 A, B, with the extracts from the *Phaedo* cited ad loc.: cf. also IX 586 A, B *nn.* For the 'happy feastings' see on IV 421 B.

612 A 3 εἴτε—ὅπως. For this formula cf. *Phaed.* 100 D and *Lysis* 899 B. Plato seems clearly to imply that soul in its true nature is μονοειδῆς, although he refrains from dogmatising on the subject here. See on 611 B.

612 A—613 E Now that we have proved Justice to be in itself, apart from all consequences, best for the soul, we may safely dwell on the rewards of Virtue both in life and after death. We revoke the concession which, for the sake of the argument, we formerly made, and restore to Justice the appreciation which in point of fact she does receive from gods and men. The just are dear to the gods and the special object of their providence, but it is otherwise with the unjust. Among men too, Injustice, though for a time it may run well, breaks down before the race is finished; whereas Justice reaches the goal and wins the crown. The honours and prizes which Glauco claimed for successful Injustice fall to Justice, and it is the unjust who suffer the insults and torments which he foretold for the just.

612 A, B 7 οὐκοῦν κτλ. 'Well

then,' said I, 'did we not in our discourse clear away the imputations against Justice and abstain from bringing forward the wages' etc. Jackson is inclined—perhaps rightly—to make the sentence categoric and not interrogative. In τὰ ἄλλα ἀπελυσάμεθα the word ἄλλα refers to the other points raised by Thrasy-machus (I 337 A ff.), Glauco and Adimantus (II 358 E ff.), besides the complaint that Justice is usually recommended not on its own merits, but for the sake of its results (II 362 E ff.). For ἀπελυσάμεθα cf. VI 499 E ἀπολυνόμενος τὴν τῆς φιλομαθίας διαβολήν, *Ap.* 37 B, *Phaedr.* 267 D, *Arist. Rhet.* III 1415<sup>b</sup> 37, 15, 1416<sup>a</sup> 5 al. Other explanations of this difficult word and the variant ἀπεδυσάμεθα are discussed in App. V. Instead of ἐπηνέγκαμεν, I formerly read (with Cobet, Baiter and J. and C.) ἐπηνέκαμεν. The scribe of Paris A (see *cr. n.*) seems to have had both readings before him, but to have finally decided in favour of ἐπηνέκαμεν, which is in exact correspondence with μισθοὺς δὲ καὶ δόξας πάρες ἄλλοις ἐπαινέειν II 367 D. All the other MSS read ἐπηνέγκαμεν except Par. K, which has ἐπηνέσαμεν. ἐπηνέγκαμεν should probably be preferred, both on account of the MS evidence, and still more because the aorist seems necessary to balance ἀπελυσάμεθα and ἡῦρομεν. There is no special reason why the word ἐπαινέειν in II 367 D should be echoed here: and it is not employed of Homer and Hesiod in II 363 A, to which ἔφατε refers. For the confusion cf. (with J. and C.) *Pol.* 307 A, where some MSS read ἐπηνέγκαμεν, and others ἐπηνέκαμεν.

9 αὐτὸ δικαιοσύνην. See on II 363 A.



ἐάν τ' ἔχῃ τὸν Γύγου δακτύλιον, ἐάν τε μή, καὶ πρὸς τοιοῦτον  
 δακτυλίῳ τὴν Ἀΐδος κυνήν; Ἀληθέστατα, ἔφη, λέγεις. Ἄρ'  
 οὖν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, ὦ Γλαῦκων, νῦν ἤδη ἀνεπίφθονόν ἐστιν πρὸς ἐκείνους  
 καὶ τοὺς μισθοὺς τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ καὶ τῇ ἄλλῃ ἀρετῇ ἀποδοῦναι,  
 15 ὅσους ἴ τε καὶ οἷους τῇ ψυχῇ παρέχει παρ' ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ θεῶν, C  
 ζῶντός τε ἔτι τοῦ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἐπειδὰν τελευτήσῃ; Παντάπασι  
 μὲν οὖν, ἣ δ' ὅς. Ἄρ' οὖν ἀποδώσετέ μοι ἃ ἐδανείσασθε ἐν τῷ  
 λόγῳ; Τί μάλιστα; Ἐδῶκα ὑμῖν τὸν δίκαιον δοκεῖν ἄδικον εἶναι  
 καὶ τὸν ἄδικον δίκαιον. ὑμεῖς γὰρ ἡγείσθε, κὰν εἰ μὴ δυνατὸν εἶη  
 20 ταῦτα λαυθάνειν καὶ θεοὺς καὶ ἀνθρώπους, ὅμως δοτέον εἶναι τοῦ  
 λόγου ἔνεκα, ἵνα αὐτὴ δικαιοσύνη πρὸς ἀδικίαν αὐτὴν ἴ κριθείη. ἣ D  
 οὐ μνημονεύεις; Ἀδικοῖν μὲντ' ἄν, ἔφη, εἰ μή. Ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν  
 κεκριμέναι εἰσίν, ἐγὼ πάλιν ἀπαιτῶ ὑπὲρ δικαιοσύνης, ὥσπερ ἔχει  
 δόξης καὶ παρὰ θεῶν καὶ παρ' ἀνθρώπων, καὶ ἡμᾶς ὁμολογεῖν περὶ

19. ἡγείσθε Π: ἡτίσθε A. 22. ἐπειδὴ Flor. C: ἐπειδὴ ἦν A<sup>1</sup>Π: ἐπειδὴ οὖν q.  
 Pro ἐπειδὴ—ἐγὼ praebent Ξ et in marg. A<sup>2</sup> ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, κεκριμέναι εἰσι.

11 τὸν Γύγου δακτύλιον. II 359 C n.

12 Ἀΐδος κυνήν. See II. V 844 f. αὐτὰρ Ἀθήνη | δὲν Ἀΐδος κυνήν, μή μιν ἴδοι ββριμος Ἄρης, with Leaf ad loc. Leaf observes that "the name Ἀΐδος here evidently preserves something of its original sense, the Invisible ('Αΐδης')." For other examples of the proverb see Blaydes on Ar. Ach. 390.

13 νῦν ἤδη ἀνεπίφθονον. We may without prejudice consider the question of rewards, now that we have judged virtue and vice upon their merits; and it is even necessary to do so, if we are to take account of all the circumstances of the case. See on 608 C.

πρὸς ἐκείνους: sc. τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἷς αὐτὴ παρέχετο ἡ δικαιοσύνη, as it is more fully expressed in 614 A.

612 C 19 ἡγείσθε—κριθείη represents the general substance, though not the precise form, of the demands put forward by Glauco and Adimantus in II 361 A—D, 367 E. The reference is not more inexact than other cross-references in the *Republic* (see on 502 D al.), and Siebeck is hardly justified in suggesting that Plato's recollection of Book II had grown faint by the time he wrote Book X (*Untersuch. zur Phil. d. Griechen* p. 144). The reading ἡτίσθε (see *cr. n.*) has some little support from the inferior MSS as well as from A. It is defensible in itself, and (as Campbell observes) "agrees better with ἔδωκα and δοτέον and with ἀπαιτῶ in the following

sentence." But ἡγείσθε is on the whole more natural with δοτέον εἶναι and ought probably to be retained. An unfortunate misprint in my edition of the *Text of the Republic* (1897) assigns to II the reading ἡγείσθε (*sic*), and the error is repeated by Burnet in his *apparatus criticus*. In reality II has ἡγείσθε.

κὰν εἰ. See on III 408 B.

20 ταῦτα: viz. Justice and Injustice.

612 D 22 ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν κτλ. See *cr. n.* The reading in the text has the approval of Schneider and others. It involves less departure from Π and A<sup>1</sup> than either (a) ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν κεκριμέναι εἰσίν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, πάλιν ἀπαιτῶ κτλ. (Hermann), or (b) ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, κεκριμέναι εἰσίν, ἐγὼ πάλιν (Ast, Stallbaum), or (c) ἐπειδὴ τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, κεκριμέναι εἰσι, πάλιν ἀπαιτῶ κτλ. (Baier, J. and C., Burnet). There is no authority for (c) except a marginal annotation in A, although Burnet erroneously attributes this reading to Vind. F and Stobaeus. See (for Vind. F) Schneider's note and (for Stobaeus) *Flor.* I p. 402. 22 f. Hense. To (a) and (c) it may also be objected that the contrast between Socrates on the one hand, and Glauco and Adimantus on the other, requires the presence of ἐγώ as the subject to ἀπαιτῶ: and in (b) the jingle ἦν δ' ἐγώ—ἐγὼ πάλιν "valde in-suaue est" (Schneider).

24 ἡμᾶς. The reading ὑμᾶς, which Stallbaum adopts, has little authority,

αὐτῆς δοκεῖσθαι οὕτω, ἵνα καὶ τὰ νικητήρια κομίσηται, ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ 25  
δοκεῖν κτωμένη δίδωσι τοῖς ἔχουσιν αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴ καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ τοῦ  
εἶναι ἀγαθὰ διδοῦσα ἐφάνη καὶ οὐκ ἐξαπατῶσα τοὺς τῷ ὄντι  
Ε λαμβάνοντας αὐτήν. Ἰ δίκαια, ἔφη, αἰτεῖ. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,  
πρῶτον μὲν τοῦτο ἀποδώσετε, ὅτι θεοὺς γε οὐ λανθάνει ἐκάτερος  
αὐτῶν οἶός ἐστιν; Ἀποδώσομεν, ἔφη. Εἰ δὲ μὴ λανθάνετον, ὁ 30  
μὲν θεοφιλὴς ἂν εἴη, ὁ δὲ θεομισῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ κατ' ἀρχὰς ὡμολο-  
γούμεν. Ἔστι ταῦτα. Τῷ δὲ θεοφιλεῖ οὐχ ὁμολογήσομεν, ὅσα  
613 γε ἀπὸ θεῶν | γίγνεται, πάντα γίγνεσθαι ὡς οἶόν τε ἄριστα, εἰ μὴ  
τι ἀναγκαῖον αὐτῷ κακὸν ἐκ προτέρας ἀμαρτίας ὑπῆρχεν; Πάνυ  
μὲν οὖν. Οὕτως ἄρα ὑποληπτέον περὶ τοῦ δικαίου ἀνδρός, ἐάν τ'  
ἐν περίᾳ γίγνηται ἐάν τ' ἐν νόσοις ἢ τινι ἄλλῳ τῶν δοκούντων  
κακῶν, ὡς τούτῳ ταῦτα εἰς ἀγαθόν τι τελευτήσῃ ζῶντι ἢ καὶ 5  
ἀποθανόντι. οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὑπὸ γε θεῶν ποτὲ ἀμελεῖται, ὅς ἂν προθυ-  
μεῖσθαι ἐθέλῃ δίκαιος γίγνεσθαι καὶ ἐπιτηδεύων ἀρετὴν εἰς ὅσον  
B δυνατόν ἀνθρώπῳ ὁμοιοῦσθαι θεῷ. Εἰκός γ', ἔφη, τὸν τοιοῦτον μὴ  
ἀμελεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμοίου. Οὐκοῦν περὶ τοῦ ἀδίκου τάναντία  
τούτων δεῖ διανοεῖσθαι; Σφόδρα γε. Τὰ μὲν δὴ παρὰ θεῶν 10  
τοιαῦτ' ἂν εἴη νικητήρια τῷ δικαίῳ. Κατὰ γοῦν ἐμὴν δόξαν, ἔφη.  
Τί δέ, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, παρ' ἀνθρώπων; Ἄρ' οὐχ ὧδε ἔχει, εἰ δεῖ τὸ ὄν  
τιθέσθαι; οὐχ οἱ μὲν δεινοὶ τε καὶ ἄδικοι δρῶσιν ὅπερ οἱ δρομῆς,  
ὅσοι ἂν θέωσιν εὐ ἀπὸ τῶν κάτω, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ἄνω μὴ; τὸ μὲν

25. ἃ Ξq: om. A<sup>1</sup>Π, sed ante δίδωσι reposuit A<sup>2</sup>.26. τὰ A<sup>2</sup>Π: om. A<sup>1</sup>.

32. In verbis ἔστι ταῦτα desinit Π.

33. γε Ξq et corr. A<sup>2</sup>: τε A<sup>1</sup>.

and is a needless change, for "Socrates ipse adhuc una cum reliquis iustitiam male audire et deos hominesque secus de ea statuere τοῦ λόγου ἕνεκα posuerat" (Schneider).

25 δοκεῖσθαι. Cf. VI 490 A.

612 E 31 κατ' ἀρχὰς ὡμολογούμεν. I 352 B.

613 A 2 προτέρας ἀμαρτίας = "former sin" means the sins committed in a previous existence. Hence the imperfect ὑπῆρχεν ('was to him from the first,' i.e. from the moment of his birth).

6 οὐ γὰρ δὴ ὑπὸ γε θεῶν κτλ. Cf. (with Morgenstern de Plat. rep. comment. p. 141) Ap. 41 C, D and, for a proof of the divine Providence, Laws 899 D ff.

7 εἰς ὅσον δυνατόν—θεῷ. ὁμολωσὶς θεῷ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν is the ethical end for man: see Theaet. 176 B—177 A, and cf.

II 383 C, VI 500 C, D, 501 B, C, and Laws 716 B—D together with the μελέτη θανάτου of the Phaedo and the old Pythagorean maxims ἔπου θεῷ, ἀκολουθεῖν τῷ θεῷ. Cf. also Rohde *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> pp. 163, 285—287.

613 B 14 ὅσοι ἂν—μὴ κτλ.: "who run well from the lower end of the course to the upper, but not from the upper to the lower" etc. (J. and C.). Plato is thinking of the διαύλος, and calls the outward and homeward journeys respectively ἀπὸ τῶν κάτω and ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω. We must suppose, although there seems to be no other authority for the supposition, that the end from which the competitors started was spoken of as 'down' and the other end as 'up.' Schneider suggests that the outward limit may have stood higher, but Greek stadia seem always to

15 πρῶτον ὀξέως ἀποπηδῶσιν, τελευτῶντες δὲ ἰ καταγέλαστοι γίγνον- C  
ται, τὰ ὦτα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἔχοντες καὶ ἀστεφάνωτοι ἀποτρέχοντες·  
οἱ δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ δρομικοὶ εἰς τέλος ἐλθόντες τὰ τε ἄθλα λαμβά-  
νουσιν καὶ στεφανοῦνται. οὐχ οὕτω καὶ περὶ τῶν δικαίων τὸ πολὺ  
20 συμβαίνει; πρὸς τέλος ἐκάστης πράξεως καὶ ὁμιλίας καὶ τοῦ βίου  
εὐδοκιμοῦσί τε καὶ τὰ ἄθλα παρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων φέρονται; Καὶ  
μάλα. Ἀνέξει ἄρα λέγοντος ἐμοῦ περὶ τούτων ἅπερ αὐτὸς ἔλεγε  
περὶ τῶν ἀδίκων; ἐρῶ γὰρ δὴ, ὅτι οἱ ἰ μὲν δίκαιοι, ἐπειδὰν πρεσ- D  
βύτεροι γένωνται, ἐν τῇ αὐτῶν πόλει ἄρχουσὶ τε, ἂν βούλωνται,  
τὰς ἀρχάς, γαμοῦσί τε ὁπόθεν ἂν βούλωνται, ἐκδιδοῦσίν τε εἰς οὓς  
25 ἂν ἐθέλωσι· καὶ πάντα, ἃ σὺ περὶ ἐκείνων, ἐγὼ νῦν λέγω περὶ  
τῶνδε· καὶ αὖ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀδίκων, ὅτι οἱ πολλοὶ αὐτῶν, καὶ ἂν  
νέοι ὄντες λάθωσιν, ἐπὶ τέλους τοῦ δρόμου αἰρεθέντες καταγέλαστοί  
εἰσιν, καὶ γέροντες γιγνόμενοι ἄθλιοι προπηλακίζονται ὑπὸ ξένων  
τε καὶ ἀστῶν, μαστιγούμενοι καὶ ἃ ἰ ἄγροικα ἔφησθα σὺ εἶναι, E  
30 ἀληθῆ λέγων· πάντα ἐκείνα οἴου καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀκηκοῖναι ὡς πάσχου-

30. λέγων Ast: λέγων εἰτα στρεβλώσονται (στρεβλήσονται q) καὶ ἐκκαυθήσονται  
codd. Pro λέγων γρ λέγοντα in marg. A<sup>2</sup>.

have been level. The use of ἄνω and κάτω is as in περιπατεῖν ἄνω κάτω (Ar. *Lys.* 709), εἶπ' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω (Eur. *H. F.* 953), and other examples quoted in Stephanus-Hase *Thes.* s.v. ἄνω p. 1063. The subject of ἀποπηδῶσι is not οἱ δρομῆς, but οἱ δεινοὶ τε καὶ ἀδικοὶ: so that τὸ μὲν πρῶτον corresponds roughly to ἀπὸ τῶν κάτω, and τελευτῶντες to ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω. This interpretation is that of Schneider and the other editors. A wholly different view is taken by Riddell (*Digest* § 111) and Madvig. They understand τὰ κάτω of the lower, and τὰ ἄνω of the upper parts of the body ("who run fairly with their legs, but with the upper part of their bodies—head, neck, arms—in bad form" Riddell l.c. For the use of ἀπὸ cf. *Laus* 795 B, 832 E and Xen. *Rep. Lac.* 5. 9). But an allusion to the physiology of bad running is not in place here, and it is difficult to resist the impression that ἀπὸ τῶν κάτω and ἀπὸ τῶν ἄνω are significant parts of the comparison. On Riddell's view they are not, for there is nothing in the career of the clever and unjust which can well be illustrated by 'running fairly with their legs' etc. The point is, as τὸ μὲν πρῶτον—ἀποτρέχοντες expresses states, that they do well at first, but collapse

before the end, like runners who run well as far as the καμπτήρ, but break down in the second half of the δίαυλος. For the illustration from the games cf. v 465 D n.

613 C 16 τὰ ὦτα—ἔχοντες. "A metaphor taken from horses and other animals, which let their ears drop when they are tired and overdriven" Thomas Gray. Schneider quotes Photius p. 572. 14 Porson τὰ ὦτα ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων ἔχοντες· ἐπισείοντες τὴν κεφαλὴν· ὁ ποιοῦσιν ἐκλελυμένοι. With οἱ δὲ τῇ ἀληθείᾳ—στεφανοῦνται cf. *Pythag. Simil.* 22 in Mullach *Frag. Phil. Gr.* I p. 486 τοῖς μὲν σταδιοδραμοῦσιν ἐπὶ τῷ τέρματι τὸ βραβεῖον τῆς νίκης, τοῖς δὲ φιλοπονήσασιν ἐπὶ τοῦ γήρως τὸ πρωτεῖον τῆς φρονήσεως ἀπόκειται.

21 ἔλεγε. II 362 B.

613 D 28 ἄθλιοι προπηλακίζονται: "are insulted in their misery" (D. and V.). ἄθλιοι is not altogether predicative ("are miserably insulted" J. and C.), although it goes more closely with προπηλακίζονται than with γέροντες γιγνόμενοι. Schneider translates "und Greise werdend bittere Schmach erdulden müssen."

613 E 29 ἄγροικα ἔφησθα. II 361 E. 30 λέγων. See *cr. n.* I agree with Ast, Hermann, and Stallbaum in omitting εἰτα στρεβλώσονται καὶ ἐκκαυθήσονται



σιν. ἀλλ' ὁ λέγω, ὅρα εἰ ἀνέξει. Καὶ πάννυ, ἔφη· δίκαια γὰρ λέγεις.

XIII. "Α μὲν τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ζῶντι τῷ δικαίῳ παρὰ θεῶν  
614 τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων | ἀλλά τε καὶ μισθοὶ καὶ δῶρα γίγνεται πρὸς  
ἐκείνοις τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς οἷς αὐτὴ παρείχετο ἡ δικαιοσύνη, τοιαῦτ' ἂν  
εἴη. Καὶ μάλ', ἔφη, καλὰ τε καὶ βέβαια. Ταῦτα τοίνυν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ,  
οὐδέν ἐστι πλήθει οὐδὲ μεγέθει πρὸς ἐκείνα, ἀ τελευτήσαντα ἐκά-  
τερον περιμένει. χρὴ δ' αὐτὰ ἀκοῦσαι, ἵνα τελέως ἐκάτερος αὐτῶν 5

5. ἐκάτερος Ξ<sup>2</sup>: ἐκάτερον ΑΞ<sup>1</sup>q.

"quia nec tempus antecedentibus congruit, nec sententiae ratio Socratem singula supplicia enumerare patitur" (Stallbaum). The passage to which the words refer runs as follows: μαστιγώσεται, στρεβλώσεται, δεθήσεται, ἐκκαυθήσεται τῷ φθαλμῷ (II 361 E): and εἶτα—ἐκκαυθήσονται ('after that'—i.e. after they have been scourged—'they will be racked' etc.) is probably a marginal note intended to remind us of the further tortures specified in the earlier passage. Schneider and the Oxford editors retain the words as a parenthesis, which is, to say the least, exceedingly awkward.

613 E—616 B *But what we have hitherto recounted is as nothing compared with the wages of Virtue and Vice hereafter. Let us hear the vision of Er, the son of Armenius. For twelve days he lay in a trance, during which his soul travelled to a meadow, where he heard the narrative of their experiences from other souls that had fulfilled the millennial period of reward or punishment. In most cases the recompense for good and evil actions was tenfold; but certain crimes were punished yet more sternly, and for some incurable sinners there was no hope at all.*

614 A 5 χρὴ δ' αὐτὰ ἀκοῦσαι κτλ. The *Nékua* of the *Republic* is one of the earliest extant Apocalypses, and many of its features reappear in later apocalyptic literature, including that of the early Christian era. See James *Apocrypha Anecdota* in Robinson's *Texts and Studies*. A careful comparison of the myth in the *Republic* with those of the *Phaedrus*, *Gorgias*, and *Phaedo* shews that in spite of discrepancies in detail, the four dialogues conspire to produce what is on the whole a tolerably consistent picture of the destiny of the human soul—a kind of

ancient 'Divina Commedia,' as Döring points out (*Archiv f. Gesch. d. Philos.* VI pp. 475—490). The sources and affinities of Plato's eschatological myths have been much discussed. Besides the article by Döring on *Die eschatologischen Mythen d. Plato* (*Archiv* l.c.) the student should consult Ettig *Acheruntica* (*Leipziger Stud.* XIII 1891, pp. 251—402, especially 284 ff.), Norden *Vergilstudien* (*Hermes* XXVIII 1893, pp. 360—406), and especially Dieterich *Nekyia* (Leipzig 1893), where the common features in ancient representations of the underworld are clearly exhibited. There are traces of *Nékua* before the time of Plato, and the investigations of Dieterich and others have made it clear that the materials of Plato's picture are derived in large measure from Orphic or Pythagorean traditions (Dieterich l.c. pp. 128 ff.: cf. also Norden l.c. p. 374, Rohde *Psyche* II pp. 91 ff., and Zeller<sup>6</sup> I 1. p. 450. Dieterich may be wrong in some of his conjectures, as F. Weber tries to shew in his inaugural dissertation, *Platonische Notizen über Orpheus* München 1899 p. 20 n., but the broad outlines of his theory are in my opinion established beyond reasonable doubt). Evidence of Pythagorean and Orphic affinities will be cited in the notes. Cf. Proclus *in temp.* II p. 110 Kroll εἶπε δὲ ἔχει τὰ τῆς ἱστορίας οὕτως εἶπε καὶ μὴ, ζητεῖν ἀποπον, τοῦ Πλάτωνος τὰ τοιαῦτα πλάττοντος μὲν οὐδαμῶς, κατὰ δὲ τὴν χρεῖαν τῶν προκειμένων αἰ παραλαμβάνοντος καὶ χρωμένου πᾶσι μετὰ τῆς προποῦσης περιβολῆς καὶ οἰκονομίας, ὥς καὶ τῇ Μαντικῇ ξένη καὶ τῷ κατὰ τὸν Ἰόνιον πρόγονον διηγῆματι καὶ τῷ κατὰ τοὺς Ἀτλαντικοὺς λόγῳ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμοίοις. We may well suppose, however, that the imagination of Plato dealt freely with his materials, and the myth of the

ἀπειλήφη τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ λόγου ὀφειλόμενα ἀκοῦσαι. Λέγοις ἄν, ἔφη, ὥς οὐ πολλὰ ἄλλ' ἡδίων ἢ ἀκούοντι. Ἄλλ' οὐ μέντοι σοι, ἦν δ' B ἐγώ, Ἀλκίνου γε ἀπόλογον ἐρῶ, ἀλλ' ἀλκίμου μὲν ἀνδρός, Ἡρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Παμφύλου· ὅς ποτε ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτή- 10 σας, ἀναιρεθέντων δεκαταίων τῶν νεκρῶν ἤδη διεφθαρμένων, ὑγίης μὲν ἀνῆρέθη, κομισθεὶς δ' οἶκαδε μέλλων θάπτεσθαι δωδεκαταίος ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ κείμενος ἀνεβίω, ἀναβιούς δ' ἔλεγεν ἃ ἐκεῖ ἴδοι. ἔφη δέ, ἐπειδὴ οὐ ἐκβῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν, πορεύεσθαι μετὰ πολλῶν, καὶ ἀφικνεῖσθαι ὁ σφᾶς εἰς τόπον τινὰ δαιμόνιον, ἐν ᾧ τῆς τε γῆς δὴ C

7. ὥς A<sup>2</sup>Ξ q: om. A<sup>1</sup>.  
ἦρὸς q. 13. οὐ A<sup>1</sup>Ξ q: οὐν A<sup>2</sup>.

ἀλλ' Ξ q<sup>1</sup>: ἀλλ' A q<sup>2</sup>.

8. ἦρὸς A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: ἦρος A<sup>1</sup>:

*Republic* bears the unmistakeable impress of Plato's own genius in its artistic finish no less than in its religious and moral teaching.

ἐκάτερος. See *cr. n.* The accusative appears to be in all MSS except *v* K and Ξ<sup>2</sup>.

6 ἀκοῦσαι is doubted by Stephanus, and bracketed by Ast, Stallbaum, and Baiter. There is nothing offensive in the repetition ἀκοῦσαι—ἀκοῦσαι (cf. VI 511 E *n.*), and the second ἀκοῦσαι is welcome, if not necessary, as defining the exact nature of the debt ('due to hear,' i.e. 'due to be heard,' like *καλὸς ἰδεῖν* and the like). "The debt which has been incurred in words" (ἃ ἐδανείσασθε ἐν τῷ λόγῳ 612 C) "has to be paid in words" (J. and C.). ὑπὸ depends on ὀφειλόμενα rather than on ἀκοῦσαι. J. and C. take ἀκοῦσαι as = 'to have related concerning them,' comparing ἀκοῦσαι σοφίσματα VI 496 A and *Lys.* 207 A; but it is more natural to give the word the same meaning as it bears just before.

614 B 8 Ἀλκίνου—ἀπόλογον. Books IX—XII of the *Odyssey* were known as Ἀλκίνου ἀπόλογοι the 'tales to Alcinous'; see *Ael. Var. Hist.* XIII 14 Ἀλκίνου ἀπολόγους [καὶ] Κυκλώπειαν καὶ Νέκυιαν καὶ τὰ τῆς Κίρκης. Cf. *Arist. Poet.* 16. 1455<sup>a</sup> 2 and *Rhet.* III 16. 1417<sup>a</sup> 13, from which it appears that the whole four books were also called collectively ὁ Ἀλκίνου ἀπόλογος. There is doubtless an allusion, as the Oxford editors remark, to the *nékyia* of *Od.* XI, which is itself one of the 'tales to Alcinous'; but the expression has also a proverbial application, being used of a long and tedious story (ἐπὶ τῶν φλιαρύντων καὶ μακρὸν ἀποτεινόντων λόγων *Suidas* s.v. Ἀπόλογος

Ἀλκίνου. Other authorities will be found in *Leutsch u. Schneidewin Paroem. Gr.* I p. 210, II p. 13). For the paronomasia Ἀλκίνου—ἀλκίμου see *Riddell Digest* § 323.

Ἡρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου κτλ. The names point to the East. Ἡρ ὄνομα κύριον Ἑβραϊκόν, says *Suidas*, and Er is one of the ancestors of Joseph, the husband of the Virgin Mary: see *St Luke* 3. 28. By some of the ancients, including *Clement (Strom.* v 157 *Migne*), Er was identified with Zoroaster (*Proclus* l.c. p. 109). τοῦ Ἀρμενίου is of course 'son of Armenius,' not 'the Armenian,' as some ancient expositors imagined (see *Proclus in temp.* II p. 110). *Plutarch Symp.* IX 740 B appears to have read Ἀρμονίου, a reading which was known to *Proclus* (l.c.), and which commended itself also to the poet *Gray*: but Ἀρμονίου has no MS authority. *Proclus* himself adopts the same reading as that of our best MSS, and explains the passage quite correctly in p. 110. 19 ff.

10 δεκαταίων. The occurrence of the number 10 and its multiples is one of the Pythagorean elements of the story: cf. *infra* 615 A, B εἶναι δὲ τὴν πορείαν χιλιέτην (10<sup>3</sup> years)—ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου δεκάκις—ὥς βίου ὄντος τοσούτου (10<sup>2</sup> years) τοῦ ἀνθρώπου and *εἰκοστήν* in 620 B. See also on 614 C.

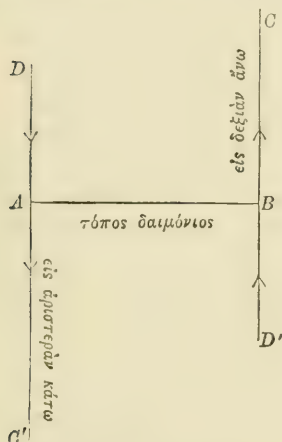
12 ἀναβιούς δὲ—ἴδοι. Other miraculous stories about the dead or seeming-dead returning to life again and describing what they have seen are given by *Proclus* l.c. pp. 113—116, 122. Cf. also *Rohde Psyche*<sup>2</sup> II pp. 90—102.

14 ἀφικνεῖσθαι. In *Phaed.* 107 D and 113 D each soul is conducted by its δαίμων to the place of judgment.

εἶναι χάσματα ἐχομένω ἀλλήλοιν καὶ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ αὖ ἐν τῷ ἄνω 15  
 ἄλλα καταντικρύ· δικαστὰς δὲ μεταξὺ τούτων καθῆσθαι, οὓς,  
 ἐπειδὴ διαδικάσειαν, τοὺς μὲν δικαίους κελεύειν πορεύεσθαι τὴν εἰς

16. ἄλλα Ξγ: ἄλλα Α.

614 C τόπον τινὰ δαιμόνιον κτλ.  
 The situation may be seen from the  
 accompanying plan. *AB* is the τόπος  
 δαιμόνιος or λειμών (614 E) in which the



judges sit. *BC*, *AC'* represent the two  
 ways by which the souls when they are  
 judged *depart* to receive their rewards or  
 punishments. *DA* and *D'B* are the two  
 ways by which the souls *return* to the  
 meadow to be reincarnated, after their  
 period of reward or punishment is com-  
 plete. (Ast makes a grave error when  
 he writes "duo ostia, alterum, per quod  
 animae descendunt in corpora, alterum,  
 per quod e vita redeant." None of the  
 four χάσματα represent the way by which  
 the souls arrive at the meadow immediately  
 after they leave the body.) The τόπος or  
 λειμών appears also in the *Phaedo* and the  
*Gorgias*: εἰς δὴ τινὰ τόπον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς  
 συλλεγέντας διαδικασμένους εἰς "Αἶδου  
 πορεύεσθαι (*Phaed.* 107 D): οὗτοι οὖν—  
 δικάσουσιν ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι (*Gorg.* 524 A).  
 Ettig l.c. p. 306 is inclined to derive the  
 idea from Homer's ἀσφόδελος λειμών.  
 We find traces of a λειμών also in Empe-  
 docles v. 23 Karsten ἄτης ἂν λειμῶνά  
 (apparently of the Earth) τε καὶ σκότος  
 ἡλάσκουσιν, and in Orphic fragments

(e.g. *Fr.* 154 Abel): cf. also Plut. *de*  
*fac. orb. Lunae* 943 C ἐν τῷ πρασιότῳ  
 τοῦ ἀέρος, δν λειμῶνας "Αἶδου καλοῦσι  
 and Plat. *Phaedr.* 248 B (the 'meadow'  
 or 'plain of Truth'). In none of these  
 passages is the meadow a place of judg-  
 ment for departed souls; but πεδίον  
 ἀληθείας is used of the judgment-place in  
 the *Axiochus* (371 B), a dialogue full of  
 Orphic influence; and it is therefore  
 probable that Plato borrowed the meadow  
 from some Orphic or Pythagorean dogma.  
 We ought, I think, to conceive the  
 meadow as situated somewhere on what  
 Plato in the *Phaedo* calls ἡ ὡς ἀληθῶς γῆ,  
 meaning the real surface of the earth as  
 opposed to the misty hollows in which  
 we live: see below on 616 A and cf.  
 Susemihl *Gen. Entwickl.* II p. 270. Some  
 of the speculations of the Neoplatonists  
 on this subject are given by Proclus l.c.  
 pp. 128—136: but they are altogether  
 fantastic and useless.

15 χάσματα. Roeper (*de dual. usu*  
*Plat.* p. 29) would read χάσματα ("id est,  
 ut me monuit Usenerus, χάσματ' ἐχομένω,  
 a librario male suppletum"). The dual  
 is also found in *g* and *Flor.* U; but there  
 is hardly sufficient ground for deserting  
 the best MSS: cf. III 395 A ἡ οὐ μνήματα  
 ἄρτι τούτῳ ἐκάλεis; *Lach.* 187 A εἰ δ' αὐτοὶ  
 εὐρεται γεγονότε (so B) τοῦ τοιούτου, and  
 other passages in Roeper l.c. Proclus  
 also has χάσματα ἐχομένω (l.c. p. 136. 17).  
 With the two ways (*BC*, *AC'*) by which  
 the souls *depart* after judgment cf. *Gorg.*  
 524 A ἐν τῇ τριδῷ ἐξ ἧς φέρετον τὴν ὁδὴν,  
 ἡ μὲν ἐς μακάρων νήσους, ἡ δὲ ἐς τάρταρον;  
 also *Phaedr.* 249 A. The 'two ways'  
 were a familiar feature in Orphic-Pytha-  
 goorean pictures of the other world: for  
 illustrations see Dieterich l.c. pp. 191 ff.  
 and Rohde *Psyche* II p. 220 n. 4.

17 εἰς δεξιάν. The way to the abode  
 of the blest was generally figured as εἰς  
 δεξιάν: see Rohde l.c. and Dieterich l.c.  
 p. 85 n. 2, where Dieterich quotes from  
 an Inscription found in a grave in the  
 district of Thurii χαῖρε χαῖρε δεξιάν  
 ὁδοιπορῶν λειμῶνάς τε ἱερούς κατὰ τ'  
 ἄλσέα Φερσεφονέλας. The whole of this  
 Inscription, according to Dieterich, be-



δεξιάν τε καὶ ἄνω διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, σημεῖα περιάψαντας τῶν δεδι-  
 κασμένων ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν, τοὺς δὲ ἀδίκους τὴν εἰς ἀριστεράν τε καὶ  
 20 κάτω, ἔχοντας <sup>1</sup> καὶ τούτους ἐν τῷ ὀπισθεν σημεῖα πάντων ὧν D  
 ἔπραξαν. ἑαυτοῦ δὲ προσελθόντος εἰπεῖν, ὅτι δέοι αὐτὸν ἄγγελον  
 ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι τῶν ἐκεῖ καὶ διακελεύουσιν οἱ ἀκούειν τε καὶ  
 θεᾶσθαι πάντα τὰ ἐν τῷ τόπῳ. ὁρᾶν δὴ ταύτη μὲν καθ' ἑκάτερον  
 τὸ χάσμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ τῆς γῆς ἀπιούσας τὰς ψυχάς, ἐπειδὴ  
 25 αὐταῖς δικασθεῖν, κατὰ δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ ἀνιέναι ἐκ τῆς γῆς  
 μεστὰς αὐχμοῦ τε καὶ κόνεως, ἐκ δὲ τοῦ ἐτέρου καταβαίνειν ἐτέρας  
 ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καθαρὰς. καὶ τὰς <sup>1</sup> αἰὲ ἀφικνουμένας ὥσπερ ἐκ E  
 πολλῆς πορείας φαίνεσθαι ἤκειν καὶ ἀσμένας εἰς τὸν λειμῶνα  
 ἀπιούσας οἷον ἐν πανηγύρει κατασκηναῖσθαι καὶ ἀσπάζεσθαι τε  
 30 ἀλλήλας ὅσαι γινώριμαι, καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι τὰς τε ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἡκού-  
 σας παρὰ τῶν ἐτέρων τὰ ἐκεῖ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰ παρ'  
 ἐκείναις. διηγείσθαι δὲ ἀλλήλαις τὰς μὲν ὀδυρομένας τε καὶ  
 κλαούσας, ἀναμνησκομένας | ὅσα τε καὶ οἶα πάθοιεν καὶ ἴδοιεν 615  
 ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ γῆς πορείᾳ—εἶναι δὲ τὴν πορείαν χιλιέτη—τὰς δ' αὖ ἐκ

23. θεᾶσθαι A<sup>2</sup>Ξq: θεάσασθαι ut videtur A<sup>1</sup>. 29. ἀπιούσας A<sup>1</sup>Ξq: ἐπι-  
 ούσας A<sup>2</sup>, sed ε puncto notatum. 31. καὶ τὰς A<sup>2</sup>Ξq<sup>2</sup>: τὰ A<sup>1</sup>q<sup>1</sup>. 2. χιλιέτη  
 (sic) A<sup>1</sup>: χιλιετῇ Ξq: χιλιέτην A<sup>2</sup>.

trays Orphic and Pythagorean influences. Cf. 617 C n. The other features (ἄνω, ἐν τῷ πρόσθεν, εἰς ἀριστεράν τε καὶ κάτω, ἐν τῷ ὀπισθεν) are also in keeping with Pythagorean notions: see Arist. *Frag.* 195 (1513<sup>a</sup> 24 ff.) τὸ οὖν δεξιὸν καὶ ἄνω καὶ ἔμπροσθεν ἀγαθὸν ἐκάλουν, τὸ δὲ ἀριστερόν καὶ κάτω καὶ ὀπισθεν κακὸν ἔλεγον, ὡς αὐτὸς Ἀριστοτέλης ἱστέρησεν ἐν τῇ τῶν Πυθαγορείοις ἀρεσκόντων συναγωγῇ.

18 διὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. Presumably they passed up *through* the heavens to the outer surface of the heavenly sphere, as described in *Phaedr.* 247 B ff. Cf. also Proclus l.c. p. 160. 19 ff. πολλὰ δὲ ἐπορεύθησαν αἱ μὲν κατ' οὐρανὸν συμπεριπολοῦσαι τοὺς οὐρανίους θεοὺς κτλ.—clearly a reminiscence of *Phaedr.* 246 E ff.

614 C, D σημεῖα κτλ. Cf. *Gorg.* 526 B. κάτω is fully explained in the myth of the *Phaedo* 111 C—114 C. Cf. infra 615 A.

20 πάντων ὧν ἔπραξαν from its correspondence with τῶν δεδικασμένων above suggests that our own actions are our doom.

22 καὶ διακελεύουσιν = 'and that they

exhorted' corresponds of course to καὶ διακελεύόμεθα of the *oratio recta*. Stallbaum's explanation ("optativus ponitur loco accusativi cum infinitivo") is untenable; nor is there any good reason for suspecting the text or writing διακελεύεσθαι with Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* XI 35. 5) and others. The optative is much more dramatic and realistic. Cf. VIII 569 A n.

23 ταύτη μὲν is explained by καθ' ἑκάτερον—γῆς i.e. (see the figure on p. 435) BC and AC'. Cornarius conjectured καθ' ἑτερον μὲν τὸ χάσμα, but ἑκάτερον is much more elegant, and forms a better balance with κατὰ δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ (viz. D'B and DA).

25 ἐκ τῆς γῆς is not of course 'from earth' (D. and V.), but 'out of the earth' ('aus der Erde' Schneider). They have suffered punishment ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ γῆς πορείᾳ (615 A) 'in their sojourn underground' i.e. in the bowels of the Earth, as explained at length in *Phaed.* 113 E—114 B.

614 E 28 τὸν λειμῶνα. "Articulus locum quasi fama celebratum designat" Schneider. See on 614 C.

615 A 2 χιλιέτη. Cf. Virg. *Aen.*

τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εὐπαθείας διηγέισθαι καὶ θέας ἀμυχάνους τὸ κάλλος.  
τὰ μὲν οὖν πολλά, ὧ Γλαύκων, πολλοῦ χρόνου διηγήσασθαι· τὸ  
δ' οὖν κεφάλαιον ἔφη τόδε εἶναι, ὅσα πώποτε τινα ἠδίκησαν καὶ 5  
ὅσους ἕκαστοι, ὑπὲρ ἀπάντων δίκην δεδωκέναι ἐν μέρει, ὑπὲρ  
ἐκάστου δεκάκις· τοῦτο δ' εἶναι κατὰ ἑκατονταετηρίδα ἐκάστην,  
B ὥς ἡ βίου ὄντος τοσούτου τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου, ἵνα δεκαπλάσιον τὸ  
ἔκτισμα τοῦ ἀδικήματος ἐκτίνοιεν, καὶ οἷον εἴ τινες πολλῶν θανά-  
των ἦσαν αἵτιοι, ἢ πόλεις προδόντες ἢ στρατόπεδα, καὶ εἰς δουλείας 10  
ἐμβεβληκότες ἢ τινος ἄλλης κακουχίας μεταίτιοι, πάντων τούτων  
δεκαπλασίας ἀλγηδόνας ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου κομίσαιντο, καὶ αὖ εἴ τις

6. ὅσους A<sup>1</sup>Ξq: οὗς A<sup>2</sup>.

9. πολλῶν Ξ: πολλοὶ Aq: sed punctis notavit q<sup>2</sup>.

VI 748 ff. has omnes, ubi *mille* rotam volvere *per annos* | Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno. There is little doubt that both Virgil and Plato took the period of 1000 years from some Orphic or Pythagorean source: see Dieterich l.c. pp. 116 ff. It will be observed that the thousand years do not, in the *Republic*, include the lifetime of the soul on earth, which Plato estimates at 100 years (615 B). In the *Phaedrus* on the other hand the entire interval from birth to birth is reckoned at 1000 years (249 A ff., compared with 248 D, E).

3 εὐπαθείας—κάλλος suggests the beatific visions of the *Phaedrus* (247 A ff.).

4 πολλοῦ χρόνου: sc. ἐστὶ, as in *Laus* IV 708 D χρόνον πολλοῦ καὶ παγχάλεπτον (Stallbaum). It is, worse than needless to insert δεῖ (with Liebhold) after χρόνου.

5 ὅσα—ἠδίκησαν. In Plato, as in Dante, doing wrong to others is the great sin.

7 τοῦτο δ' εἶναι κτλ. 'that is,' said he, 'once in every hundred years.' τοῦτο δ' εἶναι ('namely') explains ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου δεκάκις. This view is simpler and more idiomatic than (with Schneider) to make τοῦτο=τὸ δίκην δοῦναι ἐν μέρει ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου.

615 B 8 ὄντος τοσούτου. The same duration of human life is postulated also in *Phaedr.* 248 D ff., but retribution in that dialogue appears to be ἐννάκις, and not δεκάκις as here; cf. 256 E with 248 E. The number 100 is the square of the Pythagorean 'perfect' number 10, so that Pythagorean influence is doubtless at work again. See App. I to Book VIII

p. 301, and cf. 614 B n. It should also be remarked that the Greeks, like other races, had many stories to tell of the μακρόβιοι of early days, and the 'Naturvölker' of historic times were also credited with preternaturally long lives: see the evidence collected by Rohde *Griech. Roman* pp. 218, 236, 247 nn.

9 καὶ οἷον κτλ.: 'and for example if' etc. κομίσαιντο depends of course on ἵνα. Plato somewhat awkwardly co-ordinates his illustration with the principle itself (ἵνα—ἐκτίνοιεν): but there is not sufficient ground for expunging καὶ (with q<sup>2</sup>, Stephanus and others).

πολλῶν. See *cr. n.* Par. D—followed here by Burnet—has πολλοῖς, "quod propter pluralem θανάτων ferri nequit" (Schneider). The passage quoted by J. and C. in defence of πολλοῖς from *Laus* IX 870 D τοὺς οὖν τούτων μηνυτὰς ἀναροῦσι θανάτοις is not quite parallel.

10 πόλεις προδόντες κτλ. So in Virg. *Aen.* VI 620 vendidit hic auro patriam. Antiphon (*de Her. Caed.* 10) names as the three chiefest sins τὸ ἀποκτείνειν καὶ τὸ ἱεροσυλεῖν καὶ τὸ προδιδόναι τὴν πόλιν. Cf. also Dieterich *Ark.* pp. 66 ff.

εἰς δουλείας ἐμβεβληκότες is parallel, as Schneider points out, to αἵτιοι and not to προδόντες.

12 καὶ αὖ—κομίζονται. It is not at first sight clear whether this applies to those who have come ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, or to those who, though condemned on the whole account, have done some good actions in their lives, and occasionally shewn themselves just and pious. The latter view is supported by *Phaed.* 113 D ἐκεῖ (in Acheron) οἰκοῦσι τε καὶ καθαίρου-

εὐεργεσίας εὐεργετηκότες καὶ δίκαιοι καὶ ὅσοι γεγονότες εἶεν, κατὰ ταῦτὰ τὴν ἀξίαν κομίζονται. τῶν<sup>1</sup> δὲ εὐθύς γενομένων καὶ C  
 15 ὀλίγον χρόνον βιούντων περί ἄλλα ἔλεγεν οὐκ ἄξια μνήμης. εἰς δὲ θεοὺς ἀσεβείας τε καὶ εὐσεβείας καὶ γονέας καὶ αὐτόχειρος φόνου μείζους ἔτι τοὺς μισθοὺς διηγείτο. ἔφη γὰρ δὴ παραγενέσθαι ἐρωτώμενῳ ἑτέρῳ ὑπὸ ἑτέρου, ὅπου εἴη Ἄρδιαῖος ὁ μέγας. ὁ δὲ Ἄρδιαῖος οὗτος τῆς Παμφυλίας ἐν τινι πόλει τύραννος ἐγεγόνει,  
 20 ἥδη χίλιοστὸν ἔτος εἰς ἐκείνουν τὸν χρόνον, γέροντά τε πατέρα ἀποκτείνας καὶ<sup>1</sup> πρεσβύτερον ἀδελφὸν καὶ ἄλλα δὴ πολλά τε καὶ D  
 ἀνόσια εἰργασμένος, ὥς ἐλέγετο. ἔφη οὖν τὸν ἐρωτώμενον εἰπεῖν, οὐχ ἥκει, φάναι, οὐδ' ἂν ἥξει δεῦρο.

16. αὐτόχειρος Ast: αὐτόχειρας codd.

μενοι τῶν τε ἀδικημάτων δίδόντες δίκας ἀπολούνται, εἰ τίς τι ἠδίκηκεν, τῶν τε εὐεργεσιῶν τιμὰς φέρονται κατὰ τὴν ἀξίαν ἕκαστος, and is, I believe, what Plato means. Cf. 616 B n.

13 εὐεργετηκότες. A few MSS, including *q*, have εὐρηγετηκότες, which Rutherford (*New Phryn.* p. 245) and the grammarians regard as the regular Attic form: but εὐεργέτηκεν is found on Inscriptions of the 4th Century B.C. See Meisterhans<sup>3</sup> p. 172 and Kühner-Blass I 2. p. 33.

615 C 14 τῶν δὲ εὐθύς κτλ.: 'about those who died as soon as they were born, and those who had lived but a short time' etc., lit. 'about the 'as-soon-as-they-were-born' and the 'short-lived' etc.' The εὐθύς γενόμενοι and the ὀλίγον χρόνον βιούντες were probably two well-recognised categories of the ἄωροι (as to whom see Rohde *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> II pp. 411 ff.): hence the article τῶν. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* VI 428 *dulcis vitae exsortes, et ad ubere raptos. A limbus infantum* appears to have been a feature of early Orphic pictures of the underworld (Dieterich *Nek.* p. 158). It is unwise to insert ἀποθανόντων (Ast, Stallbaum) or ἀπογενομένων (Herwerden, Baiter) after γενομένων, or to read <ἀπο>-γενομένων (Cobet), for, as Schneider observes, "de mortuis hic agi in aperto est." Schneider's own interpretation may be gathered from his note "nec nostrates, opinor offenderet von denen, die eben erst geboren gewesen etiam non addito als sie starben." I agree with Stallbaum in doubting whether εὐθύς can have this meaning: and it is safer, I think, to

understand εὐθύς γενόμενοι in the ordinary way. Others think that only one category is intended, taking ὀλίγον χρόνον βιούντων as equivalent to ἀποθανόντων (Purves, and so also D. and V. "those whose death followed close upon their birth"). But καὶ cannot be so easily ignored.

15 εἰς δὲ θεοὺς κτλ. Cf. Xen. *Mem.* IV 4. 19, 20 παρὰ πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις πρῶτον νομίζεται τοὺς θεοὺς σέβειν. Οὐκοῦν καὶ γονέας τιμᾶν πανταχοῦ νομίζεται; Καὶ τοῦτο, ἔφη, and Pind. *Pyth.* 6. 23—27 and other passages in Nägelsbach *Nachhom. Theol.* pp. 191 ff., 275 ff. The categories of sinners in the *Phaedo* (113 E—114 B) correspond very nearly to those mentioned here. Cf. Dieterich *Nek.* pp. 165 ff.

16 αὐτόχειρος φόνου. See *cr. n.* In common with most editors I have adopted αὐτόχειρος in place of αὐτόχειρας. The error was easy, and the change is slight. Schneider understands εἰς before αὐτόχειρας, in a different sense from that which it bears with θεοὺς and γονέας. "Contorta sane loci interpretatio," says Stallbaum, rightly. αὐτόχειρ φόνος (cf. the ἀνδροφόνος of the *Phaedo* l.c.) does not necessarily mean either 'suicide' or 'the murder of near relations' (D. and V.), but merely 'slaying with one's own hand,' 'homicide.' See Jebb on *Soph. Ant.* 55.

18 Ἄρδιαῖος: a purely fictitious personage, no doubt, although verisimilitude is preserved by χιλιόστων: cf. εἶναι δὲ τὴν πορταὶν χιλιέτη 615 A.

615 D 23 οὐδ' ἂν ἥξει. ἂν with the future indicative is scarcely here 'colloquial' (as Goodwin holds, *MT.* p. 66),



XIV. Ἐθεασάμεθα γὰρ οὖν δὴ καὶ τοῦτο τῶν δεινῶν θαυμά-  
 των. ἐπειδὴ ἐγγὺς τοῦ στομίου ἦμεν μέλλοντες ἀνιέναι καὶ τᾶλλα 25  
 πάντα πεπονηότες, ἐκείνόν τε κατείδομεν ἐξαίφνης καὶ ἄλλους  
 σχεδόν τι αὐτῶν τοὺς πλείστους τυράννους· ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἰδιωταί  
 E τινες τῶν μεγάλα ἡμαρτηκότων· οὓς οἰομένους<sup>1</sup> ἦδη ἀναβήσεσθαι  
 οὐκ ἐδέχετο τὸ στόμιον, ἀλλ' ἐμυκάτο, ὅποτε τις τῶν οὕτως ἀνιάτως  
 ἐχόντων εἰς πονηρίαν ἢ μὴ ἰκανῶς δεδοκῶς δίκην ἐπιχειροῖ ἀνιέναι. 30  
 ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἄνδρες, ἔφη, ἄγριοι, διάπυροι ἰδεῖν, παρεστῶτες καὶ  
 καταμανθάνοντες τὸ φθέγμα, τοὺς μὲν διαλαβόντες ἦγον, τὸν δὲ  
 616 Ἀρδιαῖον καὶ ἄλλους συμποδίσαντες χεῖράς τε καὶ πόδας | καὶ

32. διαλαβόντες A<sup>1</sup> q: ἰδίᾳ λαβόντες A<sup>2</sup>Ξ.

but has a solemn, half-tragic or poetical effect. There is the usual supply of emendations, such as οὐδ' αὖ ἤξει (Madvig) οὐδ' ἀνήξει (Herwerden), οὐδὲ μὴ ἤξει (Cobet), οὐδὲ δὴ ἤξει (Richards); but the idiom is sufficiently well established (see on VI 492 C), and, as Turner remarks, the variant ἤξει (in Ξ and three other MSS) is itself also evidence in favour of ἄν.

27 σχεδόν τι—τυράννους. Cf. *Gorg.* 525 D οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολλοὺς εἶναι τοῦτων τῶν παραδειγμάτων ἐκ τυράννων καὶ βασιλέων καὶ δυναστῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν πόλεων πραξάντων γεγονότας.

ἦσαν δὲ καὶ κτλ.: not "erant vero etiam aliqui privati ex eorum numero, qui magna perpetraverant facinora" (Stallbaum), but "erant vero etiam nonnulli privati et quidem de genere magnorum peccatorum" (after Schneider). With ἦσαν cf. *Phaed.* 59 B ἦν δὲ καὶ Κτήσιππος and *Prot.* 315 A.

615 E 29 ἐμυκάτο. Cf. *Arist. an. post.* II 11. 94<sup>b</sup> 32 βροντᾶ—ὥς οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι φασιν, ἀπειλῆς ἕνεκα τοῖς ἐν τῷ τартάρῳ, ὅπως φοβούνται (quoted by Zeller<sup>5</sup> I p. 451 n. 3). See also *Plut. de gen. Socr.* 591 C. The remarks of Proclus on this part of the myth deserve quotation: πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα φρικῶδεις μὲν ποιεῖ τὰς πονῆρας καὶ ἀπαραιτήτους, ἀνυπερβλήτους δὲ τὰς μοχθηρίας δέκνυνσι τῶν κολαζομένων, εἴπερ καὶ τὰ ἄψυχα φωνὴν ἀφήσιν ἐμψυχον κατ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ κολάζοντα φάσματα δυσαντίβλεπτα καὶ τὰ δεσμοτῆρια ἄφνκτα (l.c. p. 180).

29 ἀνιάτως ἐχόντων. Cf. *Phaed.* 113 E οἱ δ' ἂν δόξωσιν ἀνιάτως ἔχειν διὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἡμαρτημάτων κτλ. See on II 380 B.

31 ἄνδρες—ἄγριοι κτλ. These are the

prototypes of the κολάζοντες ἄγγελοι of later apocalyptic literature: see for example *Petri Apoc.* vv. 21, 23 (Dieterich *Nek.* pp. 4 and 60). Cf. also Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* XIII 13. 5.

ἔφη: sc. ὁ ἐρωτώμενος (supra D).

32 τοὺς μὲν—ἦγον. διαλαβεῖν παλαιστρινόν τι (Hesychius). The word is explained in Bekker *Anecd.* 36 as τὸ ἐκατέρωθεν τινος λαβεῖσθαι. Cf. *Hdt.* IV 68 διαλαβόμενος ἄγεται, I 114 al. Some malefactors they seized in this forcible way and marched off direct to Tartarus (see on 616 A): others, and among them Ardiaeus, they tortured first, and utilised as παραδείγματα (infra 616 A n.). Schneider translates "die nehmen die einen und führten sie abseits," understanding διαλαβεῖν as 'take aside': a usage for which the lexica rightly or wrongly quote Aesch. *F. L.* 41 διαλαμβάνων γὰρ ἕκαστον ἡμῶν ἐν μέρει. The variants ἰδίᾳ λαβόντες (Ξ and some other MSS), ἰδίᾳ παραλαβόντες (Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* XIII 13. 5 and Clem. *Strom.* V 133 Migne) etc. point to a similar but not identical interpretation: cf. also Proclus l.c. p. 182. 6 ff. διαλαβόντες γὰρ ἄγονσιν οἱ μὲν ἄλλους, οἱ δὲ ἄλλους· τοῦτο γὰρ τὸ διαλαβεῖν, οἷον διανείμασθαι τὰς κολάσεις. But τοὺς μὲν seems clearly to refer to some of the ἀνιάτως ἐχόντες, and none of this class is likely to have met with gentle treatment at the hands of the ἄνδρες διάπυροι. In *Phaed.* 113 E all the incurables are thrown εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον, ὅθεν οὐποτε ἐκβαλόντων. It may be noted that the reading διαλαβόντες is confirmed by Plutarch's imitation τοῦτον ἢ Δίκη διαλαβοῦσα (*de ser. nupi.* vīnd. 565 A).

κεφαλὴν, καταβαλόντες καὶ ἐκδείραντες, εἵλκον παρὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκτὸς ἐπ' ἀσπαλάθων κνάπτοντες καὶ τοῖς αἰεὶ παριούσι σημαίνοντες, ὧν ἕνεκά τε καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον ἐμπεσούμενοι ἄγοντο. 5 ἔνθα δὴ φόβων ἔφη πολλῶν καὶ παντοδαπῶν σφίσιν γεγνονότων τοῦτον ὑπερβάλλειν, μὴ γένοιτο ἐκάστω τὸ φθέγμα, ὅτε ἀναβαίνοι, καὶ ἀσμενέστατα ἕκαστον σιγήσαντος ἀναβῆναι. καὶ τὰς μὲν δὴ δίκας τε καὶ τιμωρίας τοιαύτας <sup>1</sup> τινὰς εἶναι καὶ αὐτὰς εὐεργεσίας B

3. κνάπτοντες Ξ q<sup>2</sup>: κνάμπτοντες A: κνάπτονταις satis trito errore pro κνάπτοντες q<sup>1</sup>. 4. ὅτι εἰς Ξ q: εἰς ὅ, τι A. 6. τοῦτον A<sup>2</sup> (addito ω super posterius o a manu rec.) et q: τούτων A<sup>1</sup>Ξ.

616 A 3 ἐκτός: i.e. outside the στόμιον. It seems to me quite clear from this passage that the δαιμόνιος τόπος is not in the aether, as Proclus appears to suppose (l.c. pp. 128 ff.), but somewhere on the true surface of the earth as described in *Phaed.* 109 E ff.

ἐπ' ἀσπαλάθων κνάπτοντες. ἐπὶ κνάφον ἔλκων = διαφθείρων. τὸ γὰρ πρότερον οἱ γραφεῖς ἀκανθῶν σωρὸν συστρέψαντες, τὰ ἱμάτια ἐπὶ τοῦ σωροῦ ἔκναπτον. ὁ δὲ σωρὸς ἐλέγετο γνάφος. ὁ οὖν Κροῖστος τὸν ἔχθρὸν περιέβαινε ταῖς ἀκάνθαις καὶ οὕτως ἔφθειρεν (Hesychius, with reference to Hdt. I 92). In the Apocalypse of Peter v. 30 we read of χάλικες ὀξύτεροι ξιφῶν καὶ παντὸς ὀβελίσκου, πεπυρμένον, καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ ἄνδρες ῥάκη ῥυπαρά ἐνδεδυμένοι ἐκυλλόντο ἐπ' αὐτῶν κολαζόμενοι. The form κνάμπτοντες appears in A (see *cr. n.*) and several MSS, but κνάμπτω is a bye-form of γνάμπτω and means not 'card' but 'bend' (Stephanus-Hase s.v.).

τοῖς αἰεὶ παριούσι κτλ. According to Norden l.c. p. 393 the idea that incurable sinners serve as παραδείγματα in Hades is probably Orphic or Pythagorean. It meets us also in Pindar (*Pyth.* 2. 21 ff., of Ixion) and in Virg. *Aen.* vi 618 ff. Phlegyasque miserrimus omnes Admonet, et magna testatur voce per umbras 'Discite iustitiam moniti, et non temere divos.' The fullest exposition of the theory is to be found in *Gorg.* 525 B—D.

4 ὧν ἕνεκά τε κτλ. The words ταῦτα ὑπομένουσιν, which Schneider still retains after ἕνεκά τε, have scarcely any MS support and are an obvious gloss. The construction is ὧν ἕνεκά τε ἄγοντο καὶ ὅτι εἰς τὸν Τάρταρον ἐμπεσούμενοι ἄγοντο.

ὅτι εἰς. See *cr. n.* I formerly, with Hermann and Baiter, read εἰς ὅ τι, regarding τὸν Τάρταρον as a gloss. But there

is reason in Richards' remark that ὁ or ὅποι would be more natural than εἰς ὅ τι: and in any case it is hardly likely that Plato would have omitted to specify the destination of these sinners by its name. Cf. *Phaed.* 113 E (quoted above on 615 E) and (for Plato's conception of Tartarus) ib. 112 A ff.

5 ἔφη: sc. ὁ ἐρωτώμενος (615 D), as before.

σφίσιν: i.e. to ὁ ἐρωτώμενος and his comrades.

6 τοῦτον ὑπερβάλλειν. The words τὸν φόβον, which Ξ and other MSS add after ὑπερβάλλειν, may be genuine, but as they are absent from A, q and several MSS besides, it is perhaps safer to omit them.

7 καὶ τὰς μὲν κτλ. At this point Er's own narrative is resumed.

616 B 8 τὰς εὐεργεσίας: 'the blessings which they received.' This clearly refers, as Proclus also believed (l.c. p. 185), to the souls ἐν τῇ ὑπὸ γῆς πορεία. See on 615 B, and compare Matthew Arnold's well known poem 'Saint Brandan.'

616 B—617 D After spending seven days in the meadow, the souls that had returned from the journey of a thousand years rose up and departed, accompanied by Er. On the fourth day they reached a place from which they beheld a straight light, like a pillar, stretching through all Heaven and Earth, and after a day's journey they saw at the middle of this light the extremities of the chains of Heaven, and stretching from these extremities the spindle of Necessity with its eight concentric whorls, the circles of whose rims as they revolve carry with them severally the fixed stars and all the planets in their order. On each of the eight whorls is perched a Siren, uttering a single note, the eight notes thus produced result-

ταύταις ἀντιστρόφους. ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι ἐκάστοις  
ἐπτὰ ἡμέραι γένοιτο, ἀναστάντας ἐντεῦθεν δεῖν τῇ ὁγδόῃ πορεύε- 10

ing in a single 'harmony' or mode. Meanwhile the three Fates, as they assist in the revolutions, keep singing to the Sirens' music, Lachesis hymning the past, Clotho the present, and Atropos the future.

616 B ff. The astronomical difficulties in this part of the *Republic* have occasioned a great deal of controversy and discussion. Besides the various editions and translations of the *Republic* in English and German, and the commentaries of Proclus and Theo, the writers whom I have chiefly studied are Grote (*Plato on the Earth's Rotation*), Boeckh (*Kleine Schriften* III pp. 266—320), Donaldson (*Transactions of the Cambridge Philosophical Society*, x pp. 305—316), Susemihl (*Gen. Entw.* II pp. 273—278), Krohn (*Pl. St.* pp. 278—289) and Zeller<sup>5</sup> I pp. 434 f. *iii*. Donaldson's article, to which Dr Jackson first called my attention, although it lacks consistency and clearness, and passes over many difficulties, contains the germ of what I now believe to be the correct theory of the straight light. But nothing that has hitherto been published on the subject supplies at once a full and satisfactory explanation of the difficulties, and it is only through the kind cooperation of Professor Cook Wilson that I have at last been able to form a definite view as to the meaning and solution of this extremely complicated problem. From 616 B to the middle of 617 B my commentary is mainly based on the exhaustive criticisms and investigations which he has sent to me.

The general scope and purpose of the astronomical part of the myth would seem to be to set before the souls a picture of the 'harmonies and revolutions of the Universe' in conformity with which it is their highest duty and privilege to live. Cf. *Tim.* 90 C, D τῷ δ' ἐν ἡμῖν θεῷ ἐννοή-  
μεν εἶναι κινήσεις αἱ τοῦ παντός διανοή-  
σεις καὶ περιφοραί· ταύταις δὲ ἐννοούμενον  
ἐκαστον δεῖ τὰς περὶ τὴν γένεσιν ἐν τῇ  
κεφαλῇ διεφθαρμένας ἡμῶν περιόδους ἐξορ-  
θοῦντα διὰ τὸ καταμανθάνειν τὰς τοῦ  
παντός ἁρμονίας τε καὶ περιφοράς τῷ κατα-  
νοομένῳ τὸ κατανοοῦν ἐξομοιωσάι κατὰ τὴν  
ἀρχαίαν φύσιν, ὁμοιωσάντα δὲ τέλος ἔχειν  
τοῦ προτεθέντος ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ θεῶν ἀρίστου  
βίου πρὸς τε τὸν παρόντα καὶ τὸν ἔπειτα

χρόνον. It will facilitate the study of the details if we observe in advance that Plato's description falls into two well-marked divisions or sections, viz. from ἀφικνεῖσθαι τεταρτάλους down to τὴν περιφορὰν (616 B, C), and from ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἁκρῶν (616 C) to the end of the myth. In the first section we have a representation of the outermost or sidereal sphere, girdled by a circle of light, which is prolonged through the poles into a column or shaft of light spanning the Universe from pole to pole and symbolizing to all appearances the cosmical axis. See on line 14 below. In the second section the scene is shifted, and we are introduced to a new picture of the celestial system, including the fixed stars, but without the encompassing girdle of light, assimilated to the poetical and suggestive figure of Necessity and her spindle, the shaft of which again represents the axis of the Universe. The details are fully discussed in the notes, where it is shewn that the two parts of the description cannot from their very nature be combined into a coherent and consistent whole, and that in consequence of their essential inconsistency Plato's passing attempt to reconcile them inevitably fails. See on ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἁκρῶν κτλ. 616 C and App. VI.

If the question is asked, 'Does Plato's description embody a serious astronomical theory of the visible heaven and its machinery?' what answer should be returned? The following remarks will indicate the kind of reply which seems to be in harmony both with Plato's general attitude on astronomical questions and with the special peculiarities of the myth before us. (1) The visible heavens, according to the *Republic*, are not the object of true Astronomy. The true Astronomer is concerned with αἶς τὸ ὄν τάχος καὶ ἡ οὐσα βραδυτὴς ἐν τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἀριθμῷ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἀληθέσι σχήμασι φοράς τε πρὸς ἀλλήλα φέρεται καὶ τὰ ἐνόντα φέρει (VII 529 D. See note ad loc.). We may therefore expect imagination and idealism to play a large part in Plato's astronomical pictures, more especially when they form part of a myth. (2) The greater portion of this passage is in reality a similitude representing the celestial system under the figure of the spindle of Necessity.



σθαι, καὶ ἀφικνεῖσθαι τεταρταίους ὅθεν καθορᾶν ἄνωθεν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τεταμένον φῶς εὐθύ, οἶον κίονα, μάλιστα τῇ ἱριδι προσφερές, λαμπρότερον δὲ καὶ καθαρώτερον· εἰς δ' ἀφικέ-

13. προσφερές Ξ et corr. A<sup>2</sup>: προσφερῇ A<sup>1</sup>.

Now it is clear that Plato deliberately sacrificed the reality of the sidereal sphere when he found it inconsistent with the figure which he had chosen (see on κύκλους κτλ. 616 D). And if he could concede so much to his comparison, the question arises, 'Are we justified in regarding any of the machinery as seriously expressing Plato's real conception of the mechanism of the heavens?' It will be found on reflection that the only satisfactory and safe reply is that all the machinery, including the material whorls and axis of the spindle, is poetical throughout. This does not of course exclude the supposition that some of the details of Plato's imagery are borrowed from earlier astronomical fancies, and it is highly probable that here, as elsewhere in the myth, he takes something from the Pythagoreans: see on 616 C, D, 617 B. (3) The entire description should in all probability be regarded as "essentially a symbolic representation and not an attempt at scientific explanation" (Cook Wilson). But 'a symbolic representation should stand in some relation to the thing signified,' and in this case all we can reasonably infer from Plato's symbolism is that, according to his belief, the Earth is in the middle: the Sun, Moon and Planets revolve round the Earth at different distances from the centre and with different velocities, participating in the general movement of the heavens and at the same time having a contrary movement of their own. As for the fixed stars, it would seem from the first part of Plato's description that he supposed them to be fixed in the outermost sphere of the Universe, round which he plainly supposes that the circle of the Milky Way extends. See also on 616 C, 617 A.

616 B 11 καὶ ἀφικνεῖσθαι κτλ. 'And on the fourth day they arrived at a point from which they descried extending from above through all the heaven and earth a straight light, like a pillar, resembling the rainbow more than anything else, but brighter and purer.' The souls see the light for the first time on the fourth day after they begin their march, and con-

sequently on the eleventh day from Er's arrival at the meadow. The remaining incidents occupy one day, and it is on the twelfth that Er revives (δωδεκαταῖος—ἀνεβίω 614 B). See on ἔωθεν in 621 B. As far as the Greek is concerned, ἄνωθεν may be construed either with καθορᾶν or with τεταμένον. In the former case, we should probably have to suppose (with Boeckh l.c. p. 299) that Er's point of view is outside the Universe; but it will be shewn in Appendix VI that there are serious difficulties in the way of this supposition, and the second alternative is to be preferred. It has already been remarked that Plato in all probability thinks of the λειμῶν as somewhere on the true surface of the Earth described by him in the myth of the *Phaedo* (614 C n.), and it is apparently along this surface that the souls progress until they come in view of the light. As regards the shape and position of the light, Plato's language is clear and precise. The light is 'straight, like a pillar,' and 'stretched through all the heaven and earth.' The only natural interpretation of these words is that a column or shaft of light spans the entire Universe, like the diameter of a circle, and passes through the centre of the Earth, which, according to Plato, is situated in the middle of the whole (*Phaed.* 108 E ff., *Tim.* 40 B). With διὰ παντὸς—τεταμένον we may compare *Tim.* 40 B τὸν διὰ παντὸς πόλον τεταμένον (of the axis of the Universe). The words μάλιστα τῇ ἱριδι προσφερές refer, not of course to the shape, but to the colour of the light, as appears from λαμπρότερον δὲ καὶ καθαρώτερον. The correction of προσφερῇ to προσφερές in A (see *cr.* n.) is late, but προσφερές is intrinsically a better reading, and might easily have been altered to προσφερῇ under the influence of κίονα. In defence of προσφερῇ Schneider cites ἀπωχτενυμένον in VI 485 D, but the two cases are not exactly parallel: see note ad loc. Other views on this passage are discussed in App. VI.

13 εἰς δ' ἀφικέσθαι κτλ. 'At this light they arrived after a day's march forward, and there, at the middle of the light' etc.

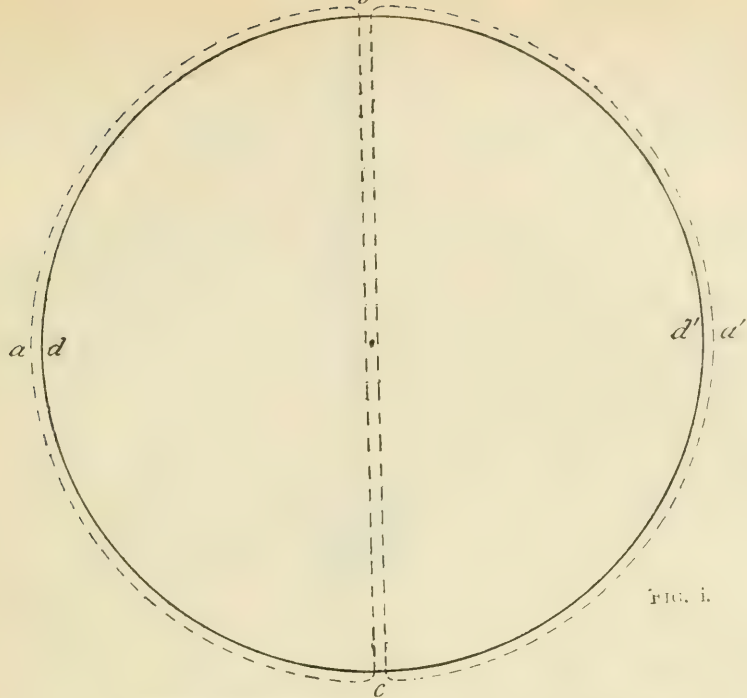


FIG. I.



FIG. II.



FIG. iii.

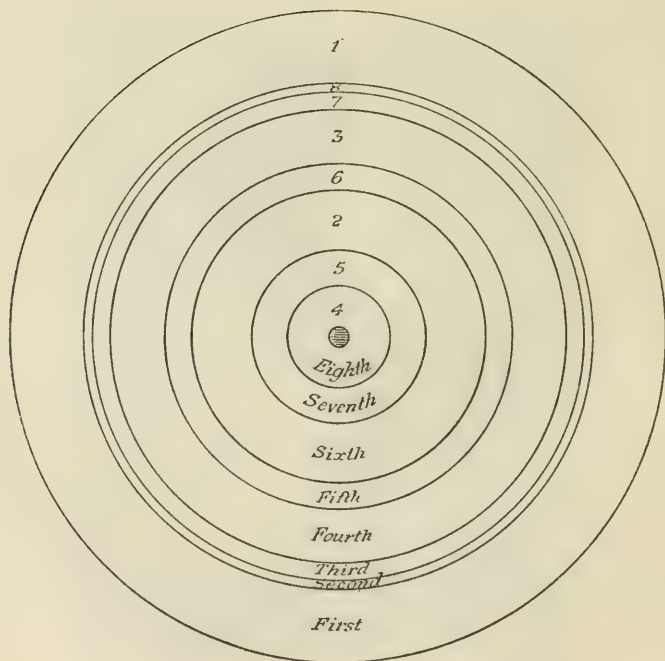


FIG. iv.



σθαι προελθόντας ἡμερησίαν ὁδὸν καὶ ἰδεῖν αὐτόθι κατὰ μέσον ἰ τὸ

14. προελθόντας q: προελθόντες AΞ.

Instead of προελθόντας, A and other MSS have προελθόντες (see *cr. n.*), which Schneider defends by saying that the nominative refers not to all the party, but only to Er and his immediate companions. But even in that case the accusative would be more correct, and in point of fact it is clear from what follows that Er is accompanied throughout by *all* the souls about to be born again. A few other MSS besides q have the accusative. If the light is 'straight, like a pillar,' and stretches 'through all the heaven and earth,' it follows that as the Earth is in the middle of the Universe, the 'middle of the light' will be at the centre of the earth. See fig. i on p. 443. No other interpretation of κατὰ μέσον τὸ φῶς is either natural or easy: see App. VI. It would seem therefore that at the end of the fourth day after leaving the meadow the souls are at the central point both of the Universe and of the Earth, as is maintained by, among others, Schneider and Donaldson (l.c. p. 307); and this view is also in harmony with some of the most important features in the remaining part of the narrative: see on 617 B, 621 A, B.

14 καὶ ἰδεῖν αὐτόθι κτλ. 'and there, at the middle of the light, they saw, extended from heaven, the extremities of its chains; for this light chains the heavens, holding together all the revolving firmament, like the undergirders of men of war.' The pronoun αὐτοῦ is ambiguous, and as far as concerns the grammar might be referred either to τοῦ οὐρανοῦ or to τὸ φῶς. If we choose the former alternative, αὐτοῦ will be an objective genitive, denoting that which is bound; if the latter, the meaning, as Professor Cook Wilson points out, is 'its chains,' 'its bands,' i.e. 'the chains of which the light consists,' for in the next clause the light is said to be a chain (ξύνδεσμος). The second of these views is on grammatical grounds somewhat more natural than the first; but whichever alternative we adopt, it is clear from the explanatory clause εἶναι γὰρ—περιφορὰν, not only that the chains are the binding chains of heaven, but also that it is the light itself, and nothing else, which fulfils the function of binding the Universe together (εἶναι γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ φῶς ξύνδεσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ). In what

way the light performs this office, Plato indicates by the much-disputed words οἷον τὰ ὑποζώματα τῶν τριηρῶν. The evidence on the subject of the 'undergirders' of ancient men of war has been collected and discussed by Boeckh *Urkunden über d. Seewesen des Attischen Staates* pp. 133—138: see also J. Smith *Voyage and Shipwreck of St Paul* pp. 210—215 and Breusing *Nautik d. Alten* pp. 170—184. It may be taken as established that the ὑποζώματα were ropes and not planks, as some of the ancient commentators supposed (e.g. Proclus in *remp.* II p. 200. 25, a Scholiast quoted by Kroll l.c. II p. 381, and Suidas s.v. ὑποζώματα, who follows a scholium on Ar. *Knights* 279), and also that they were fastened round the *outside* of the vessel; but on the question whether the ὑποζώματα ran round the ship in a horizontal direction, or were passed under the hull, there is more room for difference of opinion. The former view is maintained by Boeckh and Breusing, the latter by J. Smith (l.c. pp. 108 f., 115, 210—215), who reminds us that a similar process, known by the name of 'frapping,' is still occasionally resorted to in the case of wooden ships during a storm at sea (pp. 108 f.). The evidence bearing on this matter has recently been investigated by Professor Cook Wilson (see Report of the Proceedings of the Oxford Philological Society for Hilary Term 1902 in *Cl. Rev.* XVI p. 234), who will shortly publish a detailed discussion of the whole subject. In the meantime he writes to me as follows:—"After careful reading of all the passages quoted by the authorities I feel sure (what one might infer *a priori* from the mechanical conditions) that this method" [i.e. frapping] "was known to the ancients, and was the method used in an emergency at sea, as e.g. in St Paul's ship. I conjecture also that these undergirders first had the name ὑποζώματα, and that if the belts or girdles supposed by Boeckh had this name, it was transferred to them from the true undergirders, which were probably the first and primitive form and remained in use always, even after the trireme belts had been invented." The evidence in short, points to two kinds of ὑποζώματα (*Cl.*

15 φῶς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰ ἄκρα αὐτοῦ τῶν δεσμῶν τεταμένα· εἶναι γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ φῶς ξύνδεσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, οἷον τὰ ὑποζώματα τῶν

*Rev.* l.c.), the first employed occasionally under exceptional circumstances, and passing under the hull of the vessel, the second (see Boeckh l.c. p. 137) forming part of the regular equipment of a warship, attached before she went to sea, and running horizontally round the hull. The second variety is clearly represented on a bronze relief of the forepart of a war vessel, said to date from Roman imperial times, and now in the Berlin Museum. The sketch of the relief on p. 443, fig. ii. is from a photograph in the possession of Professor Cook Wilson. There is also a (somewhat inaccurate) drawing of the relief in Beger *Thesauri regii et electoralis Brandenburgici* Vol. III p. 406. (Some writers, and among them J. Smith, have maintained that the longitudinal bands in Beger's picture are only ornaments, and not ropes; but it is quite clear from the photograph that they are really ropes and serve as ὑποζώματα of the horizontal kind.) To which of the two varieties does Plato here allude? The words οἷον τὰ ὑποζώματα τῶν τριηρῶν, οὕτω πᾶσαν συνέχον τὴν περιφορὰν, seem clearly to regard the ὑποζώματα as permanent σκεύη of warships, holding the hull together in ordinary circumstances, and not merely resources to be employed in times of difficulty and danger; and since the light whose action the ὑποζώματα serve to illustrate is (in Plato's view) an essential part of the Universe, the illustration is better and more pointed if the ὑποζώματα are also of the more permanent sort. It may also be noted that if Plato had meant the undergirders which pass under the keel he would probably have written ὑποζώματα τῶν νεῶν, and not ὑποζώματα τῶν τριηρῶν, for the vertical ὑποζώματα were not confined to triremes. For these reasons it would seem that Plato has in view such ὑποζώματα as are described by Boeckh, viz. girdles running round the hull from stern to stem outside the vessel.

It is clear, therefore, that the light not only passes through the centre of the Universe, but also, since it holds the heavens together, like the undergirders of men of war, round the outer surface of the heavenly sphere.

I have tried to represent the kind of picture in Plato's mind by fig. i on p. 443.

The sphere of the heavens—represented by the circle *dd'*, which is a section of the heavenly sphere—is virtually compared to a ship. The North pole, which is at *b*, corresponds to the stem, and the South pole, which is at *c*, to the stern of the vessel. The circular light *caba'c* corresponds to the ὑποζώματα, *cab* being that part of the light which corresponds to the ὑποζώματα on the port side, and *ca'b* the portion which corresponds to the ὑποζώματα on the starboard side. As the light in Plato's description passes through the centre of the Universe as well as round its exterior, the comparison of the light to horizontal ὑποζώματα would be all the more apposite if we might suppose that these ὑποζώματα were brought inside from stem to stern lengthwise and parallel to the ship's length, in a manner corresponding to the position of the straight part of the 'binding light.' But for this supposition there is no evidence, and it is clear from fig. ii that the lower ὑποζώματα at least could not have been brought inside, for they are below the water line. We must accordingly suppose that the comparison with ὑποζώματα extends only to that part of the light which surrounds the surface of the heavenly sphere. That the ends of the light are brought inside the sphere in Plato's picture is clear from the fact that the light stretches 'through all the heaven and earth' as well as round the Universe, and also because the souls see the 'ends of its chains' or bands at the middle of the light itself, which is also the centre of the Universe and Earth. We may presume that the ἄκρα τῶν δεσμῶν meet together at the centre, so that *bc* forms one continuous pillar of light stretching from pole to pole. See fig. i on p. 443.

The light was interpreted by some ancient commentators as the axis of the Universe, or a cylinder of aetherial fire surrounding the axis (Theop. p. 143 Hiller, Suidas and Photius s.v. τεταμένον φῶς: cf. also Proclus *in temp.* II p. 199. 31 ff.), by others as the γαλαξίας κύκλος or Milky Way: see Proclus l.c. pp. 130. 4, 194. 19 ff. and Cicero *de rep.* VI 16. According to the view given above, the column of light follows the direction of the axis of the Universe, if, as we may reasonably

τρίῳ, οὕτω πᾶσαν συνέχον τὴν περιφορὰν· ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄκρων

suppose,  $\delta$  is the pole, and although Plato nowhere actually calls it the axis, we may fairly suppose that this is what it symbolises. I have found no parallel in ancient astronomical theories to this conception of a light stretching from pole to pole. The curved part of the light is no doubt suggested by the Milky Way, which was regarded by the Pythagoreans as either identical with, or an emanation from the circle of fire which, according to them, held the Universe together (Zeller<sup>5</sup> I p. 435 n. 2). I have sometimes thought that the soul with which in the *Timaeus* the Creator wrapped the body of the Universe without has reference also to the Milky Way as girdling the World; for the Pythagoreans called the γαλαξίας κύκλος the τόπος ψυχῶν. Plato's words are (*Tim.* 34 B) ψυχῇ δὲ εἰς τὸ μέσον αὐτοῦ θεὸς διὰ παντός τε ἔτεινε καὶ ἔτι ἔξωθεν τὸ σῶμα αὐτῇ περιέκλυψε. The parallel is certainly noteworthy, although περιέκλυψε in the *Timaeus* rather points to a complete envelopment of the heavens, and διὰ παντός to the universal diffusion of the world-soul throughout the Universe.

616C 17 ἐκ δὲ τῶν ἄκρων κτλ.: 'and from the extremities they saw extended the spindle of Necessity, by which all the revolving spheres are turned. The shaft and hook thereof are made of adamant, and the whorl partly of adamant, and partly of other materials.' With this sentence we pass to the second part of Plato's description, in which he tries to depict the movements of the celestial bodies by a new image—that of Necessity and her spindle. Regarded in itself, this image is tolerably clear and coherent, if we are willing to allow a large admixture of supernatural mechanics; but Plato fails to shew how it is to be reconciled with what has just preceded, and no one has hitherto succeeded in effecting the reconciliation, without doing violence to the Greek. See on 616 D, E and App. VI. The rapid imagination of the writer has already escaped from the earlier picture and fallen under the spell of a new conception, and we shall best apprehend his meaning if we consider what the peculiar nature of that conception demands. The ordinary spindle was shaped somewhat as in figure iii on p. 444, in which  $a$   $\delta$  is the shaft, and  $c$  the whorl.

(There is no hook in the figure: but its position would of course be at  $a$ .) The fibres were attached to the hook and twisted into a thread by the revolutions communicated to the spindle by the finger and thumb: see Blümner *Technologie* etc. I pp. 109—120, from whom the figure is borrowed. It is essential to the notion of a spindle that the hook should be fastened to the fibres which are to be spun. For this reason Plato finds it necessary, in using the similitude of a spindle, to attach the hook (ἄγκιστρον) to something which may correspond to the fibres; and he accordingly fastens it to the ends of the chains of light depending from the heavens in his previous image, at the point where these ends meet the ends from below, κατὰ μέσον τὸ φῶς. If we treat this construction as a piece of serious mechanics, Plato's device is open to many obvious criticisms. In fastening the spindle to the ἄκρα τῶν δεσμῶν from above, he forgets or ignores the ends from below. It will further be observed that he says nothing about the direction of the spindle: it is merely 'stretched from the ends' of the chains. We shall presently see that the shaft of the spindle symbolises the axis of the Universe, so that—if we are to connect the two images in Plato's mind—it is natural to suppose that the spindle extends downwards, following the line of the light. Here again there are difficulties, the most serious of which perhaps is that, as the axis of the Universe must go through the earth, the effect of attaching the spindle 'at the middle of the light' will be to depress the earth itself below the centre of the whole. But it should be remembered that Plato's object in this passage is not to furnish a scientific account of the celestial mechanism: see below on 616 D, E, 617 A. We are dealing with a work of literature and not of science, and the machinery of a myth ought not to be rigorously scrutinized from the scientific point of view. Inconsistencies of this kind are found to be inseparable from such poetical representations of the Universe. In the present case they arise chiefly from the juxtaposition of two essentially irreconcilable conceptions—that of a sphere girdled and traversed by light, and that of Necessity and her spindle. See on 616 D, E. For the rest, it should



τεταμένον Ἀνάγκης ἄτρακτον, δι' οὗ πάσας ἐπιστρέφεσθαι τὰς περιφοράς· οὗ τὴν μὲν ἡλακάνην τε καὶ τὸ ἄγκιστρον εἶναι ἐξ ἀδάμαντος, τὸν δὲ σφονδύλον μεικτὸν ἐκ τε τούτου καὶ ἄλλων γενῶν. τὴν δὲ τοῦ σφονδύλου<sup>1</sup> φύσιν εἶναι τοιαύδε· τὸ μὲν σχῆμα D οἷα περ ἢ τοῦ ἐνθάδε· νοῆσαι δὲ δεῖ ἐξ ὧν ἔλεγεν, τοιούδε αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ ἐν ἐνὶ μεγάλῳ σφονδύλῳ κοίλῳ καὶ ἐξεγλυμμένῳ διαμπερές ἄλλος τοιοῦτος ἐλάττων ἐγκέοιτο ἀρμόττων, καθάπερ οἱ 25 κάδοι οἱ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀρμόττοντες· καὶ οὕτω δὴ τρίτον ἄλλον καὶ τέταρτον καὶ ἄλλους τέτταρας. ὁκτὼ γὰρ εἶναι τοὺς ξύμπαντας σφονδύλους, ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐγκειμένους, κύκλους ἄνωθεν τὰ χεῖλη<sup>1</sup>

be noted that adamant symbolises τὸ ἀπαθές καὶ ἀδάμαστον (cf. Proclus l.c. II 209. 22), and is the appropriate material for the ἡλακάνη, since in Plato's picture the ἡλακάνη stands for the axis of the whole. ἡλακάνη is not elsewhere found in the sense of the shaft of a spindle: ordinarily it means 'distaff.' See on 616 D, E below. Plato does not inform us in what way the whorl is μεικτὸν ἐκ τε τούτου (i.e. ἀδάμαντος) καὶ ἄλλων γενῶν: but I think he means that while the outermost circle, which is the circle of ταῦτόν (Tim. 36 C), is composed of adamant, the others, which form collectively the circle of θάτερον, are made, either in whole or in part, of less durable stuff. Herwerden rejects the preposition before ἀδάμαντος, without any reason that I can see.

616 C, D 21 τὴν δὲ τοῦ σφονδύλου φύσιν κτλ. The whorl of Necessity's spindle is a composite structure, consisting of eight concentric hemispheres, fitted into one another like a nest of boxes: see below on 616 E. The adverb διαμπερές should be construed with ἐξεγλυμμένῳ.

616 D, E 27 κύκλους κτλ.: lit. 'shewing their rims as circles above' ("so dass sie ihre Ränder oben als Kreise zeigen" Schneider). Cf. 616 E τὸν τοῦ χεῖλους κύκλον. The translation "each concentric circle shewing its rim above the next outer" (D. and V.) betrays a complete misapprehension of the whole passage. Donaldson (l.c.) gives the sense correctly: "shewing their rims on the surface like so many circles." The words νῶτον—ἐληλάσθαι mean 'forming a single whorl, with a continuous surface, round the shaft, which is driven right through the middle of the eighth,' not "and on their lower side all together

form one continuous whorl" (Jowett). νῶτον is regularly thus used of the upper surface of an object: cf. for example Phaedr. 247 B ἔξω πορευθεῖσαι ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ νῶτῳ. It is important to observe that there is no interval between the different lips: cf. Proclus l.c. II 216. 15 ff. ἡ συνέχεια τῆς ἐναρμόσεως διὰ τὸ μὴ παρεμπίπτειν κενὸν συνεχές ποιεῖ τὸ ἐκ πάντων νῶτων ἐννοούμενον νῶτον ἀπὸ κυρτῆς εἰς κυρτὴν διήκον, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάτης ἐπὶ τὴν πρωτίστην, and see on 616 E below. On ἡλακάνην Proclus remarks εἰ δὲ διαμπερές ἐληλάσθαι διὰ πάντων φησὶν τὴν ἡλακάνην, συντόμως καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐξέφηγεν, δι' ἣν ἡλακάνην τὸν ἄξονα προσείρκεν, καὶ ὅτι παρὰ τὸ ἐληλάσθαι (l.c. p. 214. 26 ff.). As the usual meaning of ἡλακάνη is 'distaff' and not the shaft of a spindle, I think it not unlikely that Proclus is right in this suggestion. For other verbal plays in the myth cf. 620 E n.

In the rims of the different whorls are set the fixed stars and planets in the following order, beginning from the outside (see figure iv on p. 444):—

In the first.	The fixed stars.
" second.	Saturn.
" third.	Jupiter.
" fourth.	Mars.
" fifth.	Mercury.
" sixth.	Venus.
" seventh.	The Sun.
" eighth.	The Moon.

Cf. Tim. 38 C f., where also, as here, Plato is following the Pythagorean order of planets: see Zeller<sup>5</sup> I pp. 426 f. and (on the whole subject of ancient arrangements of the planets) Hultsch in Pauly-Wissowa, art. *Astronomie* and Schaubach *Gr. Astron.* pp. 398 ff. Some later authorities make Plato place Venus before

Ε φαίνοντας, νῶτον συνεχές ἐνὸς σφονδύλου ἀπεργαζομένους περὶ τὴν ἡλακάνην· ἐκείνην δὲ διὰ μέσου τοῦ ὀγδοῦ διαμπερές ἐληλάσθαι. τὸν μὲν οὖν πρῶτόν τε καὶ ἐξωτάτω σφόνδυλον πλατύτατον τὸν 30

Mercury (see for example Diels *Doxogr. Gr.* p. 345), but the order which I have given is in accord with [*Epin.*] 986 c—987 c, and with the views represented by Proclus l.c. p. 219. 3 ff.

This conception of close-fitting concentric whorls, carrying the heavenly bodies in their rims or 'lips,' appears to be unique in ancient astronomy. How was Plato led to devise so original an idea? Possibly in this way. It would seem that the Pythagoreans had already developed the astronomical doctrine of Anaximander into a theory of celestial spheres, maintaining that the stars were "fastened in transparent circles or spheres, and turned round by the revolution of these circles on their axes" (Zeller<sup>5</sup> I p. 415). In order to suit his image of the spindle and whorl, Plato apparently takes these Pythagorean spheres, and cuts them in half, producing a series of hemispheric cups or whorls, in the circular 'lips' of which the celestial bodies are fastened or bound (*ἐνδεδεμένα*, says Theo 150. 14 Hiller: cf. also Proclus l.c. 219. 24).

So far as the Sun, Moon and Planets are concerned, the resulting picture is clear and intelligible, but it is impossible to conceive of the fixed stars as occupying the 'lip' of one of the hemispherical whorls in the way in which the Sun for example may be supposed to do so. Whatever view we hold of the rest of the picture, it is likely that in this particular at least Plato himself did not think his comparison adequate to exhibit the phenomena: for in C above he has already represented the outermost heavens, in which dwell the fixed stars, not as the lip of a hemispherical shell or hollow, but as an actual sphere (*πᾶσαν συνέχον τὴν περιφορὰν*). (The inconsistency is noteworthy as shewing that the two images employed by Plato are fundamentally irreconcilable. See on 616 c.) By this and other indications we may be led to suspect that the whole theory of hemispherical whorls is only a device rendered necessary by Plato's similitude. If he had any opinion on the subject at all, he may have accepted the Pythagorean doctrine of spheres; but no conclusion on this matter can be drawn

from the *Republic*. Cf. 617 A η.

616 E 30 τὸν μὲν οὖν πρῶτόν τε κτλ. According to this reading, which was known to Proclus (l.c. pp. 218 ff.) and is found in all our MSS without any important variation except the omission of *ἐκτον* (line 31) in Vat. Θ, the order of the different whorls in respect of breadth of rim, beginning with the broadest, is as follows:—

1. Whorl of Fixed Stars (first)
2. " " Venus (sixth)
3. " " Mars (fourth)
4. " " Moon (eighth)
5. " " Sun (seventh)
6. " " Mercury (fifth)
7. " " Jupiter (third)
8. " " Saturn (second).

See fig. iv on p. 444. (This figure, which is a simplified form of a drawing in Professor Campbell's *Plato's Republic*, published by Murray 1902, is intended to illustrate the upper surface of the whorl of Necessity's spindle. The small disc in the centre represents a section of the shaft, and the order of breadths of rim is indicated by the arabic numerals.) What does Plato mean us to understand by the different degrees of breadth of rim? On this subject I formerly wrote:—"The simple and natural explanation is that the breadth of the rims represents the size of the different planets. Each rim must of necessity be broad enough to contain the planet which resides in it, and no reason can be conceived why it should be any broader" (*Cl. Rev.* xv p. 392). In maintaining this view, I supposed that the surfaces of the different whorls were separated from one another by an interval representing the distances between the several planets, interpreting *νῶτον* in 616 E (with Jowett) as the *lower* and not the *upper* side of the entire whorl. But, as Professor Cook Wilson points out, the Greek does not allow of this interpretation, for *ἀρμόττων, καθάπερ οἱ κάδοι οἱ εἰς ἀλλήλους ἀρμόττοντες*, and *νῶτον συνεχές ἐνὸς σφονδύλου ἀπεργαζομένους περὶ τὴν ἡλακάνην* (616 D, E) shew conclusively that the individual whorls are fitted closely into one another like a nest of boxes, their upper surfaces forming one continuous plane. Cf. Proclus

τοῦ χείλους κύκλον ἔχειν, τὸν δὲ τοῦ ἔκτου δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ τετάρτου, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ ὀγδόου, πέμπτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἐβδόμου, ἕκτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ πέμπτου, ἔβδομον δὲ τὸν τοῦ τρίτου, ὀγδοὺν δὲ τὸν τοῦ δευτέρου. καὶ τὸν μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου ποικίλον,  
 35 τὸν δὲ τοῦ ἐβδόμου λαμπρότατον, τὸν δὲ τοῦ ὀγδόου τὸ χρῶμα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐβδόμου ἔχειν | προσλάμποντος, τὸν δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ 617 πέμπτου παραπλήσια ἀλλήλοις, ξανθότερα ἐκείνων, τρίτον δὲ λευκότερον χρῶμα ἔχειν, τέταρτον δὲ ὑπέρυθρον, δεύτερον δὲ λευκότητι τὸν ἕκτον. κυκλεῖσθαι δὲ δὴ στρεφόμενον τὸν ἄτρακτον

l. c. 216. 8 μηδενὸς γὰρ ὄντος κενοῦ μεταξὺ τῶν ἐνηρμοσμένων σφονδύλων κτλ. From this it follows that, if the breadth of a rim is equal to the diameter of its planet, "planets in the same part of their orbit will touch one another, and if we carry out the principle to the centre whorl, the moon will be always touching the earth. Moreover the outer planet will be continually grazing a fixed star" (Cook Wilson). These considerations are fatal to the view which I advocated; and I take this opportunity of retraction. The theory which has most in its favour, as I now see, is that "the breadth of the rims is intended to signify the supposed distances of the orbits from each other" (Jowett and Campbell). "It would be extraordinary," writes Professor Cook Wilson, "that Plato in representing the heavenly system by his whorls should not have represented somehow the distances between the orbits of the heavenly bodies, and the obvious way to do this was by making the thickness of the spheres to which they are attached, or (as he prefers whorls on account of the distaff of Necessity), the breadth of the rims of the whorls, symbolise these different distances." On this view the natural position of the planet will be "close to the outer edge of its rim, and touching the outer surface of its hemisphere." For a further discussion of this subject see App. VI.

The reading in the text is described by Proclus (l. c. II pp. 218-222) as δευτέρα καὶ νεωτέρα, κρατούσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς κεκωλισμένοις (κεκολασμένοις, conjectures Pitra) ἀντιγράφοις. Proclus tells us that there was also another reading, προτέρα καὶ ἀρχαιότερα, which we can see from his description to have been as follows:— τὸν μὲν οὖν πρῶτον τε καὶ ἐξωτάτω σφόνδύλῳ πλατύτατον τὸν τοῦ χείλους κύκλον

ἔχειν, τὸν δὲ τοῦ ἐβδόμου δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ ὀγδόου, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἔκτου, πέμπτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ τετάρτου, ἕκτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ τρίτου, ἔβδομον δὲ τὸν τοῦ δευτέρου, ὀγδοὺν δὲ τὸν τοῦ πέμπτου. The origin, authority and interpretation of this reading are discussed in App. VI.

34 τὸν μὲν τοῦ μεγίστου: sc. σφονδύλου χείλους-κύκλον.

ποικίλον. The epithet ποικίλον means 'spangled,' rather than "exhibiting a variety of colours" (D. and V.). The reference is to the heavens 'stellis ardentibus aptum': cf. Proclus l. c. 222. 29 φησὶ ποικίλον μὲν εἶναι τὸν τοῦ μεγίστου διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀπλανῶν ἀστέρων ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ κύκλῳ ποικίλλαν and VII 529 C n.

35 τὸν δὲ τοῦ ἐβδόμου κτλ. The attributes which belong to the planets are poetically transferred to the rims which they inhabit.

τὸν δὲ τοῦ ὀγδόου. We infer that Plato believed the moon to be an opaque body fastened in the eighth rim and lightened by the Sun. The discovery that the moon shines with borrowed light was ascribed to Anaximenes (Zeller<sup>5</sup> I p. 248).

617 A I τὸν δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου καὶ πέμπτου κτλ. The second and fifth are Saturn and Mercury, or Φαίνων and Στλιβων, as they were sometimes called, with reference to their brightness or colour. See the *de mundo* 2. 392<sup>a</sup> 23 ff. Yellow, according to Plato, is a mixture of white and red (*Tim.* 68 B). The third (τρίτον δέ) or Jupiter was known also as Φαέθων, and the fourth, or Mars, as Πυρρεῖς. Venus, which is the sixth, and comes next to Jupiter in whiteness, had the name Φωσφόρος (*de mundo* l. c.). Cf. [*Epin.*] 986 E ff. and Diels *Dox. Gr.* 344.

4 κυκλεῖσθαι δὲ δὴ κτλ. Cf. *Tim.* 36 C, D. The whorl of the fixed stars revolves from East to West, bearing with



ὅλον μὲν τὴν αὐτὴν φοράν, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὅλῳ περιφερομένῳ τοὺς μὲν 5  
 ἐντὸς ἑπτὰ κύκλους τὴν ἐναντίαν τῷ ὅλῳ ἡρέμα περιφέρεσθαι,  
 Β αὐτῶν δὲ τούτων τάχιστα μὲν ἵεναι τὸν ὄγδοον, δευτέρους <sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ  
 ἅμα ἀλλήλοις τὸν τε ἔβδομον καὶ ἕκτον καὶ πέμπτον, τρίτον δὲ  
 φορᾷ ἵεναι, ὡς σφίσι φαίνεσθαι, ἐπανακυκλούμενον τὸν τέταρτον·  
 τέταρτον δὲ τὸν τρίτον καὶ πέμπτον τὸν δεύτερον. στρέφεσθαι δὲ <sup>10</sup>  
 αὐτὸν ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἀνάγκης γόνασιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κύκλων αὐτοῦ

7. αὐτῶν Α<sup>2</sup>Ξ q: αὐτὸν Α<sup>1</sup>.

8. τρίτον q: τὸν τρίτον ΑΞ.

it in its revolution the other seven whorls. In this way Plato portrays the apparent daily revolution of the stars and planets. In order to represent the movements of the Sun, Moon and planets in their own particular orbits, Plato says that each of the seven inner whorls is all the while pursuing on its own account a motion in the opposite direction, viz. from West to East. The revolving whorls in the words of Proclus, 'carry round the stars' (περιάγουσι τοὺς ἀστέρας l.c. p. 226. 12) which are situated in their rims.

Would the mechanism of Plato's picture really produce the movements which it is intended to portray? The question may be interesting, but is irrelevant. Imaginary machines have imaginary properties; and Plato himself invokes the assistance of supernatural beings to carry on the movements (617 C). The important point to keep in mind, as Professor Cook Wilson observes, is that "Plato has realised that the apparent phenomena are what we call a composition of movements (or velocities). This composition of movements he is not attempting to explain, by giving the sort of machinery which he thought really produced it, but he is endeavouring to make us understand what the movements *are* (not how they originate), by putting the objects concerned in an imaginary machine, the movements of which we can represent to the senses, and which would produce such movements in the objects as they actually have." For similar reasons it is impossible to draw any inference from this passage as to the question whether Plato believed in the daily revolution of the earth. In the *Timaeus*, according to Grote (*Plato on the Earth's Rotation*, pp. 13 ff.), the cosmical axis is "a solid cylinder revolving or turning round, and causing thereby the revolution of the circumference or the sidereal sphere," and

necessarily also carrying round with itself the Earth, which is massed or globed round the axis of the whole (εἰλλομένην περὶ τὸν διὰ παντὸς πόλον τεταμένην *Tim.* 40 B. 'Massed' or 'packed' is Boeckh's interpretation of εἰλλομένην, with which Grote also agrees; but whether the word really bears this meaning, is another question, which we need not here discuss.) In support of his explanation of the passage in the *Timaeus*, Grote appeals to the myth of the *Republic*; and the appeal would be justified if Plato's figure of Necessity's spindle were intended to explain the *cause*, and not merely to represent the *form*, of the celestial motions. As it is, the *Republic* does not warrant any conclusion either way. Cf. 616 D, E η.

7 τάχιστα μὲν κτλ. Cf. *Tim.* 38 C, D, 39 C, 40 B and [*Epin.*] 986 E ff.

617 B 8 ἅμα ἀλλήλοις. Πλάτων καὶ οἱ μαθηματικοὶ ἰσοδρόμους εἶναι τὸν ἥλιον, τὸν ἑωσφόρον (Venus), Στίλβωνα (Mercury): see Diels *Dox. Gr.* 346 and cf. *Tim.* 36 D, [*Epin.*] 986 E and Proclus l.c. 226. 21. Plato's language certainly means that these three bodies travel at the same pace, and if their speed is the same, obviously they cannot complete their orbits in the same period. But it is doubtful whether the contradiction was present to Plato's mind, and Proclus may be right in holding that Plato was really thinking of the periods of the planets (l.c. and in *Tim.* 259 C). See also on 617 B below.

τρίτον δὲ κτλ. See *cr. n.* The article, which was first rejected by Schleiermacher, is probably a dittographical mistake. Schneider, Hermann and Baier retain it, despite the ambiguity.

9 ἐπανακυκλούμενον. The revolution, relatively to that of the whole, is retrograde: hence ἐπανακυκλούμενον.

11 Ἀνάγκης γόνασιν. Plato means us to imagine Necessity as seated in the centre of the Universe. The notion is

ἄνωθεν ἐφ' ἐκάστου βεβηκέναι Σειρήνα συμπεριφερομένην, φωνὴν μίαν ἰεῖσαν, ἓνα τόνον· ἐκ πασῶν δὲ ὅκτῳ οὐσῶν μίαν ἁρμονίαν

probably Pythagorean; for Parmenides, who attaches himself to the Pythagoreans in this part of his system (Zeller<sup>5</sup> I p. 572), speaks of a central Ἀνάγκη as the cause of all movement and birth: see Diels *Dox. Gr.* 335. 12 ff. τῶν δὲ συμμιγῶν (sc. στεφανῶν) τὴν μεσαιτάτην ἀπάσαις τοκέα πάσης κινήσεως καὶ γενέσεως ὑπάρχειν, ἥντινα καὶ δαίμονα κυβερνήτην καὶ κληροῦχον ἐπονομάζει δίκην τε καὶ ἀνάγκην, and Zeller l.c. p. 577 n. 3. (Zeller identifies this Ἀνάγκη with the central fire of the Pythagoreans.) The same school seem also to have held that Ἀνάγκη surrounds and holds the world together (Diels l.c. 321), and Zeller thinks it is this external Ἀνάγκη of which Plato here avails himself (l.c. p. 434 n. 3). But it is quite clear that Plato's Ἀνάγκη is in the middle: see on 616 B and 621 A, B. The interpretation of Plato's symbolism of course is that Necessity and Law spin the threads of life—the life of the Universe as well as that of man. ἐν τοῖς τῆς Ἀνάγκης γόνασιν is an echo of θεῶν ἐν γούνασι κείμεναι and the like: cf. Proclus l.c. 227. 12.

ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κύκλων κτλ. βεβηκέναι means 'is perched,' Proclus *more suo* assures us that the Sirens are ψυχὰι τινες νοερώς ζῶσαι (l.c. 238. 6), but they are of course only a poetic fiction to express the 'music of the spheres.' Cf. *Merchant of Venice* V 1 "There's not the smallest orb which thou behold'st, But in his motion like an angel sings." Plato goes beyond Shakespeare, setting the angels on the orbs and making them sing. Cf. Milton *Arcades* 63 ff. "the celestial Sirens' harmony That sit upon the nine"—in Plato there are only eight—"infolded Spheres." The seven planets by their movements were supposed by the Pythagoreans to give forth sounds corresponding to the notes of the Heptachord. This was probably the original form of the 'Music of the Spheres.' Later, it was held that the circle of the fixed stars had also a note of its own, and a 'harmony' or mode (see on III 398 E ff.) resulted like that of the Octachord. The underlying idea of the doctrine of the 'Music of the Spheres' was well expressed by Dorylaeus when he said the Universe was the 'organum Dei' (Censor. *de die natali* 13; cf. also Milton *Ode on the Nativity*

"And bid the bass of heaven's deep organ blow"). See also next note.

12 φωνὴν μίαν, ἓνα τόνον: 'a single sound, a single musical note.' "Additum ἓνα τόνον per exegesis est" (Stallbaum). Cf. Proclus l.c. 236. 27 ff. ἡ μὲν γὰρ μία φωνὴ δηλοῖ τὴν ἀμετάβολον τοῦ τῆς ἐνεργείας εἶδους εἰς ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο μέλος ὑπαρξέν, ὡς ἐκάστος Σειρήνος αἰετὴν αὐτὴν ἰέσην φωνήν· ὁ δὲ εἰς τόνος τὴν ποιὰν φωνὴν ἐδήλωσεν εἰς ἐνὸς ἀπήχησιν φθόγγον τελοῦσαν· παρὰ γὰρ τὴν τὰς σιν καὶ ὁ φθόγγος καλεῖται τόνος. There is also perhaps a slight rhetorical effect, though less than in τὸ δεινόν, τὸ μέγα IX 590 A. The reading ἓνα τόνον is confirmed by Plut. *de anim. procr.* 1029 C and Proclus in *Tim.* 259 C and in *reip.* l.c. et al. It is difficult to understand ἀνὰ τόνον, which Hermann and Baiter read, following *q* and a few inferior MSS. ἀνὰ τόνον could hardly mean 'one note each,' as Hermann supposes. With regard to the ἁρμονία itself, the pitch of the several notes will of course be determined by the speed of the different whorls (cf. VII 530 D n.), so that if we express the notes by the names of the circles which produce them, the ἁρμονία will be:—

Circle of the Fixed Stars (νῆτη)

„ „ „	Moon	
„ „ „	Sun	
„ „ „	Venus	} (μέση)
„ „ „	Mercury	
„ „ „	Mars	
„ „ „	Jupiter	
„ „ „	Saturn (ὑπάτη)	

It is clear that Plato is thinking of a sort of mode (ἐκ πασῶν δὲ ὅκτῳ οὐσῶν μίαν ἁρμονίαν ξυμφωνεῖν), but if we understand ἅμα ἀλλήλοις strictly, there will only be six notes, because Mercury, Venus and the Sun will each have the same note. Difficulties of this sort might have troubled the later Pythagoreans, but scarcely Plato, least of all in an imaginative picture of this kind. We note however that according to Plato the speed of the planets—except in the case of the Sun, Venus and Mercury—diminishes in proportion to their distance from the Earth. Now we may reasonably suppose that Plato thought the more distant planets took longer to complete their orbit than those which are nearer, so that

ξυμφωνεῖν. ἄλλας δὲ καθημένας περίξ δι' ἴσου τρεῖς, ἐν θρόνῳ<sup>1</sup>  
 C ἐκάστην, θυγατέρας τῆς Ἀνάγκης, Μοίρας, λευχειμονούσας, στέμ- 15  
 ματα ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἐχούσας, Λάχσειν τε καὶ Κλωθῶ καὶ  
 Ἄτροπον, ὑμνεῖν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Σειρήνων ἁρμονίαν, Λάχσειν μὲν  
 τὰ γεγυρότα, Κλωθῶ δὲ τὰ ὄντα, Ἄτροπον δὲ τὰ μέλλοντα. καὶ  
 τὴν μὲν Κλωθῶ τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ ἐφαπτομένην συνεπιστρέφειν τοῦ  
 ἀτράκτου τὴν ἔξω περιφορὰν, διαλείπουσαν χρόνον, τὴν δὲ Ἄτρο- 20  
 D πον τῇ ἀριστερᾷ τὰς ἐντὸς αὐῷ ὡσαύτως· τὴν δὲ Λάχσειν<sup>1</sup> ἐν μέρει  
 ἐκατέρας ἐκατέρα τῇ χειρὶ ἐφάπτεσθαι.

it is by no means improbable that in speaking of the speed of the planetary movements, Plato really had in his mind the time occupied by the orbital periods and not the rate of progression of the planets themselves. See also above on ἅμα ἀλλήλοις. In that case the octave will be complete, because in order to complete their orbits in the same time, the Sun, Venus and Mercury will have to travel at different rates of speed. Later writers knew all about the Music of the Spheres, and a choir of eight Neo-Pythagoreans would have had no difficulty in rendering it on a small scale: see for example von Jan's *Mus. Scr. Gr.* pp. 241 ff., 271 ff., 418 f. Cf. also Zeller<sup>5</sup> 1 pp. 429–434.

617 C 15 Μοίρας, λευχειμονούσας. Ettig l.c. p. 309 n. 3 thinks this an Orphic trait, comparing *Frag.* 253 Abel Μοίρας—λευκοστόλους.

16 ἐπὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν. These words are bracketed by Herwerden, on the ground that περὶ τὰς κεφαλὰς would alone be good Greek, an opinion which few scholars will share.

17 Λάχσειν μὲν κτλ. Lachesis is the Fate of the Past, Clotho of the Present, and Atropos of the Future: cf. *Laws* 960 c, where Plato approves of the ancient tradition Λάχσειν μὲν τὴν πρώτην εἶναι, Κλωθῶ δὲ τὴν δευτέραν, τὴν Ἄτροπον δὲ τρίτην and Proclus l.c. 244. 20 ff. The positions of Lachesis and Atropos were sometimes interchanged, as for example in [Arist.] *de mundo* 7. 401<sup>b</sup> 18 ff. τέτακται δὲ κατὰ μὲν τὸ γεγονὸς μία τῶν Μοιρῶν, Ἄτροπος, ἐπεὶ τὰ παρελθόντα πάντα ἀτρεπτά ἐσιν, κατὰ δὲ τὸ μέλλον Λάχσις (eis πάντα γὰρ ἢ κατὰ φύσιν μένει λήξις), κατὰ δὲ τὸ ἐνεστώς Κλωθῶ, συμπεραίνουσά τε καὶ κλώθουσι ἐκάστω τὰ οἰκέα: cf. also Proclus l.c. 244.

19 τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ. The right hand is reserved for the outermost whorl, or

circle of the Same, which is the more honourable, and itself, according to *Tim.* 36 c, moves ἐπὶ δεξιᾷ: the left for the less honourable circle of the Other, which moves ἐπ' ἀριστερᾷ (ib.). Pythagorean influence is doubtless at work again here: cf. 614 c n.

συνεπιστρέφειν: "cum matre simul vertere" (Ficinus).

20 τὴν ἔξω περιφορὰν κτλ. The circle of the Same may be taken as the type of that which 'is': hence it is entrusted to Clotho, the Fate of τὰ ὄντα. The courses of the Planets or 'wandering' stars are symbolical of the unknown and (as it seems to us) uncertain Future, so that they are appropriately given to the Fate of the Future, i.e. Atropos. διαλείπουσαν χρόνον means 'leaving intervals' i.e. 'from time to time.' Clotho leaves off occasionally to make room for Lachesis, as Plato explains in τὴν δὲ Λάχσειν below. Similarly also Proclus l.c. 252. 8.

21 ὡσαύτως: i.e. διαλείπουσαν χρόνον.

617 C, D 21 τὴν δὲ Λάχσειν κτλ.: 'while Lachesis lays hold of either in turn, the one with the one hand, the other with the other' ("abwechselnd den einen mit der einen, den andern mit der andern angreifend" Schneider). She turns the circle of the Same with her right hand, the others—here treated as a single περιφορὰ as in *Tim.* 36 c—with her left. The translation "laying hold of either in turn, first with one hand and then with the other" (Jowett) is not, I think, what Plato means: for it would seem from what is said of Clotho and Lachesis that the right hand is appropriated to the circle of the Same, the left to that of the Other: see on 617 c. The words ἐν μέρει—if my view is right—belong only to ἐκατέρας ἐφάπτεσθαι and not also to ἐκατέρα τῇ χειρὶ. As the fate



XV. Σφᾶς οὖν, ἐπειδὴ, ἀφικέσθαι, εὐθὺς δεῖν ἵεναι πρὸς τὴν Λάχεσιν. προφήτην οὖν τινὰ σφᾶς πρῶτον μὲν ἐν τάξει διαστή-  
 25 σαι, ἔπειτα λαβόντα ἐκ τῶν τῆς Λαχέσεως γονάτων κλήρους τε καὶ βίων παραδείγματα, ἀναβάντα ἐπὶ τι βῆμα ὑψηλὸν εἰπεῖν· Ἀνάγκης θυγατρὸς κόρης Λαχέσεως λόγος. ψυχαὶ ἐφήμεροι, ἀρχὴ ἄλλης περιόδου θνητοῦ γένους θανατηφόρου. οὐχ ὑμᾶς

Past, Lachesis fitly contributes to both revolutions: for on the Past depends both the Present and the Future. A similar lesson is conveyed by representing the lots and samples of lives as lying in the lap of Lachesis: cf. also 620A κατὰ συνῆθειαν—αἰρεῖσθαι and 620 E n.

617 D—619 A *As soon as they arrived upon the scene, the souls were called upon to choose new lives. The order of choosing was determined by lot; but there were many more samples of lives than lots, and every soul was made responsible for its own choice. The moment of choice is the supreme crisis of our fate, and it behoves us to spare no effort to equip ourselves for resisting the attractions of wealth and power, and selecting the better life, that is, the life of virtue.*

27 Ἀνάγκης κτλ. Proclus' remarks on the style of this speech deserve attention: πανταχοῦ μὲν ὁ Πλάτων νοῦν ἡγεμόνα προστησάμενος ὧν φθέγγεται νοερῶν ὄντως ἐπάξια φθέγγεται θεαμάτων· ὅταν δὲ καὶ τοὺς κρείττους ἡμῶν ἀπεικονίζηται, σαφῶς ἐνθεάζοντι προήματα καὶ τοὺς φιλοβλήπτους μιμεῖται, ῥήματα ἀφίεις ὥσπερ βέλη νοῦ γέμοντα καὶ ὑψηλὸν ἐπιβολῶν· συνεξορμώσης δὲ αὐτῷ τῆς ἐρμηνείας ταῖς νοήσεσιν ἀκαλλωπίστως συνεστραμμένοι μὲν χρῆται φθέγμασιν, ἀπολελυμένα δὲ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων αὐτὰ διίστησιν τὴν ἀπὸ λυτον μιμούμενος θέαν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπ' ἄλλων ἐπ' ἄλλα πηδῶσαν· οἷα καὶ διὰ τούτων ἐργάζεται τῶν τοῦ προφήτου λόγων, ἐν ἐλαχίστοις μὲν ἀπερίγητα νοήματα συλλαβῶν, ἀσύνδετα δὲ τὰ πλεῖστα φθεγξάμενος, συστρέφας δὲ τὰ κῶλα τοῖς ἀνέγμασιν παραπλησίως (l.c. 269). The omission of articles also adds dignity and impressiveness: cf. VII 518 A al.

ψυχὰι κτλ. Plato loosely calls the souls ἐφήμεροι, because their connexion with body is transient. In themselves of course, they are immortal—ψυχὴ πᾶσα ἀθάνατος (Phaedr. 245 C). The explanation of Proclus is somewhat different, and, as often happens, too recondite: τὰς μὲν ἀνθρωπίνας ψυχὰς, οὗτι

γε πάσας, ἀλλὰ τὰς γενέσεως ἐπορευομένας ἤδη καλὸν ἐφήμερους, ὡς θνητῶν καὶ ἐφήμερων ἀπτομένους (l.c. 270). περιόδου means of course τῆς ἀπὸ γενέσεως ἐπὶ γένεσιν περιόδου, viz. 1100 years (supra 615 A n.); and θανατηφόρον, 'fraught with death,' 'death-bringing' agrees with περιόδου.

617 D, E 28 οὐχ ὑμᾶς—αἰρήσεσθε. Cf. infra 620 D, E δν εἴλετο δαίμονα—φύλακα ξυμπέμπειν τοῦ βίου καὶ ἀποπληρωτῶν τῶν αἰρεθέντων. Each individual soul is accompanied throughout its life on earth by a δαίμων of its own. This δαίμων is the personification of its destiny throughout that particular life—its *genius* in short, *albus* or *ater* (Hor. *Epp.* II 2. 189), according as the soul is εὐδαίμων or κακοδαίμων. There are not a few traces of this belief before the time of Plato, e.g. in Heraclitus' famous saying ἦθος ἀνθρώπου δαίμων (*Fr.* 121 Bywater) in Pind. *Ol.* 13. 28 Ζεῦ πάτερ—Ξενοφώντας εὐθύνε δαίμονος οὖρον, and often in Euripides (examples in Nägelsbach *Nachkom. Theol.* p. 113); and Döring (l.c. p. 489) is no doubt right in holding that the doctrine was not exclusively Orphic or Pythagorean. According to the popular view, which Plato himself is content to make use of in *Phaed.* 107 D ὁ ἐκάστου δαίμων, ὅσπερ ζῶντα εἰλήχει, we do not *choose* our δαίμων, but are rather allotted to it: cf. *Theocr.* 4. 40 αἱ αἰ τῷ σκληρῷ μάλα δαίμονος, ὅς με λέλογχεν, and the fine lines of Menander ἅπαντι δαίμων ἀνδρὶ συμπαρίσταται | εὐθὺς γενομένην, μυσταγωγὸς τοῦ βίου (Mein. *Frag. Com. Graec.* IV p. 238), together with Homer *Il.* XXI 79 (κῆρ) ἥπερ λάχε γεινόμενόν περ. In the emphatic οὐχ ὑμᾶς δαίμων λήξεται, Plato proclaims his dissent from the popular view: the individual is *himself* responsible for his destiny (ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς—αἰρήσεσθε). Hence αἰτία ἐλομένων θεὸς ἀνάιτιος. On later, especially Stoic, developments of the doctrine of a δαίμων see Rohde *Pysche*<sup>2</sup> II p. 316 n. See also on 620 D.

Εἰ δαίμων λήξεται, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς δαίμονα αἰρήσεσθε. πρῶτος δ' ὁ  
 λαχὼν πρῶτος αἰρείσθω βίον, ᾧ συνέσται ἐξ ἀνάγκης. ἀρετὴ 30  
 δὲ ἀδέσποτον· ἦν τιμῶν καὶ ἀτιμάζων πλέον καὶ ἔλαττον αὐτῆς  
 ἕκαστος ἔξει. αἰτία ἐλομένου· θεὸς ἀναίτιος. ταῦτα εἰπόντα  
 ῥίψαι ἐπὶ πάντας τοὺς κλήρους, τὸν δὲ παρ' αὐτὸν πεσόντα  
 ἕκαστον ἀναιρείσθαι, πλὴν οὐ. ἔ δὲ οὐκ ἔαν. τῷ δὲ ἀνελομένῳ  
 618 δῆλον εἶναι, ὁπόστος εἰλήχει. | μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο αὖθις τὰ τῶν βίων 35  
 παραδείγματα εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν σφῶν θεῖναι ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν, πολὺ

30. συνέσται A<sup>2</sup>Ξ q: συνεστε (sic) A<sup>1</sup>.  
 ἦδε q. 35. εἰλήχει A<sup>1</sup>: εἰληχεν A<sup>2</sup>: εἰληκε (sic) Ξ: ἦλεγχε q.

34. ἔ δὲ Ξ: εδε (sic) A<sup>1</sup>: εδει A<sup>2</sup>:

29 πρῶτος—βίον. See on 618 A  
 πολὺ πλείω τῶν παρόντων.

30 ἐξ ἀνάγκης. The choice, though  
 free, is irrevocable: ἐνεδέχετο γὰρ καὶ  
 ἄλλον βίον ζῆν, ἀλλὰ πρὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως,  
 μετὰ δὲ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἀδόνατον (Proclus l.c.  
 275).

ἀρετὴ δὲ ἀδέσποτον. "Mortals that  
 would follow me, Love Virtue, she alone  
 is free" (Milton *Comus* 1018 f.). On  
 Platonic principles, a thing *is* in so far as  
 it is good (VI 509 B ff.), so that our  
 truest individuality is nothing more or  
 less than that which is the best and  
 highest part of our nature: cf. the words  
 of Aristotle, who in *Eth. Nic.* x 7.  
 1178<sup>a</sup> 2 πλατωνίζει as follows: δόξειε δ'  
 ἂν καὶ εἶναι ἕκαστος τοῦτο (i.e. τὸ κρά-  
 τιστον τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ), εἴπερ τὸ κύριον καὶ  
 ἄμεινον. We therefore attain our fullest  
 development and enjoy our only true  
 liberty as individuals by becoming ser-  
 vants of Virtue. In the words of Goethe,  
 "Das Gesetz nur kann uns Freiheit  
 geben." Proclus' comment, though true  
 and instructive as far as it goes, does not  
 exhaust the significance of Plato's saying:  
 ἀδέσποτον δὲ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὸ  
 ἐφ' ἡμῶν μόνον, ἀλλὰ διότι τὴν ψυχὴν  
 ἐλευθέραν ἀποτελεῖ τῶν πικροτάτων δεσπο-  
 τῶν, οἷς ἡ δουλεύουσα τῶν ἀγαθῶν στέρεται  
 πάντων (l.c. 276. 5 ff. Cf. also Pl. *Rep.*  
 I 329 C and especially Xen. *Mem.* IV 5.  
 3—5). The germ of the Platonic doc-  
 trine of moral freedom is to be found in  
 the Socratic οὐδεὶς ἐκὼν πονηρός (see on  
 IX 577 D, E): for its sequel, we should  
 look to the Stoic theory of the freedom of  
 the wise man (ἐλευθέρους τοὺς σπουδαίους  
 μόνον Zeno ap. D. L. VII 33): see  
 especially Epictetus *Gnom. Epict. Stob.*  
 31 ed. Schenkl ἐλευθερία καὶ δουλεία, τὸ

μὲν ἀρετῆς ὄνομα, τὸ δὲ κακίας and the  
 chapter περὶ ἐλευθερίας ib. *Dissert.* IV 1.

32 αἰτία—ἀναίτιος. Cf. II 379 B ff.  
 and *Tim.* 42 D. The whole of Lachesis' speech  
 is frequently quoted or referred to by later  
 Greek writers (see the references in Schneider's  
 note), and these words in particular became a  
 kind of rallying-cry among the champions of the  
 freedom of the will in the early Christian era  
 (Dieterich *Nek.* p. 115 n.). A bust of Plato found  
 at Tibur and dating from the first century  
 B.C. bears the inscription αἰτία ἐλομένῳ  
 (sic). Θεὸς ἀναίτιος, together with ψυχὴ  
 πᾶσα ἀθάνατος (from *Phaedr.* 245 C). See  
 Kaibel IGIS 1196 quoted by Dieterich  
 l.c. With the sentiment itself cf. *Latws*  
 904 B—D.

618 A 2 πολὺ πλείω τῶν παρόν-  
 των. Cf. 619 B, 620 C. The combina-  
 tion of κλήρωσις and αἵρεσις, which ap-  
 pears also in *Phaedr.* 249 B, is according  
 to Thompson "a mythical mode of re-  
 conciling freedom and necessity—choice  
 being left free under limiting conditions."  
 I think the introduction of the lot is  
 rather intended to account for the con-  
 spicuous inequalities between different  
 men in respect of accidents of birth,  
 fortune and the other ἀδιάφορα προηγ-  
 μένα (to use a Stoic term). *Ceteris pari-  
 bus*, a soul would presumably select a  
 μετρίως κεχορηγημένον βίον: where it does  
 not, we may suppose, in general, that the  
 κλήρωσις compelled it to choose late.  
 Cf. Plot. *Ennead.* II 3. 15 οἱ κλήροι τίνες;  
 ἢ—τὸ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τόδε τὸ σῶμα καὶ τῶνδε  
 γονέων καὶ ἐν τούτοις τόποις γίνεσθαι, καὶ  
 ὅλως, ὥς εἴπομεν, τὰ ἔξω. This inter-  
 pretation is supported also by the case of  
 Odysseus below (620 C). See also on  
 619 D.

πλείω τῶν παρόντων· εἶναι δὲ παντοδαπά· ζῶων τε γὰρ πάντων  
 βίους καὶ δὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀνθρωπίνους ἅπαντας. τυραννίδας τε γὰρ  
 5 ἐν αὐτοῖς εἶναι, τὰς μὲν διατελεῖς, τὰς δὲ καὶ μεταξὺ διαφθειρομένας  
 καὶ εἰς πενίας τε καὶ φυγὰς καὶ εἰς πτωχείας τελευτώσας· εἶναι  
 δὲ καὶ δοκίμων ἀνδρῶν βίους, τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ εἵδεσιν καὶ κατὰ κάλλη  
 καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἰσχύν τε<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἀγωνίαν, τοὺς δ' ἐπὶ γένεσιν καὶ προ- B  
 γόνων ἀρεταῖς, καὶ ἀδοκίμων κατὰ ταῦτά· ὥσαύτως δὲ καὶ γυναι-  
 10 κῶν. ψυχῆς δὲ τάξιν οὐκ ἐνεῖναι, διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαίως ἔχειν ἄλλον  
 ἐλομένην βίον ἀλλοίαν γίγνεσθαι· τὰ δ' ἄλλα ἀλλήλοις τε καὶ  
 πλούτοις καὶ πενίαις, τὰ δὲ νόσοις, τὰ δ' ὑγίαιαις μεμίχθαι, τὰ δὲ  
 καὶ μεσοῦν τούτων. ἔνθα δὴ, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὃ φίλε Γλαύκων, ὁ πᾶς  
 κίνδυνος ἀνθρώπων, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα μάλιστα ἐπιμελητέον, ὅπως  
 15 ἕκαστος ἡμῶν<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἄλλων μαθημάτων ἀμελήσας τούτου τοῦ μαθή- C  
 ματος καὶ ζητητῆς καὶ μαθητῆς ἔσται, εἴαν ποθεν οἶός τ' ἦ μαθεῖν

3 ζῶων τε γὰρ κτλ. Did Plato seriously believe in the transmigration of the soul? Teichmüller summarily dismisses the entire theory as unplatonic (*Die Plat. Frage* pp. 1—20), while Susemihl, in harmony with certain ancient writers (see the references in Simson *Der Begriff d. Seele bei Platon* p. 152 n.), takes Plato at his word so far as concerns the passage of the soul into new human bodies, but refuses to allow that he could have believed in transmigration into the forms of the lower animals (*Gnct. Entwick.* II p. 272). Plato's language is however quite explicit, and there is the less reason for resorting to an allegorical interpretation, because the doctrine was already familiar in Greek philosophical and religious thought (see F. Laudowicz *Wesen u. Ursprung d. Lehre v. d. Präexistenz d. Seele* etc. pp. 12—29 and Rohde *Psyche*<sup>2</sup> II pp. 162 ff.), and is itself in general conformity with Plato's own conception of immortality. The doctrine of transmigration meets us frequently in Plato's dialogues, e.g. in *Men.* 81 A ff.; *Phaed.* 81 E ff., 113 A; *Phaedr.* 249 B; *Tim.* 42 B ff.: cf. 91 D ff. Most if not all of these passages have a mythical colouring, and should therefore be read in the light of the caveat which Plato subjoins to the eschatological myth of the *Phaedo*: τὸ μὲν οὖν ταῦτα δυσχερῶσθαι οὕτως ἔχειν, ὡς ἐγὼ διελέλυθα, οὐ πρέπει νοῦν ἔχοντι ἀνδρὶ· ὅτι μέντοι ἡ ταῦτ' ἐστὶν ἡ τοιαυτ' ἅττα περὶ τὰς ψυχὰς

ἡμῶν—ἐπεὶ περ ἀθάνατόν γε ἡ ψυχὴ φαίνεται οὐσα, τοῦτο καὶ πρέπει μοι δοκεῖ καὶ ἄξιον κινδυνεύσαι οἰομένην οὕτως ἔχειν (114 D). That soul is immortal, Plato is firmly convinced: and transmigration he regards as probable, to say the least. Cf. 608 D n.

5 διατελεῖς. This word, for which Cobet proposes διὰ τέλους, is extremely rare in classical Greek, occurring only here and in *Soph. O. C.* 1514.

6 εἰς πενίας κτλ. "Expectes εἰς φυγὰς τε καὶ πενίας καὶ εἰς πτωχείας κτλ." (Herwerden). The text may well stand. Plato contrasts poverty and exile (πενίας τε καὶ φυγὰς) with beggary, presumably at home (καὶ εἰς πτωχείας).

618 B 10 ψυχῆς δὲ τάξιν—γίγνεσθαι. Cf. *Hom. Od.* XVIII 136 f. τοῖος γὰρ νόος ἐστὶν ἐπιχθονίαν ἀνθρώπων | οἷον ἐπ' ἡμᾶρ ἄγῃσι πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, XVII 322 f. and *Empedocles* 319 f. Karsten ὅσσον γ' ἄλλοιτοι μετέφυν, τόσον ἄρ σφισιν αἰεὶ | καὶ τὸ φρονεῖν ἄλλοιτα παρίστατο with Karsten ad loc. See also on I 335 B.

11 τὰ δ' ἄλλα: sc. except ψυχῆς τάξιν. In τὰ ἄλλα are included κάλλος, προγόνων ἀρεταί etc.

13 μεσοῦν τούτων: i. q. μεσοῦντα εἶναι τούτων, viz. πλούτων καὶ πενιῶν, νόσων καὶ ὑγίαιων. Cf. 619 A τὸν μέσον—τῶν τοιοῦτων βίον.

618 C 15 τοῦ μαθήματος and μαθεῖν καὶ ἐξευρεῖν are bracketed by Herwerden. The emphatic pleonasm is thoroughly Platonic. Cf. V 472 c et al.



καὶ ἐξευρεῖν, τίς αὐτὸν ποιήσει δυνατόν καὶ ἐπιστήμονα, βίον καὶ χρηστὸν καὶ πονηρὸν διαγιγνώσκοντα, τὸν βελτίω ἐκ τῶν δυνατῶν αἰεὶ πανταχοῦ αἰρεῖσθαι, ἀναλογιζόμενον πάντα τὰ νῦν δὴ ῥηθέντα, καὶ ξυντιθέμενα ἀλλήλοις καὶ διαιρούμενα, πρὸς ἀρετὴν βίου 20

D πῶς ἔχει, καὶ εἰδέναι τί κάλλος πενία ἢ πλοῦτω κραθὲν<sup>1</sup> καὶ μετὰ ποίας τινὸς ψυχῆς ἕξως κακὸν ἢ ἀγαθὸν ἐργάζεται, καὶ τί εὐγένειαι καὶ δυσγένειαι καὶ ἰδιωτεῖαι καὶ ἀρχαὶ καὶ ἰσχύες καὶ ἀσθένειαι καὶ εὐμαθίαι καὶ δυσμαθίαι, καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα τῶν φύσει περὶ ψυχὴν ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἐπικτήτων τί ξυγκεραννύμενα πρὸς 25 ἄλληλα ἐργάζεται, ὥστε ἐξ ἀπάντων αὐτῶν δυνατόν εἶναι συλλογισάμενον αἰρεῖσθαι, πρὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς φύσιν ἀποβλέποντα τὸν

E τε χεῖρω καὶ τὸν ἀμείνω βίον χεῖρω<sup>1</sup> μὲν καλοῦντα ὃς αὐτὴν ἐκείσε ἄξι, εἰς τὸ ἀδικωτέραν γίγνεσθαι, ἀμείνω δὲ ὅστις εἰς τὸ δικαιοτέραν. τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα χαίρειν ἑάσει· ἐωράκαμεν γάρ, 30 ὅτι ζῶντί τε καὶ τελευτήσαντι αὕτη κρατίστη αἴρεσις. ἀδαμαντί-

619 | νως δὴ δεῖ ταύτην τὴν δόξαν ἔχοντα εἰς<sup>2</sup> Αἰδοῦ ἰέναι, ὅπως ἂν ἡ καὶ ἐκεῖ ἀνέκπληκτος ὑπὸ πλοῦτων τε καὶ τῶν τοιούτων κακῶν, καὶ μὴ ἐμπεσὼν εἰς τυραννίδας καὶ ἄλλας τοιαύτας πράξεις πολλὰ μὲν ἐργάσθαι καὶ ἀνῆκεστα κακά, ἔτι δὲ αὐτὸς μείζω πάθη, ἀλλὰ γινῶ τὸν μέσον αἰεὶ τῶν τοιούτων βίον αἰρεῖσθαι καὶ φεύγειν τὰ 5 ὑπερβάλλοντα ἐκατέρωσε καὶ ἐν τῷδε τῷ βίῳ κατὰ τὸ δυνατόν B καὶ ἐν παντὶ τῷ ἔπειτα· οὕτω γὰρ εὐδαιμονέστατος<sup>3</sup> γίγνεται ἄνθρωπος.

XVI. Καὶ δὴ οὖν καὶ τότε ὁ ἐκεῖθεν ἄγγελος ἡγγελλε τὸν μὲν προφήτην οὕτως εἰπεῖν· καὶ τελευταῖω ἐπιόντι, ξὺν νῷ ἐλομένω, 10

21. καὶ εἰδέναι Ξ q: εἰδέναι A.

10. νῷ A<sup>2</sup>Ξ: om. A<sup>1</sup> q.

21 καὶ εἰδέναι. See *cr. n.* καὶ is found in several MSS besides Ξ and q. Hermann removes the καὶ before ξυντιθέμενα and places it before ἀναλογιζόμενον, but ἀναλογιζόμενον "necessario cum αἰρεῖσθαι cohaeret" (Schneider).

618 D 27 αἰρεῖσθαι κτλ. αἰρεῖσθαι 'to make his choice' is used absolutely as in 620 A. πρὸς τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς κτλ. means 'defining the worse and the better life with reference to the nature of the soul, calling that worse' etc. (So also Schneider.) The two parts of τὸν τε χεῖρω καὶ τὸν ἀμείνω βίον are afterwards taken separately in χεῖρω μὲν and ἀμείνω δέ, as with so-called 'partitive apposition': cf. 611 D and IV 431 A n. Others

take αἰρεῖσθαι with τὸν τε χεῖρω καὶ τὸν ἀμείνω βίον, but αἰρεῖσθαι is different from διαιρεῖσθαι and the possibility of a zeugma is excluded because τὸν χεῖρω precedes τὸν ἀμείνω and not *vice-versa*.

618 E 29 ἐκείσε looks forward, of course, to εἰς τὸ ἀδικωτέραν γίγνεσθαι. Herwerden's ἐκεῖ (= ἐν Αἰδοῦ) is both needless and wrong: for the soul becomes ἀδικωτέρα, if at all, during its life on earth: in Hades it is purged.

30 ἑάσει. Ξ and ν, followed by editors before Schneider, have εἰν. The future is easy if the sentence be made independent.

619 B 10 ξὺν νῷ. On ξὺν see IV 424 E n.

συντόνως ζῶντι κείται βίος ἀγαπητός, οὐ κακός. μήτε ὁ ἄρχων αἰρέσεως ἀμελείτω, μήτε ὁ τελευτῶν ἀθυμείτω. εἰπόντος δὲ ταῦτα τὸν πρῶτον λαχόντα ἔφη εὐθὺς ἐπιόντα τὴν μεγίστην τυραννίδα ἐλέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης τε καὶ λαιμαργίας οὐ πάντα ἱκανῶς  
 15 ἀνασκεψάμενον ἐλέσθαι, ἄλλ' αὐτὸν λαθεῖν ἐνοῦσαν εἰμαρμένην C παίδων αὐτοῦ βρώσεις καὶ ἄλλα κακά· ἐπειδὴ δὲ κατὰ σχολὴν σκέψασθαι, κόπτεσθαι τε καὶ ὀδύρεσθαι τὴν αἴρεσιν, οὐκ ἐμμένοντα τοῖς προρρηθείσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ προφήτου· οὐ γὰρ ἑαυτὸν αἰτιάσθαι τῶν κακῶν, ἀλλὰ τύχην τε καὶ δαίμονας καὶ πάντα μᾶλλον ἀνθ'  
 20 ἑαυτοῦ. εἶναι δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἡκόντων, ἐν τεταγμένη πολιτείᾳ ἐν τῷ προτέρῳ βίῳ βεβιωκότα, ἔθει ἄνευ φιλοσοφίας ἁρετῆς μετεिल्ηφότα. ὥς δὲ καὶ εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἐλάττους εἶναι ἐν τοῖς D τοιοῦτοις ἀλίσκομένους τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἡκοντας, ἅτε πόνων ἀγυμνάστους· τῶν δ' ἐκ τῆς γῆς τοὺς πολλούς, ἅτε αὐτοὺς τε  
 25 πεπονηκότας ἄλλους τε ἑωρακότας, οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς τὰς αἰρέσεις ποιεῖσθαι. διὸ δὴ καὶ μεταβολὴν τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ταῖς

11 **συντόνως ζῶντι**: according to the motto (ἀπλοῦς καὶ) ἀπενῆς (VIII 547 E). **συντόνως ζητοῦντι**, which Herwerden conjectured, appears in *q* and Flor. U: but the reading of *A* is far more characteristic and significant.

619 B—620 D *Many were the instances of hasty and foolish choosing: and many the changes resulting both from choice and from the action of the lot. He who is ever faithful to the life of true philosophy, and whose lot does not fall out among the last, will be happy throughout all time. The spectacle was indeed one fitted to move pity, smiles, and wonder. In most cases, the souls chose in conformity with their previous lives—Orpheus, for example, selecting the life of a swan, Ajax that of a lion, and so on. It chanced that Odysseus had drawn the last lot of all, and after long search he found and joyously laid hold of the peaceful life of a private individual, for he was wearied of all his labours. There were changes from beasts to men, and from men to beasts, and every form of permutation.*

619 C 21 **ἔθει ἄνευ φιλοσοφίας κτλ.** Cf. *Phaed.* 82 A f. οἱ τὴν δημοτικὴν καὶ πολιτικὴν ἀρετὴν ἐπιτετηδευκότες, ἣν δὴ καλοῦσι σωφροσύνην τε καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἐξ ἔθους τε καὶ μελέτης γεγονούαν ἄνευ φιλο-

σοφίας τε καὶ νοῦ, and see also on VI 500 D, 506 C. It is interesting to observe that philosophic virtue is not a *sine qua non* for admission to the Platonic heaven. Throughout the whole myth, rewards and punishments are distributed for good and bad actions rather than for knowledge and ignorance (cf. 615 B ff.); and correct opinion or 'Orthodoxy,' in Plato's sense of the word, provided the lines have fallen to it in pleasant places, may well have been both blameless and beneficent on earth. But in the moment of supremest peril (618 B), when we have to choose another life, it is Knowledge, and not 'Orthodoxy,' that prevails. In the *Phaedo* l.c. Plato says that the 'orthodox' probably enter as before *eis* τοιοῦτον—πολιτικὸν τε καὶ ἡμερον γένος, ἢ που μελιττῶν ἢ σφηκῶν, ἢ μυρμηκῶν, ἢ καὶ *eis* ταῦτόν γε πάλιν τὸ ἀνθρώπινον γένος, καὶ γίγνεσθαι ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνδρας μετρίους.

619 D 22 **ὥς δὲ καὶ εἰπεῖν**: not "according to Er's account" (D. and V.), but 'as one might say,' 'broadly speaking,' i.e. ὥς ἔπος εἰπεῖν. Cf. *Laus* 639 E (ξύμπανθ' ὥς εἰπεῖν), 795 D, *Soph.* 220 E, *Phaedr.* 258 E, and [*Erin.*] 976 E. These examples are cited by Grünenwald in Schanz's *Beiträge zur hist. Synk. d. Gr. Spr.* II 3. pp. 21 ff.

πολλαῖς τῶν ψυχῶν γίγνεσθαι καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ κλήρου τύχην.  
ἐπεὶ εἴ τις αἰεὶ, ὅποτε εἰς τὸν ἐνθάδε βίον ἀφικνοῖτο, ὑγιῶς φιλο-  
Ε σοφοῦ, <sup>1</sup> καὶ ὁ κλήρος αὐτῷ τῆς αἰρέσεως μὴ ἐν τελευταίοις πίπτει,  
κινδυνεύει ἐκ τῶν ἐκεῖθεν ἀπαγγελλομένων οὐ μόνον ἐνθάδε εὐδαι- 30  
μονεῖν ἄν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν ἐνθένδε ἐκείσε καὶ δεῦρο πάλιν πορεύειν  
οὐκ ἂν χθονίαν καὶ τραχείαν πορεύεσθαι, ἀλλὰ λείαν τε καὶ οὐρα-  
νίαν. ταύτην γὰρ δὴ ἔφη τὴν θέαν ἀξίαν εἶναι ἰδεῖν, ὥς ἕκασται  
620 αἱ ψυχαὶ ἡροῦντο τοὺς βίους. | ἐλεεινὴν τε γὰρ ἰδεῖν εἶναι καὶ  
γελοῖαν καὶ θαυμασίαν. κατὰ συνήθειαν γὰρ τοῦ προτέρου βίου  
τὰ πολλὰ αἰρεῖσθαι. ἰδεῖν μὲν γὰρ ψυχὴν ἔφη τὴν ποτε Ὀρφῆως  
γενομένην κύκνου βίου αἵρουμένην, μίσει τοῦ γυναικείου γένους διὰ  
τὸν ὑπ' ἐκείνων θάνατον οὐκ ἐθέλουσαν ἐν γυναικὶ γεννηθεῖσαν 5  
γενέσθαι· ἰδεῖν δὲ τὴν Θαμύρου ἀηδόνος ἐλομένην· ἰδεῖν δὲ καὶ  
κύκνον μεταβάλλοντα εἰς ἀνθρωπίνου βίου αἵρεσιν, καὶ ἄλλα ζῶα  
Β μουσικὰ ὡσαύτως. <sup>1</sup> εἰκοστὴν δὲ λαχοῦσαν ψυχὴν ἐλέσθαι λέοντος

33. ταύτην—μίγνυσθαι (620 D) om. g.  
ὡσαύτως εἰκός. τὴν A: ὡσαύτως, ὡς τὸ εἰκός τὴν Ξ.

8. ὡσαύτως. εἰκοστὴν Vind. F:

27 καὶ διὰ—τύχην 'as well as by the fortune of the lot' is doubted by Herwerden, while Richards calls for καὶ <οὐ> διὰ, relying on 619 B καὶ τελευταῖω—ἀθυμέτω and on 'the drift of the whole passage.' In point of fact, however, Plato nowhere denies that the fortune of the lot affects the issue. On the contrary, his whole theory supposes that it does, for those souls who choose late have fewer lives to choose from: see 617 E, 618 A, 620 C. ὁ τελειῶν, it is true, need not despair (619 B), but none the less is the lot likely to produce μεταβολὴ τῶν κακῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν. Cf. Procl. l.c. 302. 15 ff. τοῦτοιιν χρεια δυνεῖν, ἐνὸς μὲν τῆς ὀρθῆς κρίσεως περὶ τὸ ἀμεινον καὶ χεῖρον τῶν προτεινομένων βίων, ἐτέρου δὲ τοῦ τῶν κλήρων μὴ ἐν τοῖς ἐσχατοῖς πίπτειν· τί γὰρ εἰ καὶ ὁ αἰρούμενος εἴη περὶ κρίσιν ἀσφαλής, ἀλλ' οἱ προτεινόμενοι βιοὶ διὰ δὴ τινος αἰτίας οἱ τυχόντες εἶεν; See also on 618 A and following note.

28 ἐπεὶ κτλ. The connexion of ideas is: The fortune of the lot, and our individual choice, are the two influences that affect our destiny: for if our lot is reasonably early and we choose as belits philosophers, it will be well with us. ἐπεὶ "reddit rationem ante dictorum" (Schneider). The sense is surely both

plain and satisfactory, although Richards asserts that "ἐπεὶ has no meaning, unless there was an οὐ preceding."

619 E 32 οὐκ ἂν χθονίαν—οὐρανίαν is explained by 614 B—D: see notes ad loc. In the *Phaedrus* those souls which choose the philosophic life three times successively are "excused from seven of the ten millennial probations through which the rest have to pass" (Thompson on 249 A).

33. γάρ is resumptive. For examples of this usage see Shilleto on Dem. F. L. 107.

620 A 2 κατὰ συνήθειαν κτλ. Cf. *Phaed.* 81 E ff. ἐνδοῦνται δέ, ὥσπερ εἰκός, εἰς τοιαῦτα ἦθη, ὅποῖ' ἂν μεμελητηκῶσι τύχωσιν ἐν τῷ βίῳ κτλ.

6 Θαμύρον. Thamyris and not Thamyras was the usual form of this name, but Plato prefers Θαμύρας: cf. *Ion* 533 C ἡ περὶ Θαμύρου ἡ περὶ Ὀρφῆως, *Laus* 829 E τῶν Θαμύρου τε καὶ Ὀρφείων ὕμνων. The meaning of τὰ πολλὰ ('for the most part') will be seen from the case of Odysseus below (620 C f.).

620 B 8 ὡσαύτως. εἰκοστὴν κτλ. The reading εἰκοστὴν is confirmed by Plut. *Conv. Disp.* VIII 5. 739 E ff. (διὰ τί Πλάτων εἰκοστὴν ἔφη ψυχὴν τοῦ Ἀλάντος ἐπὶ τὸν κλῆρον ἐλθεῖν;) as well as by Proclus l.c. 265. 20 and elsewhere. It appears



βίον· εἶναι δὲ τὴν Αἴαντος τοῦ Τελαμωνίου, φεύγουσαν ἄνθρωπον  
 10 γενέσθαι, μεμνημένην τῆς τῶν ὅπλων κρίσεως. τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ  
 'Αγαμέμνονος' ἔχθρα δὲ καὶ ταύτην τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους διὰ τὰ  
 πάθη αἰτοῦ διαλλάξαι βίον. ἐν μέσοις δὲ λαχοῦσαν τὴν Ἀταλάν-  
 τῆς ψυχὴν, κατιδοῦσαν μεγάλας τιμὰς ἀθλητοῦ ἀνδρός, οὐ δύνα-  
 σθαι παρελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ λαβεῖν. μετὰ δὲ ἰ ταύτην ἰδεῖν τὴν Ἐπειοῦ C  
 15 τοῦ Πανοπέως εἰς τεχνικῆς γυναικὸς ἰοῦσαν φύσιν· πόρρω δ' ἐν  
 ὑστάτοις ἰδεῖν τὴν τοῦ γελωτοποιοῦ Θερσίτου πίθηκον ἐνδυομένην.  
 κατὰ τύχην δὲ τὴν Ὀδυσσέως, λαχοῦσαν πασῶν ὑστάτην, αἶρησο-  
 μένην ἵεναι, μνήμη δὲ τῶν προτέρων πόνων φιλοτιμίας λελωφη-  
 20 κυῖαν ζητεῖν περιοῦσαν χρόνον πολλὸν βίον ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου ἀπράγ-  
 μονος καὶ μόγις εὐρεῖν κείμενόν· που καὶ παρημελημένον ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἄλλων καὶ εἰπεῖν ἰδοῦσαν, ὅτι τὰ αὐτὰ ἂν ἔπραξεν καὶ πρώτη D  
 λαχοῦσα, καὶ ἀσμένην ἐλέσθαι. καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων δὴ θηρίων

from these passages that some of the ancients found a subtle significance in *εἰκοστήν*: but the particular number is probably only a circumstantial detail intended to add verisimilitude to the narrative. See also on 614 B. Herwerden conjectures *ὥσαυτως, ὡς τὸ <εἰκός> . . .* > *εἰκοστήν* δὲ κτλ., and inserts between *εἰκός* and *εἰκοστήν* the words *καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων—μῖγνυσθαι* from 620 D. There is however nothing to indicate that the text has suffered dislocation: see on 620 D below.

**λέοντος βίον.** Ettig (*Acheruntica* l.c. p. 310) explains the choice of Ajax by referring to *Tim.* 91 E τὸ δ' αὖ πεῖδον καὶ θηριῶδες γέγονεν ἐκ τῶν μηδὲν προσχρωμένων φιλοσοφία, but the conspicuous feature in Ajax was *θυμός*, and that is why he selects the life which typifies τὸ *θυμοειδές*: see IX 588 E. Cf. Proclus l.c. 316. 31 ff. ἡ μὲν Αἴαντος ψυχὴ πᾶσαν δηλοῖ ζῶν ἀνδρικήν μὲν, πλεονάζουσαν δὲ κατὰ τὸν θυμὸν διὰ δὴ τίνα φιλότικον ψυχῆς ἔξιν, καὶ διὰ ταύτην ἐνδυομένην εἰς ἀνδρικὸν μὲν ζῶον, ἀλογον δέ. Empedocles, as we are told, held τὴν ἀρίστην εἶναι μετοίκησιν τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὲν εἰς ζῶον ἢ λῆξιν αὐτὸν μεταγάγοι,λέοντα γίγνεσθαι, εἰ δὲ εἰς φυτὸν, δάφνην (*Ael. Hist. An.* XII 7): see Karsten on vv. 382 ff. of the *περί φύσεως*.

**620 C 16 Θερσίτου.** Thersites is the type of the *πονηρὸς ἰδιώτης* in *Gorg.* 525 E. Here, as often in later Greek

writers, he stands for the buffoon (*παγ-γέλοιος* ἀνθρώπος διάστροφος τὸ σῶμα καὶ λελωβημένος Lucian *adv. ind.* 7). Cf. also Soph. *Phil.* 442 ff., Theopomp. *Fr.* 262 in Müller *Fr. Hist. Gr.* I p. 323 and *Pythag. Simil.* 32 in Mullach *Fr. Phil. Gr.* I p. 489, in the last of which passages Thersites and Achilles stand for two opposite types. The different varieties of lives which are illustrated in this passage (*μουσικός, πολεμικός, βασιλικός, γυμναστικός, τεχνικός, μμητικός*) appear also (as Proclus observes l.c. 319. 25 ff.) in *Phaedr.* 248 D, E. See also Empedocles vv. 384—386 and Karsten *ad loc.*

**πίθηκον.** Cf. IX 590 B.

**19 ἀπράγμονος.** Eusebius (*Praep. Ev.* XIII 16. 11) has καὶ ἀπράγμονος, which occurs also in one of the Vatican MSS. Cobet would alter *ἀπράγμονος* to *ἀπράγμονα*. The text is quite satisfactory: for ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου is virtually a single word: cf. ἀνδρὶ—σοφιστῇ *Prot.* 312 C, ὑπὲρ ἀνδρὸς θητὸς ἀνδρα πρεσβύτην πατέρα *Euthyphr.* 15 D, ἀνὴρ μάντις, ἀνὴρ νομεύς, ἀνὴρ δίκασται and the like. “Sunt ἰδιῶται πολυπράγμονες: Ulyssis anima vitam ἀνδρὸς ἰδιώτου e numero τῶν ἀπραγμόνων quaerebat” (Schneider).

**620 D 22 καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων—μῖγνυσθαι.** See on 620 B. Herwerden's transposition is the less defensible because the words καὶ πάσας μῖξεις μῖγνυσθαι form an appropriate ending to this part of the picture.

ὥσαύτως εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἵεναι καὶ εἰς ἄλληλα, τὰ μὲν ἄδिका εἰς τὰ ἄγρια, τὰ δὲ δίκαια εἰς τὰ ἡμέρα μεταβάλλονται, καὶ πάσας μίξεις μίγνυσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δ' οὖν πάσας τὰς ψυχὰς τοὺς βίους ἡρῆσθαι, 25 ὥσπερ ἔλαχον, ἐν τάξει προσιέναι πρὸς τὴν Λάχεσιν· ἐκείνην δ' Εἰ ἐκάστω ὃν εἴλετο δαίμονα, τοῦτον φύλακα συμπέμπειν ἰ τοῦ βίου καὶ ἀποπληρωτὴν τῶν αἰρεθέντων. ὃν πρῶτον μὲν ἄγειν αὐτὴν πρὸς τὴν Κλωθῶ, ὑπὸ τὴν ἐκείνης χεῖρά τε καὶ ἐπιστροφὴν τῆς τοῦ ἀτράκτου δίνης, κυροῦντα ἦν λαχὼν εἴλετο μοῖραν· ταύτης δ' 30 ἐφαψάμενον αὐθις ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς Ἀτρόπου ἄγειν νῆσιν, ἀμετάστροφα τὰ ἐπικλωσθέντα ποιοῦντα· ἐντεῦθεν δὲ δὴ ἀμεταστρεπτὶ ὑπὸ τὸν 621 τῆς | Ἀνάγκης ἵεναι θρόνον, καὶ δι' ἐκείνου διεξελθόντα, ἐπειδὴ καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι διῆλθον, πορεύεσθαι ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ τῆς Λήθης πεδῖον διὰ καύματός τε καὶ πνίγους δεινοῦ· καὶ γὰρ εἶναι αὐτὸ κενὸν δέν-

23 τὰ μὲν ἄδिका κτλ. Cf. (with J. and C.) *Phaedr.* 82 A τοὺς δὲ γε ἄδικίας τε καὶ τυραννίδας καὶ ἀρπαγὰς προτετιμηκότας· εἰς τὰ τῶν λύκων τε καὶ ἱεράκων καὶ ἰκτινῶν γέννη κτλ.

620 D—621 D After all the souls had chosen, Lachesis bestowed on each its daemon or genius. Thereafter the choice was ratified by the remaining Fates, and finally by Necessity. In the evening the souls encamped by the river of Unmindfulness in the plain of Lethe, and all, save Er, drank its waters. At midnight, with thunder and earthquake, they were carried upwards to be born; and in the morning Er revived, and found himself upon the pyre.

The vision of Er is no mere idle tale, that perishes when it is told. If we give ear to its teaching, it will save our souls alive, and both here and hereafter, we shall fare well.

620 E 26 πρὸς τὴν Λάχεσιν κτλ. For Lachesis see on 617 C, D, and for δαίμονα 617 D, E *nn.*

30 ἦν—μοῖραν. In λαχὼν, ἐφαψάμενον καὶ διεξελθόντα the individual himself is substituted for the soul: cf. ix 573 B. Proclus (l.c. 346. 9 ff.) interprets διεξελθόντα of Er, but this cannot be right. λαχὼν is said with allusion to Λάχεσις, from whose knees the lots were taken (617 D). It is appropriate that Lachesis should be the only Fate involved in the act of choice; for the Future is the child of the Past (cf. 617 C, D *nn.*). The selection is then ratified successively by the Fate of the Present, and the Fate of the

Future, and finally, by Necessity herself, the mother of all three.

31 ἀμετάστροφα κτλ. ἀμετάστροφα is said, of course, with reference to the etymological meaning of ἄτροπος, and ἐπικλωσθέντα in turn alludes to Κλωθῶ. In the succeeding clause ἀμεταστρεπτὶ takes up ἀμετάστροφα again.

621 A 2 Λήθης πεδῖον. The first mention in Greek literature of the plain of Lethe occurs in Ar. *Frogs* 186 τίς ἐς τὸ Λήθης πεδῖον κτλ., but Aristophanes clearly presumes that his audience is already familiar with the idea, and Plato may well have borrowed it from Orphic and Pythagorean eschatologies. Cf. *Ettinger Acherunt.* l.c. p. 310 n. 6. The πεδῖον Λήθης was probably a counter-picture to the πεδῖον Ἀληθείας, of which we hear in *Phaedr.* 248 B: cf. also [*Archiech.*] 371 B. So also Proclus l.c. 346. 19 ff. ὅτι μὲν οὖν ἀντίθετόν ἐστι πρὸς τὸ τῆς Ἀληθείας πεδῖον τὸ τῆς Λήθης πεδῖον, δῆλον· εἴπερ τοῦτο μὲν ἀκαρπὸν καὶ ἀγονον καὶ αὐχμηρόν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ζωῆς πλήρες, τροφὸν τῶν ψυχῶν—ὡς ἐν Φαίδρῳ (248 B) μεμαθηκάμεν. For the later history of this conception see Rohde *Psyche* I p. 316 n. 2, II p. 390 n. 1 and Dieterich *Nek.* pp. 90 ff.

3 διὰ καύματός τε κτλ. J. and C. explain this by saying that "they are passing through the pillar of light." I do not think that this idea was present to the mind of Plato, though the souls are no doubt somewhere in this region. The καύμα and πνίγος δεινόν are sufficiently appropriate touches without having recourse to so realistic an explanation.

δρων τε καὶ ὅσα γῇ φύει. σκηναῖσθαι οὖν σφᾶς ἤδη ἐσπέρας  
 5 γιγνομένης παρὰ τὸν Ἀμέλητα ποταμόν, οὗ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀγγεῖον οὐδὲν  
 στέγειν. μέτρον μὲν οὖν τι τοῦ ὕδατος πᾶσιν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι  
 πιεῖν· τοὺς δὲ φρονήσει μὴ σφζομένους πλεον πίνειν τοῦ μέτρου·  
 τὸν δὲ αἰεὶ πιόντα ἅπαντων ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ κοιμηθῆναι B  
 καὶ μέσας νύκτας γενέσθαι, βροντὴν τε καὶ σεισμόν γενέσθαι, καὶ  
 10 ἐντεῦθεν ἐξαπίνης ἄλλον ἄλλῃ φέρεσθαι ἄνω εἰς τὴν γένεσιν,  
 ἄττοντας ὥσπερ ἀστέρας. αὐτὸς δὲ τοῦ μὲν ὕδατος κωλυθῆναι

5 Ἀμέλητα ποταμόν. Cf. Virg. *Aen.* VI 714 f. Lethaei ad fluminis undam *Securos* latices, et longa oblivia potant. Many other parallels are quoted by Dieterich *Nek.* pp. 90—94. As the πεδῖον Ἀθήνης has its counterpart in the πεδῖον Ἀληθείας, so also we find traces in Greek legend of a ὕδωρ Μνημοσύνης as well as the ὕδωρ Λήθης (Paus. IX 39. 8).

7 τοῖς δὲ—μέτρου is missing in *q* and several other mss. "Fortasse supervacanea adeoque inepta haec videbantur alicui, qui statim quemlibet postquam bibisset omnia obliviscentem videret. Sed oblivionis vis et pertinacia varia est. Qui nimium bibit, in perpetuum obliviscitur, qui moderate, discere aliquando seu recordando scientiam repetere potest" (Schneider). μάθησις, we remember, is ἀνάμνησις (*Phaed.* 76 A: cf. also 75 D and 76 D). It is likely enough that the Platonic doctrine of ἀνάμνησις was suggested by earlier Pythagorean beliefs of the same kind (Dieterich l.c. p. 122: cf. also Rohde l.c. p. 186 n.).

621 B 8 ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι. There is no good reason for transferring to this place the clause αὐτὸς—πιεῖν as Herwerden wishes to do. In treating of this passage, Proclus quotes an interesting fragment of Aristotle's dialogue 'On the Soul' (l.c. 349. 17 ff.=Rose 1480<sup>b</sup> 5 ff.): φησὶ γὰρ οὖν (sc. ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης) καὶ αὐτὸς ἐκ μὲν ὑγείας εἰς νόσον οὐδυνόοντας λήθην ἴσχειν τινὰς καὶ αὐτῶν τῶν γραμμάτων ὧν ἐμαθήκεσαν, ἐκ νόσου δὲ εἰς ὑγίαν ἰόντα μνήδα πῶποτε τοῦτο πάσχειν. εἰσὶν αὖτε δὲ τῶν μὲν ἀνεν σώματος ζῶν ταῖς ψυχαῖς κατὰ φύσιν οὖσαν ὑγίαν, τὴν δὲ ἐν σώμασιν, ὡς παρὰ φύσιν, νόσον. ζῆν γὰρ ἐκεῖ μὲν κατὰ φύσιν αὐτάς, ἐνταῦθα δὲ παρὰ φύσιν ὥστ' εἰκότως συμβαίνειν τὰς μὲν ἐκεῖθεν ἰούσας ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι τῶν ἐκεῖ, τὰς δὲ ἐντεῦθεν ἐκείσε τῶν ἐνταῦθα διαμνημονεύειν. Cf. *Timon of Athens* v 1 "my long sickness Of health and living now begins to

mend, And nothing brings me all things."

9 μέσας νύκτας. The plural, in which νύκτες according to Heindorf on *Prot.* 310 D signifies *horae nocturnae*, is regular in this and similar expressions, e.g. πόρρω τῶν νυκτῶν (*Symph.* 217 D) etc.

γενέσθαι—γενέσθαι. "Is Plato really responsible for the clumsy and ill-sounding repetition of γενέσθαι?" Richards, who would omit the first γενέσθαι and write κατὰ μέσας for καὶ μέσας. A similar correction had already been suggested by Herwerden. Plato himself is not in the least averse to echoes of this kind: see on VI 511 E.

10 ἄνω. It follows that the souls just before their reincarnation are underground: see on Ἀνάγκης γόνιστος 617 B and διὰ καύματος κτλ. 621 A and Virg. *Aen.* VI 748 ff. Has omnis—Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno: Scilicet immemores *supera* ut convexa revisant, Rursus et incipiant in corpora velle reverti.

εἰς—ἀστέρας is an instance—rare in Plato—of an apparently accidental iambic. See Arist. *Rhet.* III 8. 1408<sup>b</sup> 33 ff. ὁ δ' ἱαμβος αὐτῇ ἐστὶν ἡ λέξις ἢ τῶν πολλῶν· διὸ μάλιστα πάντων τῶν μέτρων ἱαμβεῖα φθέγγονται λέγοντες and Cope ad loc. For souls conceived as stars cf. Ar. *Peace* 833 f. οὐκ ἦν ἄρ' οὐδ' ὁ λέγονται κατὰ τὸν αἶρα | ὡς ἀστέρες γιγνόμεθ', ὅταν τις ἀποθάνῃ; and Plut. *de gen. Socr.* 591 D πολλοὺς ἀστέρας περὶ τοῦ χάσματος παλλομένους (said of disembodied souls) and 591 F. Similarly the Milky Way which, in the words of Milton, is 'powdered with stars' (*Par. Lost* VII 581: cf. Arist. *Meteor.* I 8), is the abode of certain souls, according to a tolerably widespread tradition, which meets us also in antiquity: see for example Cic. *de reipub.* VI 15, 16 and *Manil.* I 753—804. Cf. also Ettig *Acherunt.* l.c. p. 348 n. 2 and Rohde *Psyche* II pp. 95, 213 nn.



πειῖν· ὅπῃ μέντοι καὶ ὅπως εἰς τὸ σῶμα ἀφίκοιτο, οὐκ εἰδέναι, ἀλλ' ἐξαίφνης ἀναβλέψας ἰδεῖν ἔωθεν αὐτὸν κείμενον ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ.

καὶ οὕτως, ὃ Γλαύκων, μῦθος ἐσώθη καὶ οὐκ ἀπώλετο, καὶ  
 C ἡμᾶς<sup>1</sup> ἂν σώσειεν, ἂν πειθώμεθα αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸν τῆς Δήτης ποταμὸν<sup>15</sup>  
 εὖ διαβησόμεθα καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν οὐ μianθησόμεθα. ἀλλ' ἂν ἐμοὶ  
 πειθώμεθα, νομίζοντες ἀθάνατον ψυχὴν καὶ δυνατὴν πάντα μὲν  
 κακὰ ἀνέχεσθαι, πάντα δὲ ἀγαθὰ, τῆς αὖν ὁδοῦ αἰεὶ ἐξόμεθα καὶ  
 δικαιοσύνην μετὰ φρονήσεως παντὶ τρόπῳ ἐπιτηδεύσομεν, ἵνα καὶ  
 D καὶ ἐπειδὰν τὰ ἀθλα<sup>1</sup> αὐτῆς κομιζώμεθα, ὥσπερ οἱ νικηφόροι  
 περιαιγιρόμενοι, καὶ ἐνθάδε καὶ ἐν τῇ χιλιέτει πορεῖα,  
 ἣν διεληλύθαμεν,  
 εὖ πράττωμεν.

τέλος πολιτείας ἰ.

13. ἔωθεν AΞq: γρ ἄνωθεν in marg. A<sup>2</sup>. κείμενον A<sup>1</sup>Ξq: ἥδη κείμενον A<sup>2</sup>.  
 22. χιλιέτει A<sup>1</sup>Ξq: χιλιέτι A<sup>2</sup>. Cf. 615 A.

13. ἔωθεν. ἄνωθεν (see *cr. n.*), which appears also in *v*, is approved by Richards, but adds nothing to the meaning. ἔωθεν is of course the morning of the twelfth day as μέσας νύκτας above was the mid-night of the eleventh: cf. δωδεκαταῖος—ἀνεβλῶ 614 B and 616 B *n*.

κείμενον. See *cr. n.* ἥδη is inappropriate in itself, and has little authority besides A<sup>2</sup>.

14. μῦθος—οὐκ ἀπώλετο. A Scholiast remarks: τοῖς μὲν οὖν πολλοῖς προστιθέναι τοῖς μύθοις ἔθος ἦν, ὅτι μῦθος ἀπώλετο, δεικνύναι βουλομένοις ὡς ἄρα οἱ μῦθοι λέγουσι μὴ ὄντα, καὶ ἅμα ἐρρήθησαν καὶ οὐκ εἰσίν. (Cf. *Theaet.* 164 D and *Phil.* 14 A.) Πλάτων δὲ τοῦναντίον πανταχοῦ σφῆσθαί τε καὶ σφῆξιν φησὶ τοὺς μύθους τοὺς παρ' αὐτῷ, μάλα γε εἰκότως· τῶν γὰρ ὄντων εἰσὶν ἐξηγηταί, καὶ ὠφέλιμοι διὰ τοῦτο. (The Scholium is from Proclus l.c. 354. 24 ff.) Plato means that the story of Er is οὐκ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ὕπαρ ἐσθλόν. A similar play on the proverb occurs also in *Laus* 645 B.

621 C 15 ἂν σώσειεν. Cf. III 417 A *n*. The suggestion δὴ σώσει (Richards) is unnecessary: see Kühner *Gr. Gr.* II p. 977 b.

621 C, D 20 αὐτοῦ τε—εὖ πράττωμεν. I agree with Richards in taking τε as 'both,' not 'and,' and the καὶ before ἐνθάδε as 'and,' not 'both.' Schneider holds the opposite view, urging that "qui praemia virtutis reportat, cum inter re-

portandum et sibi et diis amicū esse oportet. Eo igitur tempore sibi diisque amicū ut sit, contendere non magis potest, quam ut vincat, quum palmam fert victoriae." This is true enough, but a similar objection may be made against Schneider's own solution, which makes Plato say ἵνα, ἐπειδὰν—κομιζώμεθα—εὖ πράττωμεν: and, with Schneider's construction, the repetition καὶ ἐνθάδε is also, as Richards says, 'very weak.' Beginning as if he would say 'both here and hereafter' Plato elaborates the 'hereafter' into ἐπειδὰν—κομιζώμεθα, but without some sacrifice of logical coherence.

22 περιαιγιρόμενοι: i.e. περιόντες καὶ ἀγαιρόμενοι. Cf. *Tim. Lex. Plat.* s.v. περιαιγιρόμενοι νικηφόροι and Ruhnken's note. ἐπαγεμῶς was the name for this kind of 'stipis collectio.' The poet Gray proposed περιαιγόμενοι, but the text is sound. For the imagery from the games see on V 465 D *n*.

23 διεληλύθαμεν. J. and C. think there is "a playful suggestion of our having made the pilgrimage ourselves." I do not believe Plato means more than merely 'we have described.'

24 εὖ πράττωμεν. On εὖ πράττωμεν see the third Platonic epistle ad init. and Bernays *Lucian u. die Kyniker* pp. 3, 88. The *Republic* fitly ends with an adaptation of Plato's favourite phrase of salutation and farewell.

## APPENDICES TO BOOK X.

### I.

X 597 E. τοῦτ' ἄρα ἔσται καὶ ὁ τραγωδοποιός, εἴπερ μιμητής ἐστι, τρίτος τις ἀπὸ βασιλέως καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας πεφυκώς, καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄλλοι μιμηταί.

Schleiermacher and Stallbaum offer no explanation of the difficult phrase τρίτος ἀπὸ βασιλέως. The words are translated by Prantl "in dritter Linie vom Königlichen," and explained by Müller as third, counting from the man "der nach seiner Befähigung, seiner Vorbildung und seinem Berufe vor Allen im Besitze der Ideen ist." According to Schneider the King is "der im neunten Buche als Besitzer der wahren Lust dargestellte Gerechte, der hier als wahrhaft seiender der Wahrheit selbst gleich gesetzt wird" (Translation p. 314). Jowett and Campbell remark "God is here represented as a King. The word is borrowed from the language of the ninth book in which the imperfect shadow of the king is δημοκρατικός, ὀλιγαρχικός, as here of God the shadows are ζωγράφος, κλινοποιός etc." Other suggestions are that the phrase means "third in descent from the sovereign" (D. and V.), that the τρίτος τις ἀπὸ βασιλέως is a sort of stage king ("tragic mimicry, as exhibited in the stage king, is at a third remove from the king and the truth, i.e. from the ideal king" J. B. Mayor in *Cl. Rev.* x pp. 112, 245), and finally, that there is a reference to "the Oriental degrees of rank. The painter is not even like the vizier, or the immediate heir to the throne, δεύτερος ἀπὸ βασιλέως" (Campbell in *Cl. Rev.* x p. 246). It will be seen that there is little agreement of opinion as to the precise significance of this remarkable expression.

As regards the application of the phrase, it is quite clear, in the first place, that βασιλέως is intended to correspond to God. In the descending scale of 'makers' we have (1) the φντουργός, who is God, (2) the δημιουργός, and (3) the μιμητής: so that the μιμητής is τρίτος ἀπὸ φντουργού. Since Plato calls him τρίτος ἀπὸ βασιλέως, we are bound to identify the βασιλεύς with the φντουργός, unless we suppose that the expression is lacking both in propriety and point. There are also other passages in Plato where God is spoken of as a King, e.g. *Crat.* 396 A, *Laws* 904 A. In the second place, it is equally clear that τρίτος ἀπό implies that the imitator is removed by two degrees from 'the King.' Compare Stobaeus *Eclog.* 1 178 p. 78 Wachsmuth Ποσειδώνιος τρίτην ἀπὸ Διὸς (sc. τὴν εἰμαρμένην). πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Δία, δεύτερον δὲ τὴν φύσιν, τρίτην δὲ

τὴν εἰμαρμένην. A careful study of the words employed by Plato will moreover lead us to suppose that the figure is that of a genealogical tree. Thus we have

(1) God	} correlating with	(1) The Idea of Bed,
(2) Carpenter		(2) A material bed,
(3) Painter		(3) A picture of a bed;

and just as the picture of a bed is a τρίτον γέννημα ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως, so the Painter is τρίτος ἀπὸ βασιλέως πεφυκώς, that is, 'third in descent from the King.' For these reasons the supposed allusion to the βασιλεύς of ix 587 B ff. cannot, in my opinion, be admitted: nor indeed would such an allusion be appropriate on other grounds, for there is no kind of analogy between the μιμητής and the δλιγαρχικός, who in 587 C is said to be τρίτος ἀπὸ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ. The translation of Davies and Vaughan 'third in descent from the King' is correct, and the meaning of the phrase is exactly reproduced in the passage cited from Dante in the notes. In illustration of the word βασιλεύς we should quote, not ix 587 B, but vi 509 D, where the Idea of Good, or God (vi 505 A n.), is said to be the king of the intelligible sphere. We have already seen that the Idea of Good is the maker of all the other Ideas, and among them of the αὐτὸ δ' ἔστι κλύη (vi 509 B n., x 597 B n.), which according to the present passage is constructed by God. Compare Philo *de mund. orif.* § 23 πρὸς τὴν ἄκραν ἀψίδα παραπεμφθεὶς τῶν νοητῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἰέναι δοκεῖ τὸν μέγαν βασιλέα and ib. § 50.

So much for the application of the phrase and its propriety as used by Plato here. As regards its origin, Campbell's suggestion is in my opinion not improbable, provided we suppose that the allusion is to the third in descent from the king. Although the expression does not appear to be found elsewhere in Greek literature, except with more or less explicit reference to this passage of the *Republic*, the words sound half-proverbial, and the omission of the article with βασιλέως suggests, though it does not necessitate, a reference to the Persian monarchy. Cf. *Menex.* 241 D, 244 D, 245 B, 246 A and *Alc.* I 123 B, C, E al. The conjecture of Campbell derives some additional probability from the favourite Stoic comparison between προηγμένα and those who stand next to the King in honour and esteem, although the Stoic comparison does not involve the idea of any genealogical connexion: see Cic. *de finibus* III 52 ut enim, inquit (Zeno), nemo dicit in regia regem ipsum quasi productum esse ad dignitatem—id est enim προηγμένον—sed eos qui in aliquo honore sunt, quorum ordo proxime accedit, ut secundus sit, ad regium principatum, sic in vita non ea, quae primario loco sunt, sed ea quae secundum locum obtinent, προηγμένα, id est producta, nominentur, with other passages quoted by Pearson *Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes* p. 171. Cf. also Philo vi p. 190 (Lipsiae 1828) νυνὶ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν ξέω περιανασθέντες λαμπρότητος, ἅτε νοητὸν φῶς ἰδεῖν ἀδυνατοῦντες, πλαζόμενοι διετέλεσαν τὸν αἰῶνα· πρὸς μὲν τὸν βασιλέα λογισμὸν φθάσαι μὴ δυναθέντες, ἄχρι δὲ τῶν προπυλαίων μόλις ἀφικνούμενοι καὶ τοὺς ἐπὶ θύραις ἀρετῆς, πλουτῶν τε καὶ δόξαν καὶ ὑγίειαν καὶ τὰ συγγενῇ τεθραυμακότες προσεκύνουν (? προσεκύνουν).



## II.

X 602 E. Τούτῳ δὲ πολλάκις μετρήσαντι καὶ σημαίνοντι μείζω ἅττα εἶναι ἢ ἐλάττω ἕτερα ἐτέρων ἢ ἴσα τὰναντία φαίνεται ἅμα περὶ ταυτά.

This is the text of A, to which Schneider and all succeeding editors adhere. The variants τοῦτο for τούτῳ, δὴ for δέ have little authority, and give us no assistance. The view which I have given in the notes assumes that τὰναντία means the opposite of τὸ φαινόμενον μείζον ἢ ἐλάττον κτλ. in D above. The article is significant; otherwise Plato would hardly, I think, have added it here and omitted it immediately afterwards in ἐναντία. I formerly thought it necessary either to excise the first ἅμα περὶ ταυτά, or else to add after φαίνεται the words <ὥστε ἐναντία φαίνεται>, in order to make the reference in τὰναντία still more clear; but if ταυτά is understood as the same objects about which we already have the *false* impression, the difficulty disappears.

It may be urged that σημαίνοντι represents the λογιστικόν as the vehicle of a communication to the soul, and not as itself forming a judgment. Plato himself, however, appears to fluctuate between the two points of view; and the reason is that according to his own psychological theory τὸ λογιστικόν is not merely τὸ μετροῦν, but the part of soul which κατὰ τὰ μέτρα δοξάζει,—μέτρῳ τε καὶ λογισμῷ πιστεύει (603 A. See also 605 B, C).

Schneider translates as follows: "huius autem partis ope saepe-numero menso alicui, quum illa (pars) maiora quaedam vel minora vel paria esse significat, contraria simul de iisdem videntur." The sense is satisfactory, except that we should have expected Plato to attribute the measurement to the λογιστικόν itself (in harmony with τοῦτο—ἔργον), instead of to the individual making use of the λογιστικόν. But it is grammatically impossible to sever τούτῳ from μετρήσαντι and connect it again with σημαίνοντι, while if (with Müller) we make σημαίνοντι also refer to the individual, we offend against the plain and obvious meaning of the word (cf. VII 524 A).

By Jowett and Campbell τούτῳ is rightly made to agree with the participles, but wrongly separated from φαίνεται. "The dative"—say they—"is in a loose construction with the whole sentence, like a genitive absolute, and is not to be taken with φαίνεται. It would not be in accordance with Plato's use of language, or with the context in what follows, to speak of the contradictions of sense as having anything to do with the rational element of the soul." True; but Plato does not so speak of them, if my view of τὰναντία is right. He merely says that the rational element takes the opposite view of an object from that which is at the same moment entertained by the irrational element. Nor can the dative be employed with the force of a genitive absolute, as is virtually the case according to Jowett and Campbell's explanation.

Two other interpretations have been proposed. According to Stallbaum, the λογιστικόν is divided into two parts, one of which τῷ λογισμῷ πιστεύει, while the other is led astray. Hence it is possible—he thinks—

for Plato to speak of the λογιστικόν as having contrary impressions at one and the same time. But we cannot possibly identify τὸ παρὰ τὰ μέτρα δοξάζον τῆς ψυχῆς with part of the λογιστικόν: the main purpose of the argument, indeed, is to prove it totally distinct therefrom. Cf. Schultess *Plat. Forsch.* pp. 42—45. Davies and Vaughan translate "But when this element, after frequent measuring, informs us that one thing is greater or less than or equal to, another thing, it is contradicted at the same moment by the appearance which the same things present." This explanation, which appears to be unique, wrongly joins πολλάκις with μετρήσαντι and is certainly fallacious in other respects also.

Schleiermacher suspected corruption, and read τῷ δέ for τούτῳ δέ, translating "Wenn einer aber auch noch so sehr gemessen hat, und nun bestimmt" etc., but σημαίνειν is not 'bestimmen.' The conjecture τούτου—μετρήσαντος—σημαίνοντος—due to Richards—removes all difficulty, on the assumption that τάναντία means—as it is capable of meaning—the same as ἐναντία i.e. 'opposites' and nothing more. I cannot, however, but think such a change far too drastic; and it is reasonable to suppose that the article in τάναντία means something. The text *may* of course be corrupt—I do not believe it is—, but, if so, it still awaits the healing hand.

### III.

X 606 c. Ἄρ' οὐχ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ περὶ τοῦ γελοίου, ὅτι, ἂν αὐτὸς αἰσχύναιο γελωτοποιῶν, ἐν μιμήσει δὲ κωμῳδικῇ ἢ καὶ ἰδία ἀκούων σφόδρα χαρῆς καὶ μὴ μισῆς ὡς πονηρά, ταῦτ' οὖν ποιεῖς ὅπερ ἐν τοῖς ἐλέοις;

All the mss have ἂν in place of ἄν. There are several other variants in II and the inferior mss, but all of them useless for purposes of interpretation or emendation.

That the text has suffered corruption is admitted by all editors, and nearly all critics. By writing ὅ τι ἄν, and transferring the mark of interrogation from ἐλέοις to γελοίου, it is possible to make sense of the passage, if we are willing to allow the common change from ὅ τι singular to πονηρά plural. Cf. Neukirch in *Pl. Pol. quaest. phil.* i p. 48. But the double use of ἄν remains; and ὅτι (not ὅ τι) is proved to be genuine by ὅτι τοιαῦτα—ἐργάζεται in D below: see note ad loc.

The following emendations, which are all of them later than Schneider, appear to me inadmissible on other grounds, and also because they involve the change of ὅτι. (1) Ἄρ' οὐχ—γελοίου, ὅ τι ἄν—γελωτοποιῶν; ἐν μιμήσει δὲ—ἀκούων <ἄν> σφόδρα κτλ. (Stallbaum): (2) Ἄρ' οὐχ—γελοίου; ὅταν, ἄν—γελωτοποιῶν ἐν μιμήσει δὴ κτλ. (Madvig, Baiter): (3) Ἄρ' οὐχ—γελοίου; ὅταν τι ἄν αὐτὸς—γελωτοποιῶν, ἐν μιμήσει δὲ κτλ. (proposed by me in *Cl. Rev.* iv p. 357): (4) Ἄρ' οὐχ—γελοίου; ὅ τι ἄν—αἰσχύνῃ κτλ. (D. and V. with Stephanus). Hermann conjectures (5) Ἄρ' οὐχ—γελοίου, ὅτι, ἄν—γελωτοποιῶν ἐν μιμήσει δὴ—ἀκούων <ἐάν> σφόδρα κτλ., but this has little probability. Although they print the emendation of Schneider, the Oxford editors remark that the simplest change is to

read (6) ἀρ' οὐχ—γελοίου, ὅτι ἂν <ᾶ> αὐτὸς αἰσχύνιο <ᾶν>, ἐν μίμῃσει δὴ κτλ. The last suggestion is an ingenious one, and improves both sense and grammar; but the threefold error (omission of ᾶ and ᾶν and corruption of δὴ to δέ) is hardly probable, and the sentence becomes very cumbrous. It should be remarked that the absence of μέν after αὐτός is no reason for suspecting δέ: see on I 340 D al. (7) Turner's conjecture ἀρ' οὐχ—γελοίου, ὅτι ἂν <ᾶ ᾶν> αὐτὸς—ἐν μίμῃσει δὴ κτλ. is in principle the same as that of Jowett and Campbell. I have sometimes thought that ποιεῖ should be substituted for ποιεῖς ('that jests, which etc., have the same effect as' etc.), in view of ὅτι τοιαῦτα ἡμᾶς ἡ ποιητικὴ μίμησις ἐργάζεται in D. (It should be observed that Ξ and some other MSS read ποιεῖν.) ποιεῖς is however supported by ἐν τοῖς ἐλέοις as well as by the explanatory δ' γὰρ—γενέσθαι. If the difficulty about ᾶν is held to be insurmountable, one might suggest ᾶν <ᾶν> αὐτὸς αἰσχύνιο κτλ., regarding ᾶν as virtually a single word; but to this and all the other corrections hitherto offered I still prefer Schneider's solution.

## IV.

X 607 B. ὁ τῶν λῖαν σοφῶν ὄχλος κράτων.

The reading of the two best MSS (A and Π) is ὁ τῶν Δία (or rather δία) σοφῶν ὄχλος κρατῶν. Most of the inferior MSS read διὰ σοφῶν, but a few have διασοφῶν (*sic*).

Those who adhere to Paris A offer one of the two following interpretations: either (1) "der Gottweisen herrschendes Volk" (Schleiermacher, Stallbaum etc.), or else (2) "the crowd of philosophers overmastering Jove" (J. and C., with Schneider). To the first solution it may be objected that κρατῶν remains obscure, that Δία σοφῶν 'wise as to Zeus' is a difficult construction, and that the sentiment itself—unless we suppose it ironical—is rather a compliment to philosophy than otherwise.

Schneider construes κρατῶν with Δία, supposing that the object of the poet's invective is, as before, "sapientia Jovi adversaria et ἄθεος." The order of the words, he thinks may be excused, "in lyrico poeta, quum etiam Plato Leg. L. VII 824 A ἡ τῶν διαπαύματα πόνων ἔχουσα dicere ausus sit." To me, as to many others, the harshness appears too great, even for poetry: it is certainly much greater than ἰδὼν τῇ προτεραίῃ τῶν τινα Λυδῶν and the like in Herodotus (I 84 al.). The text of the passage in the *Laws* has been disputed. If it is sound, we ought perhaps to print a comma after τῶν, and take the article not with πόνων, but with the following participle χειρουμένων.

There is, as usual, no lack of emendations. Sydenham (see *CZ. Rev.* II p. 229) altered ὁ τῶν to ὧτων, with what purpose it is difficult to see. The suggestion ὁ καὶ τὸν Δία σοφὸς ὄχλος κρατῶν (Bywater) keeps both Δία and κρατῶν. Others retain κρατῶν, but not Δία, proposing instead of Δία σοφῶν either διασόφων (C. Schmidt, Hermann etc.—but the word lacks authority), or ἀκροσόφων (a conjecture of Bergk's, afterwards apparently withdrawn: see his *Poet. Lyr. Gr.*<sup>4</sup> III p. 731),



or *ιδία σοφῶν* (Hermann *Gesch. u. Syst.* p. 309 n. 305), or *λίαν σοφῶν* (Herwerden, Richards). If we read *λίαν σοφῶν* and leave *κρατῶν* alone, the participle is very obscure, and Richards hints at the possibility of *κριτῶν*. I have also thought of *κράζων* ('the croaking rabble of the overwise').

The view which is taken in the notes has been objected to on the ground that "like caput, *κάρα* and *κεφαλή* cannot be, or rather never are, in classical Greek, used for the seat of intelligence—for the 'head' of modern parlance—the reason being that popular opinion among the Greeks and Romans connected intelligence with the heart or midriff, not, as among us, with the head" (*Hermath.* xxiv 255). I think that I have answered this objection in my commentary, but, if any one thinks differently, I would recommend as a *δευτέρος πλοῦς* that he should provisionally restore the MS reading and interpret it in Schneider's way.

## V.

X 612 A. Οὐκοῦν, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, τὰ τε ἄλλα ἀπεδυσάμεθα ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ οὐ τοὺς μισθοὺς οὐδὲ τὰς δόξας δικαιοσύνης ἐπηνέγκαμεν κτλ.

*ἀπεδυσάμεθα* is the reading of Stobaeus (*Flor.* 9. 66) and all the MSS except four, viz. ΞΦm and Cesenas M. These have *ἀπεδυσάμεθα*.

*ἀπεδυσάμεθα* can hardly be right. The form is rare in Attic, though tolerably common in later Greek: nor is it by any means obvious what *ἀπεδυσάμεθα* would signify in this connexion. The usual translation is 'we divested ourselves of' (as in *τὴν γνῶσιν ἀποδυσάμενος* Clem. Alex. *Str.* v 8. 84 c Migne), and *γυμνωτέος δὴ πάντων πλὴν δικαιοσύνης* (II 361 c) is quoted in its support. But (as Schneider points out) Socrates could hardly have identified himself with the just man in this way, and, even if he did, to what does *τὰ ἄλλα* refer? What are 'the other things' of which he divests himself in addition to *μισθοὺς καὶ δόξας δικαιοσύνης*? To this question no satisfactory answer appears to be possible: none, at least, has yet been given.

Schneider himself reads *ἀπεδυσάμεθα*, but gives a very different explanation, holding that *τὰ ἄλλα* means the description of *τὰ ἐν τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ βίω πάθη τε καὶ εἶδη ψυχῆς* in the preceding books, and apparently taking *ἀπεδυσάμεθα* as 'we have exposed to view.' For *ἀπεδυσάμεθα* in this sense we might compare *ἀπεδύσαμεν* in *Charm.* 154 E: but the middle remains a difficulty.

If *ἀπελυσάμεθα* on the other hand is sound, it must, I think, be explained as in the notes. The view of the Oxford editors is not very different. Ast's translation 'se liberare' 'defungi' can scarcely be justified on linguistic grounds, and "addito τὰ ἄλλα minus convenit" (Schneider), for it was no part of Socrates' obligation to dwell on the wages of virtue: quite the contrary, in fact. No one is likely to accept the extremely subtle and difficult explanation of Richter (*Fleck. sb.* 1867 p. 149) "haben wir nicht das Übrige durch unsere Darstellung erledigt—nämlich von den Banden, welche die Materialisten der Tugend auferlegen—ohne Lösegeld hinzubringen?" The possibility of cor-

ruption must be allowed, but the conjecture ἀπεωσάμεθα (Richards, comparing II 366 A τὰ δ' ἐξ ἀδικίας κέρδη ἀπωσόμεθα) is otherwise unsatisfactory, and fails, like ἀπεδυσάμεθα, to explain τὰ ἄλλα. Some may think of ἀπελογισάμεθα. It is best, however, to follow the MSS, in the absence of any convincing emendation.

VI.<sup>1</sup>

X 616 B—617 B. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ τοῖς ἐν τῷ λειμῶνι down to ἐφάπτεσθαι.

With the exception of the 'older and earlier' reading described by Proclus (see pp. 475 ff. below), there is hardly a trace in this passage of any variant affecting the sense.

A few emendations have been proposed. Thus Schleiermacher conjectures τὰ ἄκρα αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν δεσμῶν, taking τὰ ἄκρα αὐτοῦ as 'the poles of heaven,' and the chains as the Milky Way (*Translation* p. 621), while Krohn suggests φῶς εὐρύ for φῶς εὐθύ, and the transposition of ὥσπερ κίονα to follow ἄτρακτον (*Pl. St.* p. 283). It is hardly necessary to say that alterations of this kind are in my judgment totally inadmissible: they only reveal the weakness of the interpretation which necessitates them.

The only safe principle of interpretation in this, as in other similar passages of Plato, is to adhere to the natural meaning of the Greek, and abstain from wresting or rewriting the language in support of any preconceived view about the consistency and coherence of the picture as a whole.

I now think it clear that Boeckh's interpretation is irreconcilable with the language employed by Plato. The article in which Boeckh developed his views most fully was originally published in reply to Grote's pamphlet entitled *Plato's Doctrine respecting the Rotation of the Earth* (1860), and is reprinted in his *Kleine Schriften* III pp. 294—320. The essential features of Boeckh's view, which Zeller<sup>5</sup> I 434, 435 *nn.* in the main accepts, are as follows.

The Straight Light is the Milky Way, running round the outer surface of the Heavens, like the undergirders of a trireme. To the question, Why is the light said to be 'straight like a pillar,' when it is in reality circular?, Boeckh replies that it *appears* to be straight from the standpoint of the souls. Er and his companions are, according to Boeckh, outside the world, somewhere beyond the North Pole, and see only the nearer half-circle of the Milky Way: "ein Halbring erscheint aber in der Entfernung dem, welcher ihn von aussen in derselben Ebene stehend sieht, als eine gerade Säule" (*l.c.* p. 306). What is the meaning of διὰ παντός τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τεταμένον? Boeckh's explanation is that the light "verbreite sich durch den ganzen Himmel und die Erde, d. h. über die Erde, wenn man will mit einem leichten Zeugma, durch welches διὰ auch den Genitiv γῆς regiert: wiewohl ein

<sup>1</sup> This Appendix is the result of prolonged discussions with Professor Cook

Wilson, and freely reproduces nearly all his most important arguments.

Zeugma anzunehmen nicht einmal nöthig ist, wenn man nur das *διά* auf Verbreitung, nicht auf Durchdringung bezieht" (ib. p. 305). The middle of the light is accordingly in Boeckh's opinion at the Pole, and it is from the Pole outwards that 'the extremities of heaven's chains'—*αἰτῶν* he refers to *οὐρανῶν*—'are extended.' The 'chains of heaven' include not only the light itself, but also two other great circles, viz. the equinoctial and solstitial colures (ib. p. 307). To the ends of these chains is attached the spindle of Necessity, which extends downwards from the North Pole, its shaft representing the axis of the Universe. The meaning to be attached to the breadth of rim in the various whorls of Necessity's spindle is not discussed by Boeckh.

Such, in its main outline, is Boeckh's explanation. It will be observed that he endeavours to combine into a single harmonious whole the two figures employed by Plato—the sphere surrounded by a circle of light, and the spindle of Necessity. But he makes no attempt to shew how the outermost whorl, in which the fixed stars are placed, can coexist along with the revolving sphere (*πᾶσαν—τὴν περιφορὰν* 616 c), so that the fundamental inconsistency of the two images still remains; and even if we should allow, which is far from being the case, that in other respects Boeckh provides us with a single coherent picture, he "does violence to the language" (as Cook Wilson remarks) "at nearly every step." The light, says Plato, is straight, like a pillar. According to Boeckh, it is *not* straight, but curved: only it *appears* straight if seen from a certain point of view. If this was Plato's meaning, why should he not have put it into words? No one will deny that the natural meaning of the words he does employ is that the light not merely appears, but is straight: and he could have had no object in thus leading us on a false scent. Nor is there any indication to make us suppose that the Souls are outside the World. On the contrary, it is tolerably clear that the *Λεϊμών* from which they start upon their four days' journey (616 b) is on the ideal surface of the Earth (614 c n.), and the natural inference is that they march along that surface until they come within view of the light (616 b n.). If they travelled upwards to the supracelestial regions, they would have to pass through the very ring of light which Boeckh makes them see for the first time not from below, but from above. That the Souls are in the middle of the Earth, and therefore of the World, at the end of the fourth day after they have left the meadow, is clear from 617 D. 620 E. 621 A. B (*φέρεσθαι αἰώ εἰς τὴν γένεσιν*), and it is at the end of the fourth day that they reach the middle of the light (616 b). The conclusion is inevitable that the middle of the light is in the centre of the Universe, and nowhere else. Not less arbitrary and forced is the explanation which Boeckh gives of *διὰ παντὸς τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ γῆς τεταμέναι*. The phrase *τείνειν διὰ* surely means to 'stretch through' and not to 'stretch over,' and the plain meaning of the Greek is confirmed by the close parallel in *Tim.* 40 b *τὸν διὰ παντὸς πόλον τεταμένον*. Other objections might be mentioned, but enough has been said to shew that Boeckh's explanation cannot be fairly evolved from the language of Plato, to which, indeed, it is sometimes in direct contradiction.



Of the other views, that of K. E. Ch. Schneider, the editor and translator of the *Republic*, has met with some acceptance, and appears to be favoured, in part, at least, by Jowett and Campbell. The straight light, in Schneider's opinion, stands for the axis of the World, or a cylinder enclosing it. From the comparison of the light to ὑποζώματα Schneider is inclined to infer that the ὑπόζωμα stretched from stem to stern inside the vessel; but the evidence would seem to be conclusive that the ὑποζώματα were applied outside. The chains of heaven he thus describes: "ad medium axem, h. e. ad centrum terrae idemque mundi (cf. ἄνω p. 621 B) pertinentia vincula—ab extremis sphaeris radiorum instar ad fusum Necessitatis circa centrum stantem porrecta et utrinque nexa, quorum vinculorum ope vertente fuso totus mundus cum omnibus sphaeris convertatur." Apparently he distinguishes between the light and the chains, although Plato clearly means them to be identical: κατὰ μέσον τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰ ἄκρα αὐτοῦ τῶν δεσμῶν τεταμένα· εἶναι γὰρ τοῦτο τὸ φῶς ξύνδεσμον τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. On the subject of the breadth of rims Schneider has no view: "über die Breite fehlt noch der befriedigende Aufschluss, und es ist leichter zu sagen, was sie nicht bedeuten kann, als was sie bedeutet" (*Translation* p. 316).

In the notes, the breadth of rims has been taken to mean the distances between the planets. Against this interpretation it might be urged that a wholly different account of these distances is given in the *Timaeus*. In *Tim.* 36 D Plato writes: μίαν γὰρ αὐτὴν (i.e. τὴν ταύτου καὶ ὁμοίου περιφορὰν) ἄσχιστον εἶασε, τὴν δ' ἐντὸς σχίσας ἐξαχῆ ἐπὶ τὰ κύκλους ἀνίσους κατὰ τὴν τοῦ διπλασίου καὶ τριπλασίου διάστασιν ἐκάστην, οὓσων ἐκατέρων τριῶν κτλ. What he means (according to Zeller<sup>4</sup> II p. 779 n.) is that if the distance of the Moon from the Earth is counted as 1, the distances of the other planets from the Earth will be:—Sun 2, Venus 3, Mercury 4, Mars 8, Jupiter 9, Saturn 27. (Cf. Macrobius in *somn. Scip.* II 3. 14, where it is said that the 'Platonici' used 'dupla et tripla intervalla' in such a way as to produce these distances: Moon 1, Sun 2, Venus  $2 \times 3 = 6$ , Mercury  $6 \times 4 = 24$ , Mars  $24 \times 9 = 216$ , Jupiter  $216 \times 8 = 1728$ , Saturn  $1728 \times 27 = 46656$ .) Thus according to the *Timaeus* the Moon, Sun, Venus and Mercury will be at the same distances from one another, Mercury will be as far from Mars as the Earth from Mercury, Mars and Jupiter will be as near together as the Sun and Moon, and the distance between Jupiter and Saturn will be enormously greater than that which divides any other pair of planets. Between this scale of distances and Plato's arrangement of the whorls according to the breadth of their 'lips' in the *Republic*, there is no kind of affinity: the rim of Saturn's whorl, for example, if it measures his distance from Jupiter, ought to be the broadest of all the rims, instead of being, as Plato here says it is, the narrowest.

In spite of the interval of time which may be supposed to separate the *Timaeus* from the *Republic*, this discrepancy might fairly cause a difficulty if it could be shewn that Plato's representation of the distances between the planets in these two dialogues was based upon empirical data or observation. But in point of fact, in both dialogues

the principle of Plato's arrangement is a certain *a priori* numerical relation, which has nothing to do with facts or probabilities. In the *Timæus* Plato starts from the two Pythagorean τετρακτύες, viz. 1, 2, 4, 8 and 1, 3, 9, 27, and arbitrarily disposes the planets in accordance with these numbers. His method resembles that of the τῶ ὄντι ἀστρονομικός inasmuch as he 'dispenses with the starry heavens' (VII 530 B n.) and regulates the distances by certain 'mathematical numbers,' which he finds ready to his hand. (See App. II to Book VII, p. 166.) The method which he follows in this passage of the *Republic* is analogous, although the actual numbers are different. In a note contributed to Jowett and Campbell's commentary, Mr W. A. Craigie first drew attention to the fact that a numerical principle underlies Plato's order of arrangement of the planets in respect not only of their distances from one another, but also of their colours and velocities, and Professor Cook Wilson has corrected and explained Mr Craigie's law in *Cl. Rev.* xvi pp. 292 f. The law is that each of the three enumerations is "based on combinations which rest on the number 9" (Craigie l.c.).

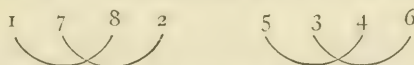
Let us take first the 'breadth of the lips' of the whorls, i.e. (according to our theory) the distances of the several orbits from one another.

A. "If we write down" (I quote from Cook Wilson's article) "the numbers which express the order of the whorls, and, under each, set the number which its rim has in the order of breadth, and then join 'those σφόνδυλοι whose united numbers produce a sum of 9, we have a symmetrical figure with its centre between the 4th and 5th,' thus:—

No. of σφόνδυλος	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Order of width of rim	1	8	7	3	6	2	5	4

B. Next, take the order of the colours.

"If we write down the numbers of the whorls in the order in which Plato mentions them when describing their colours we get:—



and there is here also a symmetry of arrangement with regard to the centre (and the centres of the two halves)."

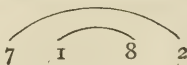
C. Finally, let us consider the order of velocities.

The figure given by Cook Wilson is:—

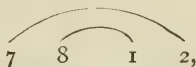
$$\begin{array}{ccc}
 \begin{array}{c} 1 \quad 8 \\ \text{---} \end{array} & \begin{array}{c} (7 \\ 6 \\ 5) \end{array} & \begin{array}{c} 4 \quad 3 \quad 2 \\ \text{---} \end{array} \\
 = 9 & = 9 \times 2 & = 9.
 \end{array}$$

In this figure the order of velocities is observed; "the group 1 + 8 (= 9) is correlative to the group 4 + 3 + 2 (= 9)," and the number 9 occurs twice in the central group, the members of which, being equal in respect of velocity, "may be considered to have no order."

"If we ask what was the reason of this curious arrangement," continues Professor Cook Wilson, "a not improbable answer seems to be that it was to effect a kind of equable distribution of the magnitudes along the series of the whorls. Now if this were so it would be best not merely to arrange two correlative pairs, as 7 and 2, 8 and 1, symmetrically with regard to the centre, but to make the order in magnitude of the numbers of one pair the reverse of that of the other. Thus in



the distribution is more equable than in



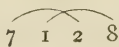
for in the latter we have the two larger numbers on the same side of the centre. Similarly the arrangement



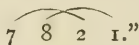
is more equable than



and



than



A glance at diagrams A and B will shew that in respect of the breadths of the rims and their respective colours "this rule of equable distribution is exactly carried out, and the order in magnitude of the numbers in one pair is the reverse of the order in its correlative pair.... In the case of the colours there is an addition to the equableness of the distribution in so far as the sum of the numbers in the first half is equal to the sum of the numbers in the second half."

If this arrangement were found in only one of the three groups, we might reasonably judge it to be merely accidental; but the possibility of accident is almost excluded when we see that the rule is accurately observed in two cases out of the three, and also, with some unessential modifications, in the third. We must therefore suppose that Plato's representation of the planetary distances in the *Republic* deliberately follows an *a priori* principle of symmetry and number, selected chiefly in view of the particular image to which he here assimilates the celestial motions, and suggestive of the balance and equilibrium which ought to prevail in the celestial system. In the *Timaeus* his procedure is essentially the same, but there he accommodates the actual distances to the numerical fancies of the Pythagoreans. The discrepancy between the two dialogues in this particular ceases to surprise us as soon as we realise the way in which Plato went to work (cf. Book VII App. II pp. 166 f.), and in criticising Plato's physical theories generally, we should above all things bear in mind the warning which he himself



throws out in the *Timaeus*: ἐὰν οὖν πολλὰ πολλῶν εἰπόντων περὶ θεῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ παιτὸς γενέσεως, μὴ δυνατοὶ γινώμεθα πάντῃ πάντως αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοῖς ὁμολογουμένους λόγους καὶ ἀπηκριβωμένους ἀποδοῦναι, μὴ θαυμάσῃ τις· ἀλλ' ἐὰν ἄρα μηδενὸς ἦττον παρεχώμεθα εἰκότας, ἀγαπᾶν χρή, μεμνημένοι ὡς ὁ λέγων ἐγὼ ὑμεῖς τε οἱ κριταὶ φύσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ἔχομεν, ὥστε περὶ τούτων τὸν εἰκότα μῦθον ἀποδεχομένους πρέπει τούτου μηδὲν ἔτι πέρα ζητεῖν (29 C, D).

It remains to discuss the alternative reading of 616 E preserved for us by Proclus.

The parts of his commentary which chiefly concern us are as follows:

(1) διττὴ δ' ἐστὶν ἡ γραφὴ τῆς ταῦτα τὰ βάθη διοριζούσης λέξεως. καὶ ἡ μὲν προτέρα καὶ ἀρχαιοτέρα τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἀκολουθεῖ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην σφαῖραν ἀστέρων, τῆς μὲν μείζονα περιεχούσης μείζον τὸ βάθος λέγουσα, τῆς δὲ ἐλάσσονα ἔλασσον. οἷον μετὰ τὸν ἐξωτάτω σφόνδυλον, ὅς ἐστιν ὁ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς—μετὰ τούτου δ' οὖν τὸν ἀπλανῆ κύκλον πλατύτατον ὄντα—τὸν τοῦ ἡλιακοῦ σφονδύλου τῶν λοιπῶν ἑβδομον ὄντα τῷ πλατεῖ διαφέρειν—ἔπειτα <τὸν> τοῦ σεληνιακοῦ—καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης—καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν τοῦ Ἀρεῖκου—καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν τοῦ Διῖου σφονδύλου καὶ ἐξῆς τὸν τοῦ Κρονίου, καὶ τελευταῖον εἶναι τὸν τοῦ Ἑρμαιοῦ· καὶ ἀπλῶς κατὰ τὰ μεγέθη τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τὸν σφόνδυλον ἔχειν τὸ πλάτος. ἡ δὲ δευτέρα καὶ νεωτέρα, κρατοῦσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς κεκωλισμένοις (κεκολασμένοις coniecit Pitra) ἀντιγράφοις μετὰ τὸν ἐξωτάτω σφόνδυλον κτλ. (Kroll II. 218. 1 ff. The reading which Proclus proceeds to describe is that found in our MSS.)

(2) καὶ ἴσως οἱ οὕτως λέγοντες (i.e. the adherents of the 'newer' text) ἔβλεψαν εἰς τὰ ἀπόγεια καὶ περίγεια κινήματα τῶν ἀστέρων, καὶ ἐφ' ὧν πλείονα τὴν διαφορὰν εἶρον, ἐπὶ τούτων τὸ βάθος ἔθεντο πλείον τῶν σφαιρῶν—εἴτε δὲ τὴν προτέραν εἴτε τὴν δευτέραν ἐγκρίνοι τις γραφήν, οὐ πάνυ συνάδουσιν ταῖς τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τηρήσεσιν· μᾶλλον δὲ ὅμως ἡ μὲν δευτέρα συμβαίνει πῃ τοῖς τὰς ἀνελιττούσας εἰσαγαγοῦσιν, ἡ δὲ προτέρα τὸ αὐτοφνὲς ἔχει, τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἀποδιδούσα τῶν ἐνδεδεμένων ἐν ταῖς σφαῖραις ἀστέρων τὰς ἐν τοῖς βάθεσι διαφοράς, πλὴν ὅτι τῆς σελήνης ἡ Ἀφροδίτη μείζων, εἰ καὶ τὸ φαινόμενον ἀπ' ἐναντίας ἔχει· παντελῶς τῶν κατ' ἐκείνους τὸν χρόνον ἀστρονόμων τοῖς φαινομένοις ἀκολουθησάντων ὡς τὸ εἰκὸς καὶ ταύτῃ καὶ τὰ βάθη διαστησάντων ἀπ' ἀλλήλων (ib. 219. 11 ff.).

(3) τῶν μὲν προειρημένων γραφῶν ἡ προτέρα, καθάπερ εἶπομεν, εἰς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν περιεχομένων ἐν τοῖς πλατεσι ἀστέρων βλέπει καὶ οὐδὲ τὰ τούτων μεγέθη διώρισε ὡς τοῖς ὕστερον ἔδοξεν· ἡ δὲ τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα τήρησις τοῖς ἀπογοίοις αὐτῶν ἐχρήσατο καὶ περιγίοις ἐς δῆλωσησιν τοῦ πλάτους τῶν σφονδύλων, οὐδὲ τοῖς ὕστερον τῆς τούτων καταλήψεως ἱκανῶς πεισθείσης (ib. 221. 28 ff.).

From the first of these extracts we are enabled to reconstruct what Proclus calls the 'older reading.' The text of which he speaks must have run:

τὸν μὲν οὖν πρῶτόν τε καὶ ἐξωτάτω σφόνδυλον πλατύτατον τὸν τοῦ χείλους κύκλον ἔχειν, τὸν δὲ τοῦ ἐβδόμου δεύτερον, τρίτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ ὀγδοῦ, τέταρτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ ἔκτου, πέμπτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ τετάρτου, ἕκτον δὲ τὸν τοῦ τρίτου, ἑβδομον δὲ τὸν τοῦ δευτέρου, ὕγδοον δὲ τὸν τοῦ

πέμπτου. (See my article in *Cl. Rev.* xv pp. 391 ff.) According to this reading the order of the whorls, in respect of breadth of rim, will be:—

The whorl of the			Fixed Stars	(no. 1)
"	"	"	Sun	(no. 7)
"	"	"	Moon	(no. 8)
"	"	"	Venus	(no. 6)
"	"	"	Mars	(no. 4)
"	"	"	Jupiter	(no. 3)
"	"	"	Saturn	(no. 2)
"	"	"	Mercury	(no. 5).

It will be convenient to discuss, first the meaning, and afterwards the value, of this 'older' text.

What, then, is the interpretation?

We note, in the first place, that the order in which the planetary whorls are arranged according to breadth of rim (Sun, Moon, Venus, etc.) corresponds with tolerable exactness to the order of the planets in respect of apparent size, and that the lip of the outermost whorl may be the broadest because of the number as well as the magnitude of the stars which it contains (cf. Proclus l.c. 218. 6 ff. ὁ τῆς ἀπλανοῦς, περιέχων τοσοῦτον πλήθος ἀστρῶν κατεσπαρμένον κατὰ πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ βάθος, ὃν ἕκαστον ἀποδείκνυσιν ὁ λόγος μείζονα τῆς γῆς). Secondly, it is clear from what Proclus himself says that the order of breadth of whorl-lips in this 'older' text was really supposed to depend upon the size of the ἐνδεδεμένοι ἀστέρες (τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἀκολουθεῖ τῶν καθ' ἑκάστην σφαῖραν ἀστέρων 218. 2 et al.).

In these circumstances our first impulse is to suppose that the planetary lips are just broad enough to accommodate their planets and no broader, so that the breadth will be in each case exactly equal to the diameter of the planet. In this way I interpreted Proclus' 'older' text in *Cl. Rev.* xv pp. 391 ff.

But there are strong reasons in favour of supposing (with Cook Wilson) that the advocates of this text in antiquity did not make the breadth of the whorl-surfaces equal, but only *proportionate*, to the sizes of the planets. Of the 'earlier' reading Proclus remarks (l.c. II 219. 23) ἡ δὲ προτέρα τὸ αὐτοφύνης ἔχει. Now it was perfectly understood by Proclus that the surfaces of the whorls are contiguous (II 216. 8 ff.), and knowing this, he can hardly have failed to recognise that if the planets fill the entire rims, they will sometimes touch one another, and the Moon and the Earth will always be in contact. This arrangement is certainly not 'natural,' and we are led to suspect that Proclus had in mind another interpretation of the 'older' reading when he used this epithet, and one in which the orbital distances of the planets would be somehow represented. Now in discussing this subject, Proclus nowhere says that the rims are exactly equal in breadth to the sizes of the planets, and his language is always consistent with the theory that the relationship is one of proportion and nothing more (τοῖς μεγέθεσιν ἀκολουθεῖ II 218. 2, εἰς τὰ μεγέθη τῶν περιεχομένων ἐν τοῖς πλάτεσιν ἀστέρων βλέπει ib. 221. 29 et al.). Such a theory might well be

described as 'natural,' for it provides for the orbital distances on a principle which is reasonable enough in such *a priori* physics. "The principle," writes Professor Cook Wilson, "would be a sort of equable distribution of planetary mass, allowing the greater body more space. It would come to allowing the same average of linear dimension of planetary mass to each unit of distance between orbits throughout the system."

Another argument in support of this interpretation of Proclus' 'older' text may be derived from the treatise of Theo. Theo has our text of Plato (see on this subject p. 479 below), and introduces his quotation of the passage in these words: *δηλοῖ δὲ τὴν τάξιν τῶν σφαιρῶν διὰ τὸ τοῦ μεγέθους τῶν ἄστρων ἑκάστου καὶ διὰ τοῦ χρώματος ἑκάστου καὶ ἔτι διὰ τοῦ τάχους τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ ἐναντία τῷ παντὶ φορᾶς* (143. 14 ff. Hiller). It is clear from this sentence that Theo inferred the size of the different bodies from the breadth of the lips, so that he must have made the breadths of the planetary whorl-lips either equal or proportional to the diameters of the planets. That he interpreted them as equal is very unlikely, for he had before his mind in this part of his work the conception of orbital distances (see e.g. 141. 6), and could hardly have failed to remark on so extraordinary a peculiarity as the absence of any provision for representing those distances, if he really supposed that Plato had not represented them. It is the more improbable that Theo should have passed over in silence so strange a feature because he wrote at a time when the prevailing doctrine was that of a system of spheres whose radii were orbital distances from the centre (i.e. the Earth), and shews himself acquainted with this doctrine in other portions of his commentary, e.g. on pp. 181 ff. The more natural supposition therefore is that Theo, like Proclus, regarded the relationship between the breadth of the lips and the size of the planets as one of proportion and not of equality.

Finally, this interpretation of the 'older' reading throws light on some passages of Proclus' commentary which are otherwise obscure. In 219. 27 ff. *παντελῶς τῶν κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν χρόνον κτλ.* (quoted above at the end of the second extract) Proclus implies that the astronomers of Plato's time made the depths of the planetary spheres dependent on the apparent sizes of the planets. Whether the implication itself is true or not, it is unlikely that Proclus would have imputed to any astronomers the complete neglect of orbital intervals, and the only interpretation of the 'older' reading which allows for these intervals is to make the breadth of the lips proportionate to the sizes of the planets. And in 219. 11 ff. (*καὶ ἴσως οἱ οὕτως λέγοντες κτλ.*) Proclus suggests that the 'older' reading was altered to our text in order to represent the differences between the planets in respect of apogee and perigee. The suggestion seems clearly to imply that he found the orbital distances of the planets represented in the 'older reading,' for "if the *χείλη* were only equal to the diameters of the planets, how could it be relevant to widen them to allow for apogee and perigee? Clearly it could only be relevant to the correction of a magnitude already representing differences of orbital distances" (Cook Wilson).



These considerations make it highly probable, if they do not absolutely prove, that Proclus' 'older reading' was understood to make the breadth of the different whorl-surfaces proportionate, and not equal, to the diameters of the planets.

We have now to consider the value and authority of this reading as compared with the text of our MSS.

The one reading is described by Proclus as *προτέρα καὶ ἀρχαιότερα*, the other—that which I have adopted—as *δευτέρα καὶ νεωτέρα, κρατοῦσα δὲ ἐν τοῖς κεκωλισμένοις ἀντιγράφοις*.

The word *κεκωλισμένοις*, which is a *ῥᾶπξ εἰρημένον*, can refer only to the arrangement of the MS in *κῶλα* to facilitate study and reading aloud: see Dziatzko in Pauly-Wissowa III p. 960. 27 and Birt *Ant. Buchwesen* pp. 180 ff. But as there seems to be no other evidence of the division of Plato's dialogues into *κῶλα* (see Birt l.c.), Pitra's conjecture *κεκολασμένοις* 'castigatis' 'corrected' 'edited' may be right.

If Proclus wrote *κεκολασμένοις*, it would seem that a recension of Plato's text was made about his time, and the 'newer' reading deliberately adopted in place of that which had hitherto held the field. As this 'newer' reading is found in all our MSS, we might even suppose that this recension originated the Archetype, from which according to Schanz (*Stud. zur Gesch. d. Plat. Textes* pp. 23—45), our MSS are all descended, and which Schanz places not earlier than 400 A.D. But even if we should grant all these hypotheses, it by no means follows that the 'older' reading is that which Plato wrote. Against the possibility that the reading of our MSS was a deliberate emendation on the part of the editors has to be set the rival possibility that it rested upon the authority of MSS which were judged by them to be more trustworthy than the authorities for the vulgate text. We have no evidence as to the critical principles followed by the authors of the recension—if recension there was; and in the absence of such evidence, the question between the two readings must be determined by the internal probabilities.

The balance of probability is in favour of the reading of our MSS, as will appear from the following considerations.

In the first place, our text was felt to be the *lectio difficilior*. This appears from the fact that Proclus found it difficult to discern a principle in the 'newer' reading (*καὶ ἴσως οἱ οὕτως λέγοντες κτλ.*), whereas the 'older' seemed to him easy and natural (*ἡ δὲ προτέρα τὸ αὐτοφύεῃς ἔχει*).

Secondly, it is clear that, whichever text was the original one, it must have been altered into the other by deliberate emendation in order to satisfy some astronomical preconception. And it is much easier to conjecture why the 'newer' reading should have been changed into the 'older' than conversely.

Suppose, on the one hand, that the 'older' reading represents the truth. Why was it emended into our text? The motive cannot have been in order to reconcile the account of the planetary distances in the *Republic* with that which we find in the *Timaeus*; for the 'newer' reading makes the discrepancy between the two dialogues as great as

before. Or was it, as Proclus suggests, to make provision for the apogee and perigee of the planets? This is also improbable, because even a careless reader of the *Republic* (and, we may add, of the *Timaeus*) would hardly fail to see that Plato's general conception of the celestial motions leaves no room for apogee and perigee; and on this account so violent a dislocation, even if it were once made, would be very unlikely to establish itself.

If we suppose, on the other hand, that our text is that which Plato himself wrote, a plausible account can be given of the origin of the 'older' reading. The theory that the breadths of the rims should be proportioned to the size of the planets was considered to be natural (*ἡ δὲ προτέρα τὸ αὐτοφυνὲς ἔχει*), whereas the existing text appeared difficult and perplexing: and hence the 'emendation.' Of this hypothesis we have strong *prima facie* confirmation in the treatise of Theo, who retains what (according to our supposition) was the original text, that of our MSS, and nevertheless explains the breadths as depending on the size of the planets. Theo's evidence thus supplies the missing link. The next step would be to alter the text in conformity with the explanation given (though not necessarily originated) by Theo: for if Theo's explanation was once accepted, it would soon be felt that the order of magnitude of the heavenly bodies in the received text was absurd. The corruption may therefore be assigned with probability to the time between Theo and Proclus.

An advocate of Proclus' 'older' reading must on the other hand suppose that Theo's citation of Plato (p. 145 Hiller) has been tampered with. This is of course possible, but much less probable than the rival view.

Finally, the strongest argument in favour of our text is that it conforms to the numerical principle explained above (see pp. 473 f.).

It is highly probable that any alteration of the original text would violate this principle, and in Proclus' 'older' reading it is violated, for the order of breadth in the *προτέρα γραφή* is

1 7 8 6 4 3 2 5.

And it is in the last degree improbable that an emendation of the 'older reading' would obey the 'rule of nines' which holds good in the enumeration both of the colours and of the velocities of the heavenly bodies. As our text does obey this law, the probabilities are that it is no emendation, but proceeds from Plato himself.





## INDEXES.

### I. INDEX OF GREEK WORDS.

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The appendices are referred to by volume and page, and in clarendon type.*

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Genitive case:—Ionic form of, in Ionic name 600 A (*Θάλεω*): do., in paraphrasing Homer 390 E (*μήνιος*): accumulation of genitives 449 A, 525 C, 527 D, 544 D, 551 C, 560 A: gen. abs. 327 C, 409 D, 496 D, 558 A, 604 E: do., of participle, where we expect nom. 458 D, 586 D, where we expect dat. 459 C, 590 D, where we expect acc. 538 D, 590 D: gen. with *ἀπολαύειν* 395 C, *βία* 554 C, *ἐπόμενος* 504 B, *κρατεῖσθαι* 455 D, *πεινᾶν* 521 A: gen. of definition 437 D: gen. to express connexion or relation 597 D, E: exclamatory gen. 509 C: gen. with verbs of missing 334 D: partitive gen. 328 E (*χαλεπὸν τοῦ βίου*), 431 B, 436 D, 496 C, 516 C, 543 A: do. with ellipse of *τι*, as in *κινήσειεν ἂν τῶν νόμων* 445 E, 344 B, 485 B: gen. to express penalty 558 A: gen.=*περί* with gen. 470 A, 576 D: possessive gen. 433 E, cf. 473 D: gen. of reflexive pronoun with *ἔχειν* and adverb 571 D: subjective gen. 387 D, II 313: subj. and obj. gen. combined

537 C. A difficult instance of use of gen. 507 E

## H

Hendiadys 328 C, 429 E, 558 A  
Hyperbaton 391 D, 472 A, 488 A, 492 A, 564 A, 581 C, D, E, see also on 452 B, 490 D, 531 E: hyperb. of τε 452 A, 465 E

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Imperfect tense:—as in *ἔδει ἐχρῆν* etc. 504 B: imperf. of continuous or habitual action 349 A, 461 D: in recapitulation 572 D: so-called 'philosophic imperfect' 353 B, cf. 441 D, 477 A, 490 A, C, 522 A: other uses of the imperf., sometimes inaccurately described as 'philosophic' 406 E, 436 C, 442 C, 497 C, 609 B, 613 A: imperf. with *ἄν* 427 A

Indicative mood: past tense of, with *ᾔπως* 378 A: ind. followed by opt. and ind. in successive clauses of condition 505 A, B: ind. combined with opt. in *or. obl.* 515 D: ind. corrupted into subj. 454 E, 508 C, 550 A, 553 C, II 390: do. into opt. 585 A, 615 D. See also *Future tense*

Infinitive:—with the article 347 D: with *λαθεῖν* II 62: sometimes *ἀνακόλουθον*, following *ὅτι* 501 A: with *φοβερόν* 451 A: final inf. with gen. of article 518 D: inf. for imperative 473 A, 508 B, 509 B: imperf. inf. 340 E: inf. after *οἶος* 351 E: inf. of purpose 466 E, 605 A, cf. 468 A, 504 B: perf. inf. with *ἄν* 516 D: accumulation of infinitives 358 E

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Interlocutors, change of, marking a new departure 576 B

Interruptions, dramatic, sometimes ignored by the Platonic Socrates 460 E, 549 C, 567 E

Irony 568 A, II 313 and *passim*: helped out by *ἄρα* 455 E, by *ἴσως* 423 C, by *ὥς* *εἰκεν* 454 C: Socratic irony 450 C—451 B, 457 E—458 A, 506 C, D

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Longinus *περὶ ὕψους* 530 B, 537 A, 549 D, 559 D, 560 B: on metaphor 527 D: on rhetorical asyndeton 590 A: on the style of Plato 559 D, 595 B

## M

Manuscripts, the, of the *Republic*: I xiii ff. and *passim*. Schanz's theory as to the archetype of our MSS II 478

Manuscripts, errors of, exemplified:—

*Accents, breathings* etc. misplaced:—

*ἄλλ'* for *ἄλλ'* II 434, cf. II 435  
*ἄλλα* f. *ἄλλά* II 62  
*ἄν* f. *ἄν* 606 C  
*ἀποκρίνοιο* f. *-νοῖο* I 26  
*ἀποκρίνοιτο* f. *-νοῖτο* I 26  
*αὐτῆ* f. *αὐτῇ* I 25, 44, 307, II 407  
*αὐτῇ* f. *αὐτῇ* I 36, II 96  
*αὐτοῦ* f. *αὐτοῦ* and conversely, *passim*  
*γενναῖα* f. *γενναῖα* II 238  
*ἐν* f. *ἐν* II 117  
*ἐξαίρωμεν* f. *-ῶμεν* II 22, cf. II 258  
*ῆ* f. *ῆ* II 45, f. *ῆ* I 182, f. *ῆ* I 49  
*ῆ* f. *ῆ* I 178, II 239  
*ἔκταρ* f. *ἔκταρ* II 329  
*λοῦ* *λοῦ* f. *λοῦ* *λοῦ* I 238  
*καταπατήσας* f. *-ήσας* II 237  
*κρατῶν* f. *κράτων* 607 C  
*οἱ* f. *οἱ* II 104  
*οἶον* f. *οἶον* II 144  
*οὐ* f. *οὐ* I 119  
*οὐδέν* f. *οὐδέν* I 262  
*οὔτοι* f. *οὐ* *τοι* I 8  
*πέρι* f. *περί* I 81  
*πόθεν* i. *ποθέν* I 224  
*ποῖ* f. *ποῖ* I 8  
*σιδηροῦ ἀργυρῶ* f. *-ήρου -ύρω* II 209  
*σκυτοτόμων* f. *-τομῶν* I 105  
*ταῦτά* f. *ταῦτα* I 276, II 90  
*ταῦτα* f. *ταῦτά* I 319  
*τί* f. *τι* II 43  
*τι* f. *τί* 530 C  
*τίς* f. *τις* 502 A  
*τῷ* f. *τῷ* I 241, II 102  
*ψευδέσιν* f. *ψεύδεσιν* I 110  
*ὦν* f. *ὦν* I 142  
*ὠφέλει* f. *ὠφέλει* I 263

*Accommodation, assimilation, attraction* etc., whether accidental or deliberate:—

*ἀδικούμενον* f. *-ούμενα* II 40  
*αἰσθόμενον* f. *-όμενος* 538 B  
*ἄλλον* f. *ἄλλον* I 141  
*ἀπειργάσατο* f. *-άσαντο* 550 E  
*ἀποκρινάμενον* f. *-αμένου* 538 D  
*αὐτῇ* f. *αὐτῆς* I 228  
*αὐτοῦς* f. *αὐτοῦ* II 89  
*αὐτόχειρας* f. *αὐτόχειρος* 615 C  
*αὐτῷ* f. *αὐτῶν* II 219  
*γεγονῆσαν* f. *-νίας* I 228  
*γενομένου* and *γενομένου* f. *γενόμενον* I 187, cf. 496 C  
*γίγνωσκομένης* f. *-ένην* II 61  
*δέοι* f. *δέη* (after *ὅταν* written *ὅτ' ἄν*) I 117  
*διεξεληθόντες* f. *-όντος* 484 A  
*ἐγγενόμενοι* i. *-όμενοι* I 268  
*εἰδωλοποιούντι* f. *-οῦντα* 605 C



ἐκαστος f. ἐκάστας II 22  
 ἐκείνης f. ἐκείνου I 60  
 ἐκείνου f. ἐκείνα I 303  
 ἐνί f. ἐνός I 259  
 ἐπαισχυνόμενος f. -ένας II 324  
 ἤξει f. ἤξει (after ἄν) 615 D  
 θηρίον f. θηρίον I 253  
 μέλλου f. μέλλει (after εἶπερ) I 299  
 μεταχειρίζεται f. -ίζονται I 184  
 οἶον f. οἶος I 328  
 οὐ f. οὐ II 118  
 οὐρανόν f. -νοῦ 509 D  
 πλήθους f. πλήθος II 369  
 πολλοί and πολλοῖς f. πολλῶν 615 B  
 προσφερῆ f. προσφερές 616 B  
 ῥέποντος f. ῥέποντε 550 E  
 τὰ πρὸς αὐτὰ τείνοντα f. τὸ πρὸς αὐτὰ  
 τείνον τὰ I 287  
 τινὰς—ὄντας etc. f. τινὰ—ὄντα etc.  
 605 D  
 τινος f. τινάς I 179  
 τοῦτο f. τοῦτου I 257  
 τοῦτον f. τοῦτο I 261  
 τούτω f. τοῦτο II 113  
 ὑποκείμενον f. -κείμενα 581 B

*Assignment of speakers, mistakes in:—*

348 D, I 55, 372 E, 407 B, 453 D (?),  
 II 126, 227, 399

*Displacement of words:—*

ἀνάγκη perhaps misplaced 551 D  
 δὴ νῦν f. νῦν δὴ (bis) I 193  
 δουλείας καὶ θωπέας f. θ. καὶ δ. 579 D  
 εἰ καὶ f. καὶ εἰ I 264  
 εἶναι perh. misplaced I 297  
 εἰς ὃ τι f. ὅτι εἰς 616 A  
 καὶ νεανικοὶ τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τὰς  
 διανοίας perhaps misplaced II 47, 79  
 —81  
 μὴ ὥς f. ὥς μὴ 579 B  
 ὅτι τοιοῦτος ἦν perhaps misplaced 407 E  
 πρὸς τὸ ἄλυπον οὕτω λύπην f. τὸ ἄλυπον  
 οὕτω πρὸς λύπην 585 A  
 τὰς μὲν f. μὲν τὰς 573 E  
 τὴν αὐτὴν perhaps f. αὐτὴν τὴν I 339  
 ὑπομένων καὶ perhaps f. καὶ ὑπομένων  
 I 257

*Dittography:—*

δεῖ δὲ f. δεῖ (with confusion of α and δ)  
 I 36  
 εἰ εἴη f. εἴη II 338  
 εἰ εἰκόνας f. εἰκόνας I 167  
 οἶοι f. οἶ 484 A  
 φύσας ἄς f. φύς ἄς I 301

*Division and running-together of  
 words, errors of:—*

ἀλλ' ἄγ' for ἀλλὰ γ' 543 C  
 ἀλλ' οἶαν τοι f. ἀλλοίαν τοι II 78  
 ἀλλ' ὥς f. ἄλλως II 352  
 ἄν εἴης f. ἀνίης (with εἰ f. ι) II 415  
 ἀνέλθοι f. ἄν ἔλθοι II 31  
 ἀνευρεῖν f. ἄν εὕρεῖν I 206, cf. II 117  
 ἀνοφθείη f. ἄν ὀφθείη II 333  
 αὐ τό f. αὐτό (bis) II 354  
 αὐτὴν f. αὐ τὴν I 102, cf. 577 B, II 218,  
 I 167  
 γοῦν f. γε οὖν 585 A  
 δεῖ δέ f. δέ ἰδέ 580 D  
 δέ τι f. δ' ἔτι I 58  
 διασοφῶν f. Δία (? λαν) σοφῶν II 468  
 ἐγκαλῶ f. ἐν καλῶ 571 B  
 ἔγωγ' οὖν f. ἐγὼ γοῦν I 22, cf. I 227,  
 II 1, 120, 343  
 εἰκοσι ἐτών f. εἰκοσιετών II 148, cf.  
 II 154  
 εἰκός. τὴν f. εἰκοστὴν 620 B  
 ἐν εἶναι f. ἐνεῖναι II 34  
 ἐπιδέξια f. ἐπὶ δεξιά I 207  
 ἔτι μάλιστα f. ἐτίμα <μά> λιστα II 227  
 μῆδέν f. μῆδ' ἔν I 302  
 νομοθετῆς εἰς (sic) f. νομοθετῆσεις I 169  
 ὅτε f. ὅ τε I 135  
 οὐδενί f. οὐδ' ἐνί I 253  
 παραπλεῖαι f. παρὰ πλέαι I 139  
 πᾶς σοφός f. πάσσοφος II 395  
 περιερίζομεν οἷς f. περὶ ὀριζομένους I 143  
 τείνοντα f. τείνον τὰ I 287  
 τό δέ f. τόδε 604 A  
 τὸν δέ τινα f. τόνδε τίνα II 388  
 τουτί f. τοῦ τι II 330

*Dual, corruption of the:—*

in adjectives, nouns, pronouns and par-  
 ticples I 186, 212, 261, II 210, 578 C  
 in verbs I 260

*Interpolation,*

is rare in Paris A, fairly common in Ξ,  
 and tolerably frequent in q: probable  
 or certain examples of in the MSS of the  
*Republic*:—

prob. due to a marginal note of ap-  
 proval or otherwise:—II 30 (ἀξίον),  
 II 50 (ἀξίον τὸ διανόημα), I 133 (ὡς  
 οἴεται); due to an explanation, gloss,  
 attempt to fill up the sense or con-  
 struction etc. 341 D (οὐ προσδεῖται  
 etc.), II 141, 192 f. (ἀλλ' δ—ψυχῇ),  
 I 158 (ἁρμονίας), 525 D (δύο), I 27  
 (εἴη), 613 E (εἶτα—ἐκκαυθήσονται),  
 II 189 (ἐνταῦθα δὲ πρὸς φαντάσματα),  
 II 222 (ἦ τινος), I 291, 357 (σοφίας),  
 380 A (τὰ τῆς Νιόβης πάθη), 616 A  
 (ταῦτα ὑπομένειν), I 287 (τὴν ψυχὴν

δντα), 580 D (τὸ λογιστικόν and λογιστικόν), 616 A (τὸν φόβον); due to the fusion of two distinct readings I 82 (στρεπτοὶ δέ); due to the erroneous repetition of words I 190 (δταν μάλιστα). For the occasional interpolation of articles, prepositions, conjunctions and other single words see the critical notes *passim*

*Letters frequently added or omitted by mistake:—*

Iota subscript wrongly added: I 262, II 127, I 297, II 126, 423, I 29, 304, 505 A, II 138, 337, 342, 612 B, C

Iota subscript wrongly omitted: I 9, 40, 96, 155, 182, II 221, I 331, II 37, 38, 106, 222, 259, 420

ν, final, wrongly added: I 234 (τόν f. τό), II 226, I 234 (οὖν f. οὐ), II 71, 583 C, I 239, 317, 340, 479 C, 484 D, II 3, 501 D, II 126, 547 E, 610 A (ὀρθότατ' ἂν f. ὀρθότατα)

ν, final, wrongly omitted: I 54 (ἔφη f. ἔφην), 179, I 56, 69, 81, 134 (ἄρα f. ἄρ' ἂν), 226, II 21, 49, 564 E, 607 B (δία f. λίαν)

*Letters, confusion of:—*

a and αι { α for αι: φαμεν f. φαῖμεν I 58, II 342; πᾶσι f. παισί I 234, II 25; ἅπανα f. ἅπασαι II 140

αι for α: ἐξαιρεῖν and ἐξάλρειν f. ἐξαρεῖν II 25

γ for τ: γε f. τε I 152, 290, 578 A, 605 A

τ for γ: τε f. γε I 24, 58, 120, 326, 578 B, 581 C, II 431; ἡγείσθε f. ἡγεῖσθε

γ and τ { 612 C; μετὰ f. μέγα II 7; combined with lipography στρατενομένων f. στραγγενομένων I 326

γ for λ: γεωργούς f. λεωργούς (?) 421 A

δ for α: διδόντες f. ἄδοντες I 81; combined with dittography, ῥάδιον f. ῥᾶον I 94, with lipography, ῥᾶον f. ῥάδιον I 49

δ for λ: ἀποδομένων f. ἀπολομένων II 261; δία f. λίαν 607 B; ἀπεδυσάμεθα for ἀπελυσάμεθα 612 A

ε for αι: ἑτερος f. ἑταῖρος I 133, 254, II 262; οἶον τε f. οἶονται 387 C; ἐρεῖ f. αἰρεῖ II 411

ε and αι { αι for ε: ἀρήσσεσθαι f. ἐρήσσεσθαι II 135; κατηγορεῖται f. κατηγορεῖτε 453 E; ναίων f. νέων II 185

ε for ει: ἀποκρίνεσθαι f. -ινεῖσθαι I 26, II 39

ει for ε: ἀντιτείνειν f. -τενεῖν 604 A; ἔδει f. ἔδῃ II 455

ε for η: δέ f. δῇ I 45, 108, 279, II 391; μέν f. μῆν I 262

ει for η (η): φράσεις f. φράσγς I 237, εἰ f. ἡ 458 B, ξυνδεῖ f. ξυνδῇ I 305, cf. I 312, II 412

ε and η { η for ε: δῇ for δέ I 30, 345 D, 573 C; ξυλλέγηται f. -έγε-ται II 226

η (η) for ει: καταλάμπη f. -λάμπει II 59, ἀκούη f. ἀκούει 550 A, δοκῇ f. δοκεῖ 579 D

ε for ο: ἔτι f. ὅτι I 275

ει for η: εἰ f. ἡ I 257; γένει f. γένῃ I 259; καταλειφθέν f. καταληφθέν 496 B; ἀλή-θειαν f. ἀληθῇ ἂν II 364

ει and η { η for ει: δῇ f. δεῖ I 194, 533 A; ὑγῆς f. ὑγίεις I 220

ει for ι: ἐπιλειπούσης f. -λιπούσης I 32, cf. II 262; ἀποτείνουσιν f. -τίνουσιν

I 79; εἴη f. ἔη I 96; παρά-πλειαι f. παρὰ πλείαι I 139; ἐπειδὴ f. ἐπὶ δῇ I 188;

οἰκίας f. οἰκας I 252; ἐλλειπῇ f. ἐλλιπῇ II 49;

θάλεια f. θαλαῖα 573 D; ἀνείης f. ἀνῆς II 415. See also 581 B, II 270 n. 1

ει and ι { ι for ει: στρατιαῖς f. στρατεῖαις I 172, cf. 318, 319, II 36; ἀνίη f. ἀνελῇ II 92; παρα-λιπομένης f. -λειπομένης II 125, cf. 574 D; πιστέον f. πειστέον II 147; παιδία f. παιδεῖα II 148

η for ι: εὐδαιμονήσειεν f. -λοσειεν II 97; ναυτηλῶν f. ναυτιλῶν II 222; τῇν f. τῶν II 226; κατοικήσειε f. -λοσειε II 338

η and ι { ι for η: διότι f. δῇ ὅτι I 169; ἔτι f. ἔτη II 152; ἀπολελο-γίσθω f. -ῆσθω 607 B

λ for π: ἀλλῆς f. ἀπλῆς I 152

ο for ου: τοῦτο f. τούτου I 240, 257

ο and ου { ου for ο: τούτου f. τοῦτο 610 D; σιδηροῦς and χαλ-κοῦς f. σιδήρος and χαλκός I 196; οὐ f. ὅ 562 B

- ο for ω : οἰόμεθα f. οἰώμεθα I 169, II 224, 225; ἄλλος f. ἄλλως I 311; κατήκοι f. κατηκόω II 38; ὅσον f. ὅσων 534 A; other instances I 187, 188, 237, 283, 285, 464 B, II 54, 524 D, II 210, 251, 322, 409
- ο and ω { ω for ο : εἰπὼν f. εἶπον I 110; αὐτῶν f. αὐτόν I 213, II 323; θάμνων f. θάμνον I 237; other examples I 259, 263, 454 E, I 289, 300, 319, II 49, 119, 234, 561 E, 581 C, II 346, 440
- ο and ω (ω) { ο for ω (ω) : τὸ αὐτό f. τῷ αὐτῷ I 306; τό f. τῷ II 258, 411; τοῦτο f. τούτῳ 580 E
- ω (ω) for ο : αὐτῷ f. αὐτό I 257; τούτῳ f. τοῦτο II 113
- π for τ : ποτε f. τότε I 279
- π for τι : ἐπ' f. ἐτι 532 B, C; ποιώμεθα f. τί οἰώμεθα 581 D
- πι for τι : ἐπιπονηρότερος f. ἐτι πονηρότερος II 368
- στ for τ : διαστάσεις f. διατάσεις I 179; ἕκαστον f. ἐκάτὼν II 208

*Omission of one of two identical letters or syllables:—*

ἄλλου τινὸς οὖν f. ἄλλου οὐτινοσοῦν I 240; βαλόντος f. βάλλοντος I 321; γενήσεται f. γενν- 461 A; ἐτι μάλιστα f. ἐτίμα μάλιστα II 227; μελιουργός f. μελιττ- 564 C; ξυναίρη f. ξυναιρηῇ 540 C; περιόντες f. περιμόντες II 260, cf. 401; τοῦ f. τοῦτου 610 D, τρίτα f. τριττά 599 A

*Omission of words with like ending is not infrequent in Paris A. Instances of, in Paris A or other MSS of the Rep.:—*

I 67, 80, 87, 102, 104, 115, 119, 123, 162, 164, 355 f. (καὶ καλοῦ and καὶ καλοῦ αὖ), 603 B (καὶ ἡ), perhaps also I 50 (πράξεως τῆς) and 439 A, I 271 (καὶ τινός). The omission of single words may also be sometimes due to *homoioteleuton*, e.g. τί I 186, ὅτι I 108, λεκτέα I 113, οἱ I 142, τάδε I 219, οὖν I 227, ἡ I 240, II 355, τῶν I 308, τά I 322, εἰ I 338, τῇ II 116, ἐν 604 B, αὐτό II 411, ὃν 608 A

*Omission of words without homoioteleuton:—*

I 131, 263 (46 letters), II 49 (41 letters), II 224 (δῆλον, ἐφη): of single words

without *hom.*, e.g. ἔχειν I 71, ἐφη I 76, 275, 522 A, εἶναι I 88, ἡμῖν I 143, μή I 149, 286, ἕκαστον II 137, οὖσαν II 182, νῶ II 457. For the occasional omission of articles, conjunctions, particles, prepositions and pronouns, see the critical notes

*Words not included in the above lists, erroneously substituted for other words, whether by accident or design:—*

ἄγον for ἀγαθόν 522 A  
 ἀδρούται f. ἀνδρούται 498 B  
 αἰσθόμεθα f. ἀκροασόμεθα (?) 608 A  
 αἰτινες f. αὐ τινες I 157  
 ἀκολουθήσειν f. -θῆσαι 490 C  
 ἀκρατυτάτης f. ἀκροτάτης 564 A  
 ἀκρόχολοι f. ἀκράχολοι I 187  
 ἀλλά f. ἄλλη I 245  
 ἄλλοις f. ἄθλοις II 48  
 ἀλλοτρίοις f. ἄλλοις I 106  
 ἀμφισβητήσσει and ἀμφισβητήσεως f. ἀμφισβητήσει II 44  
 ἄν f. οὖν I 277  
 ἀναλαμβάνοντα f. ἀναγκάζοντα 490 C  
 ἀνεμόμενοι and ἀνιμώμενοι f. νεμόμενοι I 166  
 ἄνωθεν f. ἔωθεν 621 B  
 ἀπεργάζεται f. -άσεται 591 C  
 ἀποδεχόμεθα and -ώμεθα f. -οίμεθα I 247  
 ἀποκτείνειν, ἀποκτινύναι ἄν f. ἀποκτινύναι, ἀποκτείνειαν ἄν 517 A  
 ἀπολαβών f. ἀπολαύων II 323  
 ἀπολογησομένη f. -αμένη 607 D  
 ἄρα (or ἄρα) ἡ f. ἀρετῇ II 332  
 ἄρα f. ὁρᾶς II 27  
 ἀργύρου f. ἀργυρίου 547 B  
 ἀρχῆς καὶ δικάζης f. ἀρχεῖν καὶ δικάζειν II 236  
 ἀσκεῖται καὶ δοκιμάζεται f. -εἶσθαι κ. -εσθαι I 179  
 ἀσοφώτερος f. σοφώτερος I 183  
 αὐτά f. ταῦτα II 237  
 αὐτῇ f. τοιαύτῃ II 236  
 αὐτό f. τὸ αὐτό 525 A  
 αὐτός f. οὗτος 516 B  
 βεβαιωσόμεθ' and βεβαιωσώμεθ' f. βεβαιωσάμεθ' I 243  
 βλίσσειν f. βλίσσει II 253  
 βουλεύεται f. βούλεται 590 E  
 γοῦν f. οὖν 533 E  
 γυμνοῦσθαι f. μίγνυσθαι I 296  
 δέ f. τε 510 E  
 δέ γε f. δέ I 14  
 δεῖ μηχανήσασθαι f. διαμηχ- II 99  
 διὰ νοῦ f. διανοῦ II 83  
 διαθετέον f. διαθεατέον II 427  
 διατεταγμένους f. -τεταμένους 474 A  
 διαφέρει f. διαφθείρει I 209



- διαφέρωμαι f. διαφέρωμαι I 56  
 διαφεύγουσα f. διαφέρονσα II 199  
 διενεγκεῖν f. διενέγκοιεν II 41  
 διηγῆσεται f. μιμήσεται I 152  
 δίκας f. δικαίως 574 D  
 δοκεῖν f. εὐδοκιμεῖν 423 A  
 δοκῶ f. δοκεῖ I 113  
 εἶν f. εἶσει 618 E  
 εἰαυτῇ f. αὐτῇ I 244  
 εἰαυτοῦ f. εἰαυτόν I 151  
 εἰαυτῶ f. εἰαυτόν II 244, f. εἰαυτοῦ I 73,  
 f. σαυτῶ I 256  
 ἐγγένηται f. ἐγγίγνηται I 254  
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## R

Readings adopted in the text of this edition, but not found in any of the collated MSS of the *Republic*:—

## Reading adopted

- I 333 E ἐμπούησας (Schneider)  
337 E αὐτῷ [εἴη] (Bremi)  
349 B οὐδὲ τῆς <πράξεως τῆς> δικαίας (Adam)  
II 358 E οὐδὲν τε τι (Adam)  
359 A δοκεῖν (Ast)  
361 C ἀπ' (Eusebius)  
364 C περὶ (Madvig)  
,, ἄδοντες (Muretus)  
377 B τύπον (H. Richards)  
III 387 C ποιεῖ (Hertz)  
387 E δδύρεται, φέρει (Stallbaum)  
388 C ὁ τέ (Leaf)  
390 A παρὰ πλέαι (Adam)  
391 E οἱ Ζηνὸς (Bekker)  
392 B ζητούμεν (Stallbaum)  
396 E ἀπλῆς διηγῆσεως (Adam)  
398 A οὐτ' (Adam)  
401 C τις προσβάλλη (Adam)  
407 C ἔφην (Adam)  
407 E ὅτι τοιοῦτος ἦν· καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ (Schneider)  
410 B μεταχειρίζονται (Galen)  
410 E ἀμφοτέρα (Schneider)  
412 D καὶ ἐκείνου (Hermann)  
IV 428 C βουλευομένην (Heindorf)  
A. P. II.

## Reading of Paris A

ἐμπούησαι  
αὐτῷ εἴη  
οὐδὲ τῆς δικαίας  
τί ὃν τε  
δοκεῖ  
ὑπ'  
πέρη  
διδόντες  
τύπος  
ποιεῖ ὥς οἴεται  
δδύρεσθαι, φέρειν  
ὅτε  
παραπλείαι  
Ζηνὸς  
ἐζητούμεν  
ἀλλῆς διηγῆσεως  
οὐκ  
τι προσβάλλη  
ἔφη  
καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ὅτι τοιοῦτος ἦν  
μεταχειριεῖται  
ἀμφοτέρα  
καὶ ὅταν μάλιστα ἐκείνου  
βουλευομένην

	<i>Reading adopted</i>	<i>Reading of Paris A</i>
IV	428 D <i>δυνῖν ἄν</i> (Ast)	<i>δντινα</i>
	429 C <i>αὐτῆς</i> (Adam)	<i>αὐτήν</i>
	430 C <i>μόνιμον</i> (Stobaeus)	<i>νόμιμον</i>
	431 C <i>παισι</i> (H. Wolf)	<i>πᾶσι</i>
	432 C <i>μετρίῳ</i> (H. Richards)	<i>μετρίως</i>
	432 D <i>ιοῦ ἰοῦ</i> (Adam)	<i>ιοῦ ἰοῦ</i>
	437 B <i>ἄν ἀλλήλοις</i> (Baiter)	<i>ἀλλήλοις</i>
	437 D <i>ἐνὶ λόγῳ</i> (Cornarius)	<i>ἐν ὀλίγῳ</i>
	439 B <i>πράττει</i> (Ast)	<i>πράττοι</i>
	439 C <i>ἐγγίγνηται</i> (Schneider)	<i>ἐγγένηται</i>
	440 D <i>ῆ</i> (Ast)	<i>εἰ</i>
	442 A <i>προστατήσεται</i> (Bekker)	<i>προστήσεται</i>
	443 C <i>ὠφέλει</i> (Ast)	<i>ὠφέλει</i>
V	454 D <i>ιατρικὸν</i> (Adam)	<i>ιατρικὴν τὴν ψυχὴν δντα</i>
	457 B <i>γελοίου</i> (J. G. S. Schneider)	<i>γελοίου σοφίας</i>
	459 C <i>ἡγούμεθα</i> (Adam)	<i>ἡγούμεθα εἶναι</i>
	„ <i>δεῖ εἶναι</i> (Adam)	<i>δεῖ</i>
	461 B <i>ἀφῆσομεν</i> (Eusebius)	<i>φῆσομεν</i>
	461 C <i>μηδὲ ἐν</i> (Cobet)	<i>μηδὲ γ' ἐν</i> (μηδὲ γ' ἐν A <sup>2</sup> )
	462 C <i>τῷ αὐτῷ</i> (Wytttenbach)	<i>τὸ αὐτὸ</i>
	468 A <i>ἐλοῦσι</i> (J. van Leeuwen)	<i>θέλουσι</i>
	477 B <i>αὐτὴν τὴν</i> (C. Schmidt)	<i>τὴν αὐτὴν</i>
	478 A <i>δοξάζει</i> (Adam)	<i>δοξάζειν</i>
VI	493 B <i>ἐκάστας</i> (van Prinsterer)	<i>ἐκαστος</i>
	494 B <i>παισιν</i> (de Geer)	<i>πᾶσιν</i>
	499 B <i>κατηκῶ</i> (Schleiermacher)	<i>κατήκοι</i>
	500 A <i>τ' οὐ</i> (Baiter)	<i>τοι</i>
	501 D <i>φήσει</i> (Adam)	<i>φήσειν</i>
	503 C <i>ἐπεται καὶ νεανικοὶ τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τὰς διανοίας</i> (Adam)	<i>ἐπεται</i>
	„ <i>φύεσθαι</i> (Adam)	<i>φύεσθαι καὶ νεανικοὶ τε καὶ μεγαλοπρεπεῖς τὰς διανοίας</i>
	504 A <i>ἄθλοις</i> (Orelli)	<i>ἄλλοις</i>
	504 E <i>ἔφη</i> (Ast)	<i>ἔφη, ἄξιον τὸ διάνοημα</i>
	507 B <i>καὶ</i> (Adam)	<i>κατ</i>
	508 E <i>γινγνωσκομένην</i> (Adam)	<i>γινγνωσκομένης</i>
	510 B <i>ἕτερον</i> (Ast)	<i>ἕτερον τὸ</i>
VII	514 B <i>αὐτοῦ</i> (Hirschig)	<i>αὐτοῦς</i>
	516 E <i>ἄν ἀνάπλεως</i> (Baiter)	<i>ἀνάπλεως</i>
	517 A <i>καὶ ἀποκτινύναι, ἀποκτείνειαν ἄν</i> (Adam)	<i>καὶ ἀποκτείνειν, ἀποκτινύναι ἄν</i>
	532 A <i>ὀρμᾶν</i> (Ast)	<i>ὀρμᾶ</i>
	532 B <i>ἔτι ἀδυναμία</i> (Iamblichus)	<i>ἐπ' ἀδυναμίᾳ</i>
	533 A <i>δεῖ</i> (? Ficinus)	<i>δῆ</i>
	537 B <i>εἰκοσιετῶν</i> (Schneider)	<i>εἰκοσι ἐτῶν</i>
VIII	547 B <i>τῷ δ' αὐτῷ</i> (Schneider)	<i>τὸ δ' αὐτὸ</i>
	547 E <i>κεκτημένην</i> (Bekker, ? with v)	<i>κεκτημένην</i>
	551 C <i>ὁπουοῦν</i> (? Ficinus)	<i>ὁπουοῦν ἢ τινος</i>
	551 D <i>ἀνάγκη</i> (Ast)	<i>ἀνάγκη</i>
	554 B <i>ἐστησάτο καὶ ἐτίμα μάλιστα. Εὖ</i> (Schneider)	<i>ἐστήσατο. Καὶ ἔτι μάλιστα εὖ</i>
	559 E <i>ὀλιγαρχίας — δημοκρατίαν</i> (Adam)	<i>ὀλιγαρχικῆς — δημοκρατικὴν</i>
	562 B <i>δ</i> (Adam)	<i>οὐ</i>
	564 E <i>βλίστειν</i> (Adam)	<i>βλίστει</i>
	568 D <i>καὶ τὰ</i> (Baiter)	<i>τὰ</i>
	568 E <i>ἔφην ἐγώ</i> (Adam)	<i>ἔφην δ' ἐγώ</i>

*Reading adopted*

- IX 577 D ἀνὴρ (Campbell)  
 578 C τῷ τοιούτῳ (Adam)  
 580 D δὲ ἰδὲ (Adam)  
 581 D τί οἰώμεθα (Graser)  
 585 A τὸ ἀλυπον οὕτω πρὸς λύπην  
 (Schleiermacher)  
 585 C αἰὲ ἀνομόλου (Adam)  
 „ ἡ ἐπιστήμης (Adam)  
 588 A πλέον (Adam)  
 591 D φανείται (Iamblichus)  
 X 600 D ὀνίναται (Matthiä)  
 603 C ἦν (Ast)  
 604 D ἱατρικῇ θρηνηφῶδιαν (Stobaeus)  
 606 C ἄν (Schneider)  
 607 B λίαν (Herwerden)  
 „ κράτων (Adam)  
 608 A ἀκροασόμεθα (Adam)  
 610 A ὀρθότατα (Stephanus)  
 615 C αὐτόχειρος (Ast)

*Reading of Paris A*

- ἀνὴρ  
 τῷ τοιούτῳ  
 δεῖ δὲ  
 ποιῶμεθα  
 πρὸς τὸ ἀλυπον οὕτω λύπην  
 αἰὲ ὁμόλου  
 ἐπιστήμης  
 πλείονι (A<sup>1</sup> : A<sup>2</sup> πλείον)  
 φαίνεται  
 ὀνείναι (A<sup>1</sup> : A<sup>2</sup> ὀνίναται)  
 ἦ  
 ἱατρικὴν καὶ θρηνηφῶδιαν (? A<sup>1</sup> : A<sup>2</sup> ἱατρικὴν  
 θρηνηφῶδιαν)  
 ἄν  
 δια  
 κρατῶν  
 αἰσθόμεθα  
 ὀρθότατ' ἄν  
 αὐτόχειρας

Recurrence of the same word at the end of two successive clauses (e.g. εἶναι, — εἶναι) 518 B, 511 E, 614 A, 621 B

Redundancy, pleonasm, fullness of expression etc., features of Plato's style:—  
 329 C, 337 D, 339 A, 341 C, 358 A, 374 D, 421 D, 432 C, 434 C, 462 C, 472 C, I 356, 486 D, 490 A, 505 B, 517 A, 534 A, 555 B, 574 D, 580 A, 583 C, 587 E, 604 A, 618 C

Repetition of a word, unnecessary 601 A. See also Index I ἐφ' ἣ δ' ὅς, ἦν δ' ἐγώ, ὥς

Replies, inexactness in 465 E al., 408 D, 577 B

Revision, imperfect, possible instances of 341 D, 413 C, 549 D, 558 A, cf. II 313 f.

Rhythm as an element of ὕψος 560 B: some instances of, in Plato's style 401 C, 432 A, 545 C ff., 560 B, D, E, 573 D

**S**

Sarcasm 568 A: expressed by participial apposition 498 A

Satire 474 D, E, 529 B, C, 557 E, 558 A

Sigmatism 399 D

Simile treated as a reality 515 E

Singular number, generic use of 510 D, 580 A, B. See also *Concord*

Sound answering to sense 399 D, 432 A

Style, the, of Plato, not a mere copy of the vernacular, but a literary language 330 B: traces of a universal style, or dialect (κοινὴ διάλεκτος), in the fifth century, ib.

Subject:—change of 414 D, 492 C: *latet in*

*antegressis* 329 C, 580 D: supplied from a cognate word 345 A

Subjunctive:—after εἰ 579 D: after ὅς 606 C: governed by ὅταν in a previous sentence 540 E: sometimes combined with fut. ind. after ὅπως 591 D: hortatory, in 1st person 372 E: do. after λέγει 457 C: do. with ὥς ἔοικε 473 B: subj. corrupted into ind. II 412: do. into opt. 472 D, II 53. See also Index I ὅπως, ὥς

Superlative, idiomatic use of 472 E

Symmetry in arrangement of arguments 332 B. See also *Chiasmus*

**T**

Tautology. See *Redundancy*

Tenses. See *Present tense*, *Future tense* etc.

Terminology, Plato's 508 E, 533 D

Transition from a faculty or part of the individual to the individual himself (e.g. ἦ—ὑπάρχει διανοία οἶόν τε οἶει τοῦτ' ὧ) 486 A, 606 B, cf. 573 B, 620 E

**V**

Verb:—ellipse of 510 B, 515 B, 531 E, 551 C, 582 C, 585 D, see also *Copula*, *the*: omitted with ὥσπερ ἂν εἰ and the like 368 D: one verb sometimes does double duty e.g. δοκεῖ 334 B, 493 A, φαίνεται 517 B, προσήκον ἂν εἴη 525 B: verb supplied from cognate noun 425 B: positive supplied from negative verb 374 B, cf. 532 B, C



Verbals in *-éōs*:—construction of 400 D,  
421 C, 460 B, 467 C: combined with  
*δέιν* 535 A

of a preceding word (e.g. *μῦθος* from  
*μυθοποιός*) 377 C, cf. 421 E. See also  
Index I *δέι*

## W

Words, supply of 475 E, 507 D, 508 D,  
589 E, 611 C: words supplied from part

## Z

Zeugma 330 E, 344 B, 367 D, 423 E, II 184







Plato.

The republic.

PA  
4279

.R4.

A4

v.2

cop.3

